PUBLIC PAPERS
OF THE
PRESIDENTS

Richard Nixon

1971

GOVT.
GS
4.113:
971/
c.2

GOVT
GS
4.113:
971/c.2

WITHDRAWN
BATES COLLEGE
LIBRARY

BATES COLLEGE LIBRARY
LEWISTON, MAINE 04240-6093

PUBLIC PAPERS OF THE PRESIDENTS

OF THE UNITED STATES

71-234—72——A



PUBLIC PAPERS OF THE PRESIDENTS

OF THE UNITED STATES

Richard Nixon

Containing the Public Messages, Speeches, and Statements of the President

1971

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

WASHINGTON : 1972

PUBLISHED BY THE
OFFICE OF THE FEDERAL REGISTER
NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS SERVICE
GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION



For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office
Washington, D.C. 20402 - Price $15.75
Stock Number 2203-0893

FOREWORD

THE PUBLIC papers of a President provide only one index to the history of his Presidency. As historians strive for a more complete account of a given administration, they must also consult the public statements of other officials, along with those private records and personal impressions which can only emerge over a period of many years.

And yet it is the public documents which issue from the White House on a daily basis throughout a President's term which provide the basic skeleton of virtually every later history. For almost instantly, they establish the central themes around which later accounts will inevitably be built.

In my third year as President, those themes involved dramatic new developments in our foreign and domestic policies. For the most part, however, even the most striking of these developments represented the sprouting of seeds which had been carefully planted during the first 2 years.

Above all, 1971 will be remembered as the year of dramatic advance from confrontation to negotiation with the Communist super powers. There are a number of very lengthy documents in this volume, but perhaps the most important of these papers are among the shortest—my statements announcing the summit meetings in Moscow and Peking. Yet, while these climactic moments in the diplomacy of 1971 were represented in very brief statements, they rested on substantial philosophical and strategic foundations which are described in the longest paper in this volume, my second annual foreign policy report.

Other documents in this collection tell of other international developments in which we were involved in 1971—the continuing withdrawal of our troops from Vietnam, the emerging agreements concerning Berlin, the ban on military uses of the seabed, the un-

easy cease-fire in the Middle East, the reversion of Okinawa to Japan.

Nineteen hundred and seventy-one was also a year of high drama in the domestic arena—especially in the economic realm. The reader can trace in this volume our search for bold new ways of achieving full prosperity at home—without war and without inflation—and of building fairer systems for the international exchange of money and goods. Here, too, are my blueprints for what I referred to in my State of the Union Address as a New American Revolution—reorganizing the basic structure of the Federal Government, revitalizing the Federal system through a series of revenue sharing measures, helping the Nation's poor, protecting its environment, and improving its health.

In these pages one can mark the progress of our crusade against cancer, our war against crime and drug abuse, our ongoing struggle for equal opportunity. Here also is recorded the successful culmination of the historic effort to give 18-year-olds the right to vote.

As the subjects of these documents are diverse, so are their forms and their audiences. But whatever the subject, the audience, and the form, most of the papers collected in this volume serve to illuminate this single overriding theme: If we are going to make a real change for the better in our country and our world we must change the very foundations on which our policies have rested in the past. It is not enough merely to change the details of policy—nor even the amount of money that we spend on established programs. What we need, instead, are fundamentally new approaches to the challenges of our time.

To build a lasting structure of peace abroad we have therefore adopted a comprehensive new approach which places greater emphasis on negotiation with our adversaries and partnership with our allies. And to build a lasting structure for progress at home, we have adopted new approaches which call for greater Federal cooperation with other levels of government, with private institutions, and with the American people themselves.

These new approaches enabled us in 1971 to move closer to our goals of peace and progress at home and around the world. Even more importantly, they have given us reason to hope that we can continue to move closer to these goals in the years ahead.



PREFACE

IN THIS VOLUME are gathered most of the public messages and statements of the 37th President of the United States that were released by the White House in 1971. Similar volumes are available covering the Administrations of Presidents Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson.

The series was begun in 1957 in response to a recommendation of the National Historical Publications Commission. Until then there had been no systematic publication of Presidential papers. An extensive compilation of the messages and papers of the Presidents, covering the period 1789 to 1897, was assembled by James D. Richardson and published under Congressional authority between 1896 and 1899. Since then various private compilations have been issued but there was no uniform publication comparable to the *Congressional Record* or the *United States Supreme Court Reports*. Many Presidential papers could be found only in mimeographed White House releases or as reported in the press. The National Historical Publications Commission therefore recommended the establishment of an official series in which Presidential writings and utterances of a public nature could be made promptly available.

The Commission's recommendation was incorporated in regulations of the Administrative Committee of the Federal Register issued under section 6 of the Federal Register Act (44 U.S.C. 1506). The Committee's regulations, establishing the series and providing for the coverage of prior years, are reprinted beginning on page 1282 as Appendix G.

CONTENT AND ARRANGEMENT

The text of this book is based on Presidential materials issued during the period as White House releases and on transcripts of news conferences. Original source materials, where available,

71-234—72——1

including tape recordings, have been used to protect against errors in transcription.

The dates shown at the end of item headings are White House release dates. In instances where the date of the document differs from the release date that fact is shown in the note immediately following the item. Textnotes, footnotes, and cross references have been supplied where needed for purposes of clarity.

Remarks or addresses were delivered in Washington, D.C., unless otherwise indicated. Similarly, statements, messages, and letters were issued from the White House in Washington unless otherwise indicated. All times shown are local time.

Items published in this volume are presented in chronological order, rather than being grouped in classes. Most needs for a classified arrangement are met by the subject index. For example, a reader interested in veto messages sent to Congress during 1971 will find them listed in the index under the heading "Veto messages and memorandums of disapproval."

Appendixes A through F have been provided to deal with special categories of Presidential issuances and actions, as noted below.

White House releases not included as items in this volume and not appearing in later appendixes are listed in Appendix A beginning on page 1219.

Items of general interest announced by the White House during 1971 and not noted elsewhere in the volume are listed in Appendix B beginning on page 1247.

Though not all proclamations, Executive orders, and similar documents required by law to be published in the *Federal Register* and *Code of Federal Regulations* were issued as White House releases during 1971, a complete listing of these documents by number and subject appears on pages 1269 through 1275 in Appendix C.

Reports of task forces established by the President are listed in Appendix D on page 1276.

Awards of the Congressional Medal of Honor and Presidential Unit Citations during 1971 are listed in Appendix E on pages 1277 and 1278.

The President is required by statute to transmit numerous reports to the Congress. Those transmitted during the period covered by this volume are listed in Appendix F beginning on page 1279.

This series is under the direction of Fred J. Emery, Director of the Office of the Federal Register. The editor of the present volume was Ernest J. Galdi, assisted by Peter J. Haley, Faye Q. Rosser, and Ruth C. Pontius. Special Assistant to the President Raymond K. Price, Jr., Cecilia Bellinger of Mr. Price's staff, and John J. Ratchford, Executive Clerk of the White House, provided aid and counsel in the selection and annotation of the materials. Clifford W. Shankland of the Government Printing Office developed the typography and design.

JAMES B. RHOADS
Archivist of the United States

ARTHUR F. SAMPSON
Acting Administrator of General Services
December 1972

CONTENTS

Page

FOREWORD V

PREFACE IX

LIST OF ITEMS XV

PUBLIC PAPERS OF RICHARD NIXON, 1971 1

Appendix A—Additional White House Releases . . . 1219
This appendix lists those releases which are neither printed as items in this volume nor listed in subsequent appendixes.

Appendix B—Additional White House Announcements . 1247
This appendix lists those items of general interest which were announced to the press during 1971 but which are not noted elsewhere in this volume.

Appendix C—Presidential Documents Published in the Federal Register 1269

Appendix D—Reports of Presidential Task Forces . . 1276

Appendix E—Awards of Congressional Medals of Honor and of Presidential Unit Citations 1277

Appendix F—Presidential Reports to the 92d Congress, First Session 1279

Appendix G—Rules Governing This Publication . . . 1282

INDEX 1285

LIST OF ITEMS

		Page
1	Veto of a Pay Bill for Federal Blue-collar Employees. January 2, 1971	1
2	Statement on Signing the Omnibus Crime Control Act of 1970. January 2, 1971	1
3	Statement on Signing the Uniform Relocation Assistance and Real Property Acquisition Policies Act of 1970. January 2, 1971	3
4	Memorandum of Disapproval of a Bill To Provide Special Retirement Benefits to Federal Firefighters. January 4, 1971	4
5	Statement Announcing Increase in Disaster Relief Assistance for Pakistan. January 4, 1971	5
6	"A Conversation With the President," Interview With Four Representatives of the Television Networks. January 4, 1971	6
7	Statement About the Legislative Record of the 91st Congress. January 5, 1971	23
8	Statement on Signing the District of Columbia Revenue Act of 1970. January 6, 1971	25
9	Statement About the Special Foreign Assistance Act of 1971. January 6, 1971	26
10	Statement Announcing Changes in Administration of the Depreciation Provisions of the Tax Laws. January 11, 1971	27

		Page
11	Message to American Jewish Leaders About Recent Acts of Violence Against Soviet Facilities in the United States. January 11, 1971	28
12	Remarks to a Student-Faculty Convocation at the University of Nebraska. January 14, 1971	29
13	Remarks at the Dedication of the Dwight D. Eisenhower National Republican Center. January 15, 1971	35
14	Statement on the Anniversary of the Birth of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. January 15, 1971	38
15	Statement About the Report of the National Commission on Reform of Federal Criminal Laws. January 16, 1971	38
16	Memorandum to the Attorney General About Reform of Federal Criminal Laws. January 16, 1971	39
17	Letter to Dr. Henry A. Kissinger on His Decision To Continue as Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs. January 16, 1971	40
18	Memorandum Establishing the Council on International Economic Policy. January 19, 1971	40
19	Remarks Announcing Appointment of Peter G. Peterson as Assistant to the President for International Economic Affairs and Executive Director, Council on International Economic Policy. January 19, 1971	42
20	Statement About Halting Construction of the Cross Florida Barge Canal. January 19, 1971	43
21	Remarks at a White House Staff Meeting on the Second Anniversary of the President's Inauguration. January 20, 1971	44

		Page
22	Statement About a Summary Report on Progress in Nutrition and Health. January 21, 1971	47
23	Exchange of Letters with Dr. Jean Mayer About a Followup Meeting of the White House Conference on Food, Nutrition, and Health. January 21, 1971	48
24	Statement on the Death of Senator Richard Brevard Russell of Georgia. January 21, 1971	49
25	Letter About the Formation of Federal Regional Councils. January 22, 1971	49
26	Annual Message to the Congress on the State of the Union. January 22, 1971	50
27	Remarks Honoring the Late Senator Richard Brevard Russell in Atlanta, Georgia. January 23, 1971	59
28	Remarks of Welcome to Prince Juan Carlos of Spain. January 26, 1971	60
29	Special Message to the Congress Resubmitting Legislative Proposals. January 26, 1971	61
30	Toasts of the President and Prince Juan Carlos of Spain. January 26, 1971	73
31	Special Message to the Congress About Draft Reform. January 28, 1971	75
32	Remarks at the Swearing In of Rogers C. B. Morton as Secretary of the Interior. January 29, 1971	78
33	Annual Budget Message to the Congress, Fiscal Year 1972. January 29, 1971	80
34	Message to the People of the Virgin Islands. January 29, 1971	95
35	Messages to the Apollo 14 Astronauts on the Eve of the Launch. January 31, 1971	96

		Page
36	Statement Following the Successful Launch of Apollo 14. January 31, 1971	96
37	Annual Message to the Congress: The Economic Report of the President. February 1, 1971	97
38	Remarks at the National Prayer Breakfast. February 2, 1971	102
39	Special Message to the Congress Proposing the Establishment of a Federal Executive Service. February 2, 1971	104
40	Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report on United States Aeronautics and Space Activities. February 2, 1971	107
41	Special Message to the Congress on National Emergency Labor Disputes in the Transportation Industry. February 3, 1971	108
42	Remarks at the Annual Scientific Session of the American College of Cardiology. February 4, 1971	110
43	Special Message to the Congress Proposing a General Revenue Sharing Program. February 4, 1971	113
44	Statement Following Successful Landing of Apollo 14 Astronauts on the Moon. February 5, 1971	122
45	Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report of the National Endowment for the Humanities. February 5, 1971	122
46	Statement About Memorandums Recommending Proposals for Executive Reorganization. February 6, 1971	123
47	Statement About National Crime Prevention Week, 1971. February 6, 1971	124

		Page
48	Special Message to the Congress Proposing the 1971 Environmental Program. February 8, 1971	125
49	Statement About the Special Message to the Congress Proposing the 1971 Environmental Program. February 8, 1971	142
50	Letter to the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House Transmitting a General Revenue Sharing Bill. February 9, 1971	143
51	Statement Following Splashdown of Apollo 14. February 9, 1971	143
52	Remarks at a Reception for the Freedoms Foundation. February 9, 1971	144
53	Remarks to the National Industrial Pollution Control Council and Subcouncils. February 10, 1971	146
54	Statement on Releasing a Report on Selected Independent Regulatory Agencies by the President's Advisory Council on Executive Organization. February 11, 1971	148
55	Remarks at the Signing Ceremony of the Seabed Arms Control Treaty. February 11, 1971	150
56	Remarks at the Swearing In of David M. Kennedy as Ambassador at Large for Foreign Economic Policy Development. February 11, 1971	151
57	Remarks at the Swearing In of John B. Connally as Secretary of the Treasury. February 11, 1971	152
58	Statement on the Anniversary of the Birth of Abraham Lincoln. February 11, 1971	153
59	Remarks on Receiving the American Legion's Distinguished Service Medal for 1969. February 16, 1971	154

		Page
60	Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report on the Foreign Assistance Program. February 17, 1971	156
61	The President's News Conference of February 17, 1971	158
62	Remarks of Welcome to Prime Minister Emilio Colombo of Italy. February 18, 1971	169
63	Special Message to the Congress Proposing a National Health Strategy. February 18, 1971	170
64	Statement About a National Health Strategy Proposal. February 18, 1971	187
65	Remarks at the Dedication of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. February 18, 1971	187
66	Toasts of the President and Prime Minister Colombo of Italy. February 18, 1971	190
67	Remarks at a Reception for the President's Council and the Conference on Physical Fitness and Sports. February 19, 1971	193
68	Memorandum About the 1971 Federal Summer Intern Program. February 19, 1971	195
69	Special Message to the Congress on Higher Education. February 22, 1971	196
70	Statement on Suspending Davis-Bacon Act Provisions for Federal Construction Projects. February 23, 1971	199
71	Toast of the President at a Dinner Honoring Governors Attending the National Governors' Conference Winter Session. February 23, 1971	202

		Page
72	Special Message to the Congress on Consumer Protection. February 24, 1971	203
73	Radio Address About Second Annual Foreign Policy Report to the Congress. February 25, 1971	212
74	Message to the Congress Transmitting Second Annual Report on United States Foreign Policy. February 25, 1971	218
75	Second Annual Report to the Congress on United States Foreign Policy. February 25, 1971	219
76	Remarks at the Swearing In of George Bush as United States Representative to the United Nations. February 26, 1971	345
77	Remarks on Accepting the Adams Portraits for the White House Collection. February 26, 1971	347
78	Message to the Congress Transmitting First Annual Report on the Availability of Government Services to Rural Areas. March 1, 1971	354
79	Remarks to a Joint Session of the Iowa State Legislature in Des Moines. March 1, 1971	355
80	Reply to Reporters' Questions About the Bombing in the United States Capitol. March 1, 1971	361
81	Remarks to Farm Media Representatives Attending a Briefing on Domestic Policy in Des Moines, Iowa. March 1, 1971	361
82	Remarks on Presenting the NASA Distinguished Service Medal to the Apollo 14 Astronauts. March 1, 1971	367
83	Remarks About a Special Message to the Congress on Special Revenue Sharing for Law Enforcement. March 2, 1971	374

		Page
84	Special Message to the Congress on Special Revenue Sharing for Law Enforcement. March 2, 1971	375
85	Memorandum About the Combined Federal Campaign. March 3, 1971	378
86	Special Message to the Congress on Special Revenue Sharing for Manpower. March 4, 1971	379
87	Memorandum Urging Support of the Red Cross. March 4, 1971	386
88	The President's News Conference on Foreign Policy. March 4, 1971	386
89	Special Message to the Congress on Special Revenue Sharing for Urban Community Development. March 5, 1971	395
90	Memorandum About Training Programs for Federal Employees. March 8, 1971	406
91	Remarks on Signing a Special Message to the Congress on Special Revenue Sharing for Rural Community Development. March 10, 1971	407
92	Special Message to the Congress on Special Revenue Sharing for Rural Community Development. March 10, 1971	408
93	Remarks at the Opening Session of the National Conference on the Judiciary in Williamsburg, Virginia. March 11, 1971	416
94	Statement About Textile Imports From Japan. March 11, 1971	423
95	Statement on the Death of Whitney M. Young, Jr. March 11, 1971	424
96	Remarks on Arrival at Quonset Point Naval Air Station, Rhode Island. March 12, 1971	425

		Page
97	Exchange of Remarks With Reporters at Quonset Point Naval Air Station, Rhode Island. March 12, 1971	426
98	Address at Graduation Exercises of the Naval Officer Candidate School, Newport, Rhode Island. March 12, 1971	427
99	Statement About United States Prisoners of War and Missing in Action in Southeast Asia. March 13, 1971	431
100	Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report of the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. March 15, 1971	432
101	Remarks of Welcome to Prime Minister John M. Lynch of Ireland. March 16, 1971	433
102	Message to the Congress Transmitting Report on Control of Hazardous Water Pollutants. March 16, 1971	434
103	Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report of the National Science Foundation. March 16, 1971	435
104	St. Patrick's Day Statement. March 16, 1971	435
105	Statement on the Death of Thomas E. Dewey. March 16, 1971	436
106	Eulogy Delivered at Burial Services for Whitney M. Young, Jr., in Lexington, Kentucky. March 17, 1971	436
107	Statement on Signing Bill Increasing Social Security Benefits. March 17, 1971	438
108	Special Message to the Congress on Special Revenue Sharing for Transportation. March 18, 1971	439

		Page
109	Message to the Congress Transmitting First Annual Report on Federal Activities in the Fields of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development. March 22, 1971	447
110	"A Conversation With the President," Interview With Howard K. Smith of the American Broadcasting Company. March 22, 1971	448
111	Statement About the Election of Edwin D. Etherington as President of the National Center for Voluntary Action. March 23, 1971	465
112	Message to the Congress Transmitting Reorganization Plan 1 of 1971 To Establish ACTION. March 24, 1971	466
113	Telegram Congratulating Reverend Walter E. Fauntroy on His Election as District of Columbia Delegate to Congress. March 24, 1971	471
114	Statement About Senate Action Disapproving Funds for the Supersonic Transport Program. March 24, 1971	471
115	Remarks to Reporters at a Briefing on a Special Message to the Congress on Executive Branch Reorganization. March 25, 1971	472
116	Special Message to the Congress on Executive Branch Reorganization. March 25, 1971	473
117	Remarks by Telephone to Workers on the Supersonic Transport Program. March 25, 1971	489
118	Remarks on Presenting the Presidential Medal of Freedom to Samuel Goldwyn. March 27, 1971	490
119	Statement About Stabilization of Wages and Prices in the Construction Industry. March 29, 1971	491

		Page
120	Memorandum About the Federal Summer Employment Program for Youth. March 30, 1971	492
121	Remarks Announcing Plans To Make Land in Camp Pendleton, California, Available for Public Recreational Use. March 31, 1971	493
122	Statement About Plans To Make Land in Camp Pendleton, California, Available for Public Recreational Use. March 31, 1971	494
123	Letter to the Chairman and Ranking Minority Member of the House Committee on Ways and Means About the Welfare Reform Bill. March 31, 1971	495
124	Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report on Operation of the International Coffee Agreement. April 2, 1971	497
125	Letter to Governors Urging Their Cooperation in the Observance of Earth Week. April 2, 1971	498
126	Remarks Following a Meeting on Welfare Reform Proposals in San Clemente, California. April 2, 1971	499
127	Statement About Policy on Abortions at Military Base Hospitals in the United States. April 3, 1971	500
128	Message on the Opening of the 1971 Baseball Season. April 5, 1971	500
129	Special Message to the Congress on Special Revenue Sharing for Education. April 6, 1971	501
130	Statement About an Alaska Natives' Claims Bill. April 6, 1971	507

		Page
131	Toasts of the President and Ambassador Guillermo Sevilla-Sacasa of Nicaragua at a Dinner Honoring the Chiefs of Mission of the Americas. April 6, 1971	508
132	Special Message to the Congress About the District of Columbia. April 7, 1971	511
133	Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Manpower Report of the President. April 7, 1971	520
134	Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report on Marine Resources and Engineering Development. April 7, 1971	521
135	Address to the Nation on the Situation in Southeast Asia. April 7, 1971	522
136	Statement Announcing Plans for Summer Programs for Disadvantaged Youth. April 9, 1971	527
137	Statement Announcing a Program To Inform Disadvantaged Vietnam-Era Veterans of Educational and Job Training Benefits. April 12, 1971	528
138	Statement Announcing Plans for a White House Conference on the Future of the American Business System. April 12, 1971	530
139	Statement Announcing Changes in Trade and Travel Restrictions With the People's Republic of China. April 14, 1971	530
140	Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report of the National Endowment for the Arts and the National Council on the Arts. April 14, 1971	531
141	Statement About a Proposal for Internment of Prisoners of War in a Neutral Country. April 14, 1971	532

		Page
142	Message to the Senate Transmitting Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Seizure of Aircraft. April 15, 1971	533
143	Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Plan for United States Participation in the World Weather Program. April 15, 1971	533
144	Panel Interview at the Annual Convention of the American Society of Newspaper Editors. April 16, 1971	534
145	Remarks at the Republican Governors Conference in Williamsburg, Virginia. April 19, 1971	551
146	Annual Message to the Congress on the District of Columbia Budget. April 19, 1971	558
147	Remarks at the 80th Continental Congress of the Daughters of the American Revolution. April 19, 1971	559
148	Special Message to the Congress Proposing Reform of the Foreign Assistance Program. April 21, 1971	564
149	Message to the Senate Transmitting Treaty on the United States-Mexico Boundary. April 21, 1971	578
150	Memorandum About Women in Government. April 21, 1971	580
151	Remarks at the Annual Meeting of the United States Chamber of Commerce: "The Right To Be Confident." April 26, 1971	581
152	Statement on Transmitting to the Congress Proposals To Establish New National Wilderness Areas. April 28, 1971	587
153	Letter to the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House Transmitting Proposals To Establish New National Wilderness Areas. April 28, 1971	590

		Page
154	The President's News Conference of April 29, 1971	592
155	Remarks on Awarding the Presidential Unit Citation to the First Marine Division at Camp Pendleton, California. April 30, 1971	602
156	The President's News Conference of May 1, 1971	604
157	Radio Address: "A Salute to Agriculture." May 2, 1971	614
158	Memorandum Announcing Recipients of the Federal Civilian Service Awards. May 5, 1971	617
159	Special Message to the Congress Proposing Establishment of a Legal Services Corporation. May 5, 1971	618
160	Statement About Agreements With Panama and Colombia To Complete the Pan American Highway. May 6, 1971	622
161	Remarks to Farm Leaders Participating in the "Salute to Agriculture." May 7, 1971	623
162	Remarks to Reporters After Touring the Proposed Gateway National Recreation Area in New York and New Jersey. May 10, 1971	628
163	Remarks About a Proposed National Cancer Program. May 11, 1971	629
164	Statement About Proposed Legislation To Establish a National Cancer Program. May 11, 1971	631
165	Statement About House Approval of Funds for the Supersonic Transport Program. May 12, 1971	633
166	Statement on Signing Executive Order on Protection and Enhancement of the Cultural Environment. May 13, 1971	634

		Page
167	Letter Reappointing E. Roland Harriman as Chairman of the American National Red Cross. May 15, 1971	635
168	Statement About United States Military Forces in Europe. May 15, 1971	635
169	Special Message to the Congress Requesting Extension of Negotiation Period in the Railway Labor Dispute. May 17, 1971	637
170	Statement About Approval of the Welfare Reform and Social Security Bill by the House Committee on Ways and Means. May 18, 1971	638
171	Statement on Signing Bill Extending Negotiation Period in the Railway Labor Dispute. May 18, 1971	640
172	Letter to Representative Charles C. Diggs, Jr., in Response to Recommendations of the Congressional Black Caucus. May 19, 1971	641
173	Remarks at the Annual Convention of the American National Red Cross. May 19, 1971	643
174	Statement About Federal Assistance for Farmers in Drought-Stricken Areas of the Southwest. May 19, 1971	647
175	Remarks Announcing an Agreement on Strategic Arms Limitation Talks. May 20, 1971	648
176	Remarks on Presenting the National Medal of Science Awards for 1970. May 21, 1971	649
177	Remarks to the International Telecommunications Satellite Consortium Plenipotentiary Conference. May 21, 1971	652
178	Remarks on Arrival at Austin, Texas. May 22, 1971	654

		Page
179	Remarks at the Dedication of the Lyndon Baines Johnson Library in Austin, Texas. May 22, 1971	655
180	Remarks at the Dedication of the Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway in Mobile, Alabama. May 25, 1971	658
181	Remarks on Arrival in Birmingham, Alabama. May 25, 1971	662
182	Remarks to Southern News Media Representatives Attending a Briefing on Domestic Policy in Birmingham, Alabama. May 25, 1971	664
183	Remarks at the Annual Conference of the Associated Councils of the Arts. May 26, 1971	676
184	Memorandum About the Federal Government and the Arts. May 26, 1971	681
185	Statement Urging Congressional Action To Implement a National Cancer Program. May 26, 1971	682
186	Remarks of Welcome to King Faisal ibn Abd al-Aziz al-Saud of Saudi Arabia. May 27, 1971	682
187	Remarks to the Corps of Cadets at the United States Military Academy in West Point, New York. May 29, 1971	683
188	Remarks Announcing a Proclamation of Amnesty for Cadets at the Military Academy. May 29, 1971	687
189	The President's News Conference of June 1, 1971	688
190	Statement About Summer Job and Recreation Opportunities for Youth. June 2, 1971	697
191	Remarks on Presenting the Presidential Medal of Freedom to William J. Hopkins. June 2, 1971	698
192	Message to the Senate Transmitting the International Wheat Agreement, 1971. June 2, 1971	699

		Page
193	Remarks to Delegates Attending the National Explorer Presidents' Congress. June 2, 1971	700
194	Remarks About a Special Message to the Congress on Energy Resources. June 4, 1971	703
195	Special Message to the Congress on Energy Resources. June 4, 1971	703
196	Remarks at the Dedication of the McClellan-Kerr Arkansas River Navigation System. June 5, 1971	714
197	Statement About the Death of Audie Murphy. June 7, 1971	720
198	Remarks to Members Attending the 1971 Symposium of the American Committee on Italian Migration. June 8, 1971	720
199	Statement About Federal Policies Relative to Equal Housing Opportunity. June 11, 1971	721
200	Letter to the Secretary of Labor on Employment Opportunities for Returning Vietnam-Era Veterans. June 13, 1971	735
201	Statement on Occasion of Signing of Agreement Between the United States and Japan About the Reversion of Okinawa to Japan. June 17, 1971	737
202	Remarks About an Intensified Program for Drug Abuse Prevention and Control. June 17, 1971	738
203	Special Message to the Congress on Drug Abuse Prevention and Control. June 17, 1971	739
204	Remarks to Eastern Media Executives Attending a Briefing on Domestic Policy in Rochester, New York. June 18, 1971	749
205	Remarks on Arrival in Atlantic City, New Jersey. June 22, 1971	760

		Page
206	Remarks to the American Medical Association's House of Delegates Meeting in Atlantic City, New Jersey. June 22, 1971	761
207	Statement About House Approval of the Welfare Reform and Social Security Bill. June 22, 1971	770
208	Remarks at the Dedication of a Plaque Commemorating the Birthplace of the President's Mother, Hannah Milhous Nixon. June 24, 1971	771
209	Remarks at a Dinner Honoring Dr. Frederick L. Hovde on His Retirement as President of Purdue University. June 24, 1971	774
210	Remarks at the Convention of the National Retired Teachers Association and the American Association of Retired Persons in Chicago, Illinois. June 25, 1971	776
211	Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report on the Food for Peace Program. June 28, 1971	783
212	Message to the Senate Transmitting Convention on Psychotropic Substances. June 29, 1971	784
213	Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report on National Housing Goals. June 29, 1971	785
214	Veto of the Accelerated Public Works Bill. June 29, 1971	785
215	Remarks Announcing Decision by the Turkish Government To Ban Cultivation of Opium Poppies. June 30, 1971	788
216	Statement About the Turkish Government's Ban on Cultivation of Opium Poppies. June 30, 1971	789
217	Message to Nikolai V. Podgorny, Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, on the Death of Three Soviet Cosmonauts. June 30, 1971	790

		Page
218	Remarks at Graduation Exercises of the FBI National Academy. June 30, 1971	790
219	Statement About Ratification of the 26th Amendment to the Constitution. June 30, 1971	793
220	Remarks of the President, Chief Justice Warren E. Burger, and Speaker of the House Carl Albert at a Ceremony Opening the American Revolution Bicentennial Era. July 3, 1971	793
221	Remarks at a Ceremony Marking the Certification of the 26th Amendment to the Constitution. July 5, 1971	798
222	Remarks to Midwestern News Media Executives Attending a Briefing on Domestic Policy in Kansas City, Missouri. July 6, 1971	802
223	Statement on the Death of Louis Armstrong. July 6, 1971	813
224	Statement Following Senate Approval of the Conquest of Cancer Bill. July 7, 1971	813
225	Message About the Death of Dorothy Elston Kabis. July 9, 1971	814
226	Statement on Signing the Office of Education and Related Agencies Appropriation Act, 1972. July 11, 1971	814
227	Remarks on Signing the Emergency Employment Act of 1971. July 12, 1971	816
228	Statement About the Emergency Employment Act of 1971. July 12, 1971	816
229	Statement About the Death of Edgar N. Eisenhower. July 13, 1971	818

		Page
230	Memorandums About the Combined Federal Campaign. July 15, 1971	818
231	Remarks to the Nation Announcing Acceptance of an Invitation To Visit the People's Republic of China. July 15, 1971	819
232	Letter to the Chairman of the Senate Committee on Commerce About Pending Product Safety Legislation. July 19, 1971	820
233	Letter Accepting the Resignation of Glenn T. Seaborg as Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission. July 21, 1971	821
234	Message to the Senate Transmitting the Seabed Arms Control Treaty. July 21, 1971	822
235	Message to the Congress Transmitting First Annual Report on Financial Assistance to Rural Areas. July 23, 1971	823
236	Statement on the Death of President William V. S. Tubman of Liberia. July 23, 1971	825
237	Statement About Legislation To Provide Emergency Loan Guarantees for Major Business Enterprises. July 24, 1971	826
238	Statement Following the Successful Launch of Apollo 15. July 26, 1971	826
239	Letter Accepting the Resignation of David K. E. Bruce as Head of the United States Delegation to the Paris Peace Talks. July 28, 1971	827
240	Remarks at the Unveiling of Portraits of Two Former Chairmen of the House Committee on Appropriations. July 28, 1971	828
241	Statement Announcing Participation of 20 Cities in the New Planned Variation Program. July 29, 1971	831

		Page
242	Remarks on Arrival at Canton, Ohio. July 30, 1971	833
243	Remarks at the Professional Football Hall of Fame Annual Banquet in Canton, Ohio. July 30, 1971	834
244	Television Interview With ABC Sports Commentator Frank Gifford in Canton, Ohio. July 31, 1971	838
245	Remarks at the Dedication of the Rathbun Dam Near Centerville, Iowa. July 31, 1971	840
246	Statement About Senate Approval of the Emergency Loan Guarantee Act. August 2, 1971	846
247	Letter to the Speaker of the House of Representatives Urging Congressional Approval of Funds for Declassification of World War II Documents. August 3, 1971	847
248	Message to the Senate Transmitting the Locarno Agreement Establishing an International Classification for Industrial Designs. August 3, 1971	848
249	Statement About the Busing of Schoolchildren. August 3, 1971	848
250	The President's News Conference of August 4, 1971	849
251	Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report on the International Educational and Cultural Exchange Program. August 5, 1971	861
252	Statement on Signing Executive Order Establishing the National Business Council for Consumer Affairs. August 5, 1971	862
253	Statement on Signing Bill Extending Special Assistance to Depressed Rural Areas. August 5, 1971	863
254	Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report on the National Wilderness Preservation System. August 5, 1971	864

		Page
255	Remarks to Delegates to the Girls Nation Annual Convention. August 6, 1971	864
256	Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report of the Council on Environmental Quality. August 6, 1971	868
257	Remarks on Arrival at Manchester, New Hampshire. August 6, 1971	873
258	Remarks in Nashua, New Hampshire. August 6, 1971	877
259	Statement About Actions To Improve the Quality of Care in Nursing Homes. August 6, 1971	878
260	Remarks to Patients and Staff at Greenbriar Nursing Home, Nashua, New Hampshire. August 6, 1971	881
261	Remarks on Arrival at Bangor, Maine. August 6, 1971	882
262	Statement Following Splashdown of Apollo 15. August 7, 1971	885
263	Statement on Signing Appropriation Bill for the Emergency Employment Act of 1971. August 9, 1971	885
264	Address to the Nation Outlining a New Economic Policy: "The Challenge of Peace." August 15, 1971	886
265	Statement on the 10th Anniversary of the Alliance for Progress. August 17, 1971	891
266	Statement About Rescission of Price Increases by Automobile Manufacturers. August 17, 1971	892
267	Memorandum of Disapproval of Bill To Provide Increased Retirement Benefits to Totally Disabled District of Columbia Policemen and Firemen. August 17, 1971	892

		Page
268	Remarks to the 89th Annual International Meeting of the Knights of Columbus in New York City. August 17, 1971	893
269	Remarks on Signing Bill Establishing the Lincoln Home National Historic Site in Springfield, Illinois. August 18, 1971	898
270	Remarks at the Illinois State Fair in Springfield. August 18, 1971	901
271	Statement About Agriculture and the Economy. August 18, 1971	902
272	Remarks on Arrival at Idaho Falls, Idaho. August 18, 1971	903
273	Statement About the "Legacy of Parks" Program. August 19, 1971	905
274	Remarks at the Veterans of Foreign Wars Annual Convention, in Dallas, Texas. August 19, 1971	908
275	Remarks at Loma Linda University, Loma Linda, California. August 20, 1971	914
276	Statement About Plans for a New Veterans Administration Hospital and Transfer of the Former Hospital Site to the "Legacy of Parks" Program. August 20, 1971	918
277	Statement Announcing Plans To Meet With the Emperor and Empress of Japan. August 20, 1971	919
278	Memorandum About Government Patent Policy. August 23, 1971	919
279	Informal Exchange With Reporters at the United States Coast Guard Station, Newport Beach, California. August 29, 1971	921

		Page
280	Special Message to the Congress About Deferment of Federal Wage Increases. September 1, 1971	922
281	Memorandum About Deferment of Federal Wage Increases. September 1, 1971	923
282	Remarks at the Dedication of the Air Force Museum, Dayton, Ohio. September 3, 1971	924
283	Statement About the Air Force Museum. September 3, 1971	926
284	Remarks at the Annual Convention of the Associated Milk Producers, Inc., Chicago, Illinois. September 3, 1971	927
285	Address to the Nation on Labor Day. September 6, 1971	934
286	Memorandum Establishing the Cabinet Committee on International Narcotics Control. September 7, 1971	937
287	Address to the Congress on Stabilization of the Economy. September 9, 1971	938
288	Statement on the Death of Senator Winston L. Prouty of Vermont. September 10, 1971	944
289	Toasts of the President and Minister for Foreign Affairs Takeo Fukuda of Japan at a Dinner Honoring Members of the Japanese Cabinet. September 10, 1971	945
290	Message to the Congress Transmitting First Annual Report on Location of New Federal Facilities in Rural Areas. September 13, 1971	947
291	Statement Announcing the Appointment of Richard P. Nathan as Deputy Under Secretary for Welfare Reform Planning, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. September 16, 1971	949

		Page
292	The President's News Conference of September 16, 1971	949
293	Proclamation 4080, Drug Abuse Prevention Week, 1971. September 17, 1971	959
294	Statement Announcing Nomination of Romana A. Banuelos as Treasurer of the United States. September 20, 1971	960
295	Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report on United States Participation in the United Nations. September 20, 1971	961
296	Message to the Senate Transmitting Agreement Between the United States and Japan Concerning the Ryukyu and the Daito Islands. September 21, 1971	962
297	Remarks at a Question-and-Answer Session With a 10-Member Panel of the Economic Club of Detroit. September 23, 1971	965
298	Statement on the Death of Former Associate Justice Hugo L. Black. September 25, 1971	980
299	Remarks on Arrival at Kalispell, Montana. September 25, 1971	980
300	Statement About the West Coast Dock Strike. September 25, 1971	983
301	Remarks on Arrival at Portland, Oregon. September 25, 1971	983
302	Statement on Signing Bill Repealing the Emergency Detention Act of 1950. September 25, 1971	985
303	Remarks at a Question-and-Answer Session for Northwest Editors, Publishers, and Broadcast Executives Attending a Briefing on Domestic Policy in Portland, Oregon. September 25, 1971	986

		Page
304	Remarks on Arrival at Walla Walla, Washington. September 26, 1971	995
305	Remarks at the Atomic Energy Commission's Hanford Works Near Richland, Washington. September 26, 1971	999
306	Statement Announcing Authorization of a Second Experimental Fast Breeder Reactor. September 26, 1971	1002
307	Statement About Government-Industry Cooperation in Energy Resource Development. September 26, 1971	1002
308	Statement About the Trans-Alaskan Pipeline. September 26, 1971	1003
309	Remarks of Welcome to Emperor Hirohito of Japan at Anchorage, Alaska. September 26, 1971	1005
310	Statement About the Meeting with Emperor Hirohito of Japan. September 26, 1971	1006
311	Remarks at a 75th Birthday Celebration Dinner Honoring Mamie Doud Eisenhower. September 27, 1971	1007
312	Statement on Signing Bill Authorizing Extension of the Draft and Increases in Military Pay. September 28, 1971	1008
313	Remarks to the National League of Families of American Prisoners and Missing in Southeast Asia. September 28, 1971	1009
314	Remarks on Presenting the Presidential Medal of Freedom to Manlio Brosio, Secretary General of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. September 29, 1971	1011

		Page
315	Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Reports on Highway, Traffic, and Motor Vehicle Safety Programs. September 29, 1971	1013
316	Remarks to Officials of the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. September 29, 1971	1014
317	Message to the Senate Transmitting a Protocol to the Convention on International Civil Aviation. September 30, 1971	1016
318	Statement About Additional Funds for Humanitarian Relief and Refugee Rehabilitation in South Asia. October 1, 1971	1017
319	Statement About the Retirement of Dr. Ralph Bunche as Under Secretary General of the United Nations. October 1, 1971	1018
320	Statement About Deferment of Federal Pay Raises. October 2, 1971	1018
321	Telephone Remarks to Students and Educators Attending a Drug Education Seminar in Monroe, Louisiana. October 4, 1971	1019
322	Statement on Signing Bill Extending the Insured Loan Authority of the Farmers Home Administration. October 5, 1971	1021
323	Statement About Congressional Action on the Proposed Revenue Act of 1971. October 6, 1971	1022
324	Statement About Congressional Action on Deferment of Federal Pay Raises. October 7, 1971	1022
325	Address to the Nation on the Post-Freeze Economic Stabilization Program: "The Continuing Fight Against Inflation." October 7, 1971	1022

		Page
326	Remarks at the Mountain State Forest Festival in Elkins, West Virginia. October 8, 1971	1026
327	Statement About a Labor Dispute in the Coal Mining Industry. October 8, 1971	1029
328	The President's News Conference of October 12, 1971	1030
329	Remarks About the AFL–CIO Decision To Participate on the Pay Board. October 12, 1971	1037
330	Remarks at the Unveiling of a Portrait of Representative F. Edward Hébert, Chairman, Committee on Armed Services. October 12, 1971	1039
331	Statement on the Death of Dean Acheson. October 12, 1971	1041
332	Special Message to the Congress Urging Expansion of the Minority Business Enterprise Program. October 13, 1971	1041
333	Remarks at Ceremonies Honoring Billy Graham in Charlotte, North Carolina. October 15, 1971	1046
334	Remarks Announcing the Conversion of Fort Detrick, Maryland, to a Center for Cancer Research. October 18, 1971	1050
335	Statement About Conversion of Facilities at Fort Detrick, Maryland, to a Center for Cancer Research. October 18, 1971	1051
336	Veterans Day Message to the Armed Forces. October 21, 1971	1053
337	Address to the Nation Announcing Intention To Nominate Lewis F. Powell, Jr., and William H. Rehnquist To Be Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States. October 21, 1971	1053

		Page
338	Remarks at the Convention of the National Federation of Republican Women. October 22, 1971	1057
339	Veterans Day Address. October 24, 1971	1062
340	Remarks of Welcome to President Josip Broz Tito of Yugoslavia. October 28, 1971	1065
341	Remarks to a National Association of Manufacturers Teleconference. October 28, 1971	1066
342	Toasts of the President and President Tito of Yugoslavia. October 28, 1971	1067
343	Joint Statement Following Discussions With President Tito of Yugoslavia. October 30, 1971	1070
344	Statement Announcing Establishment of the President's Environmental Merit Awards Program for High School Students. October 31, 1971	1072
345	Remarks Following a Meeting With Prime Minister William McMahon of Australia. November 2, 1971	1073
346	Toasts of the President and Prime Minister McMahon of Australia. November 2, 1971	1073
347	Statement Following Action on Post-Freeze Economic Stabilization Legislation by the House Committee on Banking and Currency. November 4, 1971	1078
348	Remarks of Welcome to Prime Minister Indira Gandhi of India. November 4, 1971	1079
349	Toasts of the President and Prime Minister Gandhi of India. November 4, 1971	1081
350	Letter to State, County, and Local Officials About Hiring Under the Emergency Employment Act of 1971. November 7, 1971	1085

		Page
351	Remarks at a "Salute to the President" Dinner in New York City. November 9, 1971	1086
352	Remarks at a "Salute to the President" Dinner in Chicago, Illinois. November 9, 1971	1091
353	Statement Following the Laying of a Wreath on the Tomb of the Unknowns in Arlington National Cemetery. November 11, 1971	1096
354	Remarks Announcing the Resignation of Clifford M. Hardin and Intention to Nominate Earl L. Butz as Secretary of Agriculture. November 11, 1971	1097
355	Letter Accepting the Resignation of Clifford M. Hardin as Secretary of Agriculture. November 11, 1971	1099
356	The President's News Conference of November 12, 1971	1101
357	Remarks at a Meeting of the Cost of Living Council. November 15, 1971	1109
358	Statement About Mental Retardation. November 16, 1971	1111
359	Statement About the Thanksgiving Day Salute to Senior Americans. November 16, 1971	1113
360	Statement on Signing the Military Appropriations Authorization Bill. November 17, 1971	1114
361	Statement on Signing the Health Manpower and Nurse Training Bills. November 18, 1971	1114
362	Statement Urging Action on Highways and the METRO System in the Washington, D.C., Metropolitan Area. November 18, 1971	1117

		Page
363	Remarks to the AFL–CIO Ninth Constitutional Convention in Bal Harbour, Florida. November 19, 1971	1118
364	Advance Text of Remarks Prepared for the AFL–CIO Convention. November 19, 1971	1125
365	Message to the Congress Transmitting Part I of a Two-Part Study on Railroad-Highway Safety. November 19, 1971	1128
366	Remarks Welcoming Members of the Senior Class of Wyoming High School of Cincinnati, Ohio, to the White House. November 20, 1971	1129
367	Message to the Senate Transmitting the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties. November 22, 1971	1131
368	Letter to the Chairman of the Senate Committee on Armed Services About United States Troops in Europe. November 23, 1971	1132
369	Message to the Congress Transmitting First Annual Report on the Coal Mine Health Program. November 23, 1971	1133
370	Remarks to Members of the Washington Redskins Professional Football Team During a Practice Session at Redskins Park. November 23, 1971	1134
371	Statement Proposing Federal Acquisition of Big Cypress Swamp, Florida, for a National Reserve. November 23, 1971	1138
372	Letter Directing the Attorney General To Seek Injunctive Relief in the Atlantic and Gulf Coasts Dock Strikes. November 25, 1971	1139
373	Thanksgiving Day Message to the Armed Forces. November 25, 1971	1139

		Page
374	Remarks at the Dedication of the Eisenhower Memorial Hospital, Eisenhower Medical Center, Palm Desert, California. November 27, 1971	1140
375	Statement in Connection With the Dedication of the Eisenhower Memorial Hospital. November 27, 1971	1141
376	Joint Statement Announcing the Date of the President's Visit to the People's Republic of China. November 29, 1971	1143
377	Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report on the Trade Agreements Program for 1970. December 1, 1971	1144
378	Remarks to the National 4–H Congress in Chicago, Illinois. December 1, 1971	1145
379	Remarks to the White House Conference on Aging. December 2, 1971	1152
380	Remarks at the Swearing In of Earl L. Butz as Secretary of Agriculture. December 2, 1971	1161
381	Remarks to the National Conference on Corrections, Williamsburg, Virginia. December 6, 1971	1164
382	Remarks of Welcome to President Emílio Garrastazú Médici of Brazil. December 7, 1971	1164
383	Toasts of the President and President Médici of Brazil. December 7, 1971	1166
384	Special Message to the Congress on a Pension Reform Program. December 8, 1971	1168
385	Statement on the Death of Dr. Ralph J. Bunche. December 9, 1971	1173
386	Message to the Congress Transmitting Reports on the Military Incentive Awards Program. December 9, 1971	1174

		Page
387	Veto of the Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1971. December 10, 1971	1174
388	Remarks on Presenting the Distinguished Service Medal to General Leonard F. Chapman, Jr. December 10, 1971	1179
389	Remarks on Signing the Revenue Act of 1971. December 10, 1971	1180
390	Statement About the Revenue Act of 1971. December 10, 1971	1181
391	Statement About Senate Confirmation of Lewis F. Powell, Jr., and William H. Rehnquist as Associate Justices of the Supreme Court. December 10, 1971	1182
392	Letter Accepting the Resignation of David Packard as Deputy Secretary of Defense. December 11, 1971	1183
393	Statement on the Death of General David Sarnoff. December 12, 1971	1184
394	Toasts of the President, Prime Minister Marcello Caetano of Portugal, and President Georges Pompidou of France at a Dinner Hosted by the Prime Minister During Meetings in the Azores. December 13, 1971	1184
395	Remarks of the President and President Pompidou of France Following Their Meetings in the Azores. December 14, 1971	1189
396	Joint Statement Following Meetings in the Azores With President Pompidou of France. December 14, 1971	1190
397	Remarks at Andrews Air Force Base on Returning From the Azores. December 14, 1971	1191

		Page
398	Statement About the Absence of Emergency Strike Legislation for Labor Disputes in the Transportation Industry. December 15, 1971	1192
399	Statement on Signing Bill To Protect Wild Horses and Burros. December 17, 1971	1193
400	Statement on Signing Veterans Pension and Compensation Bills. December 7, 1971	1194
401	Remarks Announcing a Monetary Agreement Following a Meeting of the Group of Ten. December 18, 1971	1195
402	Remarks in Bermuda Announcing Removal of Surcharge on Imports. December 20, 1971	1197
403	Toasts of the President and Prime Minister Edward Heath of the United Kingdom at a Dinner During Their Meetings in Bermuda. December 20, 1971	1197
404	Remarks of the President and Prime Minister Heath of the United Kingdom Following Their Meetings in Bermuda. December 21, 1971	1200
405	Joint Statement Following Meetings in Bermuda With Prime Minister Heath of the United Kingdom. December 21, 1971	1201
406	Statement on Signing the Economic Stabilization Act Amendments of 1971. December 22, 1971	1202
407	Statement on Signing Executive Orders Prescribing Federal Civilian and Military Pay Increases. December 22, 1971	1204
408	Remarks on Signing the National Cancer Act of 1971. December 23, 1971	1205
409	Statement About the National Cancer Act of 1971. December 23, 1971	1206

		Page
410	Christmas Message. December 23, 1971	1208
411	Christmas Message to the Armed Forces. December 24, 1971	1209
412	Informal Exchange With Reporters Following the President's Annual Physical Examination. December 24, 1971	1209
413	Statement About the Death of General Emmett O'Donnell, Jr. December 27, 1971	1211
414	Statement on Signing a Bill Amending the Social Security Act. December 28, 1971	1211
415	Joint Statement Following Meetings With Chancellor Willy Brandt of the Federal Republic of Germany in Key Biscayne, Florida. December 29, 1971	1213
416	Remarks Following Meetings With Chancellor Brandt of the Federal Republic of Germany. December 29, 1971	1214
417	Remarks in an Informal Exchange with German Correspondents Who Accompanied Chancellor Brandt on His Visit to the United States. December 29, 1971	1215
418	tatement on the Death of Former Associate Justice John M. Harlan. December 29, 1971	1216
419	Statement About the Emergency Unemployment Compensation Bill. December 30, 1971	1216

Richard Nixon

1971

1 Veto of a Pay Bill for Federal Blue-collar Employees. *January* 2, 1971

To the House of Representatives:

I am returning, without my approval, H.R. 17809, a bill which would fix in law the pay practices applied to Federal "blue collar" employees.

A uniform government-wide wage system for these employees already exists. The Coordinated Federal Wage System which is now in effect is flexible and can respond to changing labor market conditions. The responsiveness of the present method has been demonstrated recently as it provided average wage increases of 9.5 percent during Fiscal Year 1969 and 8.1 percent in Fiscal Year 1970.

H.R. 17809 would also have adverse economic implications. At a time when the Administration is most concerned about inflationary wage settlements in the private sector, this bill would mean that many Federal Employees in a given locality would be paid at much higher rates than those prevailing in the private sector of the same locality. Under the present system, most Federal blue collar workers are already paid four percent more than prevailing rates. This bill would mean that about two-thirds of these workers would be paid at rates eight percent above prevailing rates.

The costly and unwarranted pay features of H.R. 17809 would add still further to a $4 billion blue collar Federal payroll. Since the majority of the employees covered by the proposed bill are employed by the Department of Defense, the only way in which the substantial added costs of the enrolled bill could be met would be through further reductions in employment levels. The Department of Defense has been undergoing substantial employee reductions in the past two years and further reductions would not be acceptable at this time.

Finally, it should be noted that when the wages of Federal employees go up, even greater pressures are placed on private employers to raise their own wages—and thus the fires of inflation are fueled.

In order to keep the administrative wage structure flexible, to fight inflation, and to maintain sufficient employment levels, I must disapprove this bill.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House

January 1, 1971

NOTE: The veto message was dated January 1, 1971, and released January 2.

The House of Representatives referred the veto message to committee, and no further action was taken.

2 Statement on Signing the Omnibus Crime Control Act of 1970. *January* 2, 1971

I AM SIGNING into law today the Omnibus Crime Control Act of 1970. The act authorizes appropriations for the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration for another 3 years, and provides a number of improvements in LEAA's program.

In America, law enforcement has been and must remain primarily the responsibility of State and local governments. However, the financial burden of carrying out this responsibility rests heavily upon these governments. They now spend more than $7 billion annually on programs to control crime.

Significantly, the legislation I am signing continues the important block grant approach of providing Federal financial assistance to hard-pressed State and local governments so that they can accomplish necessary improvements in their law enforcement and criminal justice activities. Under this concept, each State, in cooperation with local governments, sets the priorities and goals for law enforcement improvements in the State. Each State develops comprehensive plans and programs designed to attain their goals. This year I requested, and the Congress appropriated, $480 million for the purpose of sharing the costs of carrying out the programs and projects included in the State plans.

This new legislation will not only permit us to continue to provide financial assistance to the States and cities for crime control, but will also enable LEAA to perform better its other valuable functions. Through a variety of changes in the law, these amendments will increase LEAA's ability to provide technical assistance to the States, to evaluate new law enforcement methods and techniques and disseminate useful information concerning them to those who can apply that knowledge, to collect information concerning the use to which LEAA funds have been put, and to assess the overall effectiveness of the LEAA program.

Our goal is the increased effectiveness of our criminal justice system in order to reverse the unacceptable trend of crime in our Nation. From our efforts in the Nation's Capital, we are already learning that this trend can be reversed. By applying new techniques and adding resources, we have been able to halt—and even to reverse—the spiraling crime rate in the District of Columbia. LEAA has funded two major programs in the District, one to put more police on the streets, and the other to take more heroin addicts off the streets by a greatly expanded rehabilitation program. Court reform and corrections have also been strengthened through the regular block grant allocation. The District's experience strengthens our conviction that the resources and knowledge provided under this act can help free us from the crippling effects of crime.

While this law will assist our national crime reduction effort in many respects, I am particularly pleased with the emphasis placed on improving correctional programs and facilities. Too frequently correctional systems in the United States breed crime instead of returning rehabilitated men to society. Some four out of every five felonies in the United States are committed by persons who already have had some contact with the criminal justice system. An FBI study has shown that two out of every three persons released from prison get into trouble with the law again. These statistics reflect deficiencies in our correctional system that can no longer be tolerated.

In November 1969, I proposed a 13-point program for improving correctional systems.[1] I asked that special attention be given to certain categories of offenders such as juveniles, women, addicts, the mentally ill, and hard-core criminals. The new "Part E" of this act authorizes programs that can treat these categories of offenders. It recognizes the essential task of improving our entire correctional system. It recognizes the need to provide correctional programs in the community as well as in the institution. It will permit great improvements in our ability to

[1] See 1969 volume, Item 437.

provide adequate probation and parole services in this country. I will ask that additional funds be appropriated to provide assistance in these areas.

In the first 2 years of the LEAA program we have taken basic and essential steps toward our goal of reducing crime in America. The bill I have signed today will enable us to do more.

Crime inflicts an unacceptable degree of anguish upon law-abiding Americans. The criminal, too, is an individual who must be rehabilitated and given the opportunity for a truly constructive life. Because the prevalence of crime affects each and every person in very human terms, I am determined to ensure that our efforts succeed.

NOTE: As enacted, the bill (H.R. 17825) is Public Law 91–644 (84 Stat. 1880).

3 Statement on Signing the Uniform Relocation Assistance and Real Property Acquisition Policies Act of 1970. *January* 2, 1971

I HAVE today signed S. 1, the uniform relocation assistance and land acquisition policies act of 1970. This bill provides for the uniform and equitable treatment of persons displaced from their homes, businesses, or farms by Federal and federally assisted programs, and it establishes uniform and equitable land acquisition policies for these programs. This legislation is the culmination of lengthy and extensive efforts by both the executive and legislative branches of Government to assure that all persons displaced by programs financed by the Federal Government would be treated alike and fairly.

This legislation is necessary to eliminate the serious inconsistencies that exist between Federal and federally assisted programs with respect to the amount and scope of payments, other assistance provided, and assurances of housing offered. It provides for a fair program for relocation payments, advisory assistance, assurance that comparable, decent, safe, and sanitary replacement housing will be available for displaced persons prior to displacement, economic adjustments, and other assistance to owners and tenants displaced from their homes, businesses, or farms. It establishes a uniform policy on real property acquisition practices for all Federal and federally assisted programs.

To assure that all Federal programs administer this law uniformly and equitably, I am taking steps through the new coordinating capability of the Office of Management and Budget to have implementing guidelines developed by an interagency task force. I am also directing the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development to develop criteria and procedures whereby all Federal and federally assisted programs can use authority provided in this legislation to construct replacement housing.

I am asking the heads of Federal agencies administering mortgage guarantee programs to determine how guarantees can be given to individuals who are displaced, who normally would be ineligible because of age or physical condition. I am directing the Office of Management and Budget to form a permanent relocation advisory group to review all problems encountered and to make recommendations to improve the relocation assistance

guidelines and to recommend legislative changes to improve the program.

In signing this legislation which provides comprehensive authority to help solve a very difficult problem, I must note that the bill contains some deficiencies which I believe warrant corrective action by the Congress. These include needed correction in the limits, computation formulas, and safeguards to assure that payments are fair but not excessive. Early in the next session, the executive branch will submit proposals to accomplish such changes.

NOTE: As enacted, S. 1 is Public Law 91-646 (84 Stat. 1894).

4 Memorandum of Disapproval of a Bill To Provide Special Retirement Benefits to Federal Firefighters. *January* 4, 1971

I HAVE withheld my approval from S. 578, a bill which would provide special retirement benefits to Federal firefighters.

This bill would enable Federal firefighters to retire earlier than most other Federal employees, on the grounds that their duties are especially hazardous. While I am appreciative of the daily skill, devotion to duty and courage shown by these firefighters, I do not believe that this preferential legislation is wise or justifiable. Certain aspects of the enrolled bill cause me serious concern:

—Federal firefighters already receive compensation for the hazards of their work in the form of higher levels of pay and higher retirement benefits.

—there is no demonstrated need for permitting Federal firefighters to retire at an earlier than normal age. Civil Service retirement laws have limited early retirement only to those occupations such as law enforcement, in which there is a unique need to maintain a young work force. This is not the case with Federal firefighters who, because they work in a controlled environment and are exposed to a lower incidence of fires, do not face the same degree of hazard as employees of municipal fire departments many of whom are eligible for early retirement.

—the bill would be an unwarranted extension of an undesirable and inequitable practice by providing preferential treatment through the retirement system to one particular group of employees with hazardous duties, when there are many other Federal employees whose occupations subject them to severe hazards but who would not be eligible for the benefits of this legislation.

I believe that barring compelling reasons for divergence, a generally uniform policy for all Federal retirement programs is desirable, equitable and just. I do not feel that in the case of Federal firefighters such divergence from this policy is warranted.

Therefore, I am unable to approve S. 578.

RICHARD NIXON

5 Statement Announcing Increase in Disaster Relief Assistance for Pakistan. *January 4, 1971*

THE AFTERMATH of the disaster that struck East Pakistan over a month ago continues to be a matter of deep concern. It was probably the worst natural disaster of this century, if not of recorded history, and the survivors still need help. As part of an international effort, this Government has contributed substantially to meeting initial emergency relief requirements. So far the United States has provided over $9 million in emergency relief assistance, including food, clothing, medical supplies, and associated transport and delivery services. U.S. helicopters in East Pakistan have airlifted over a million pounds of supplies directly to the disaster area.

Now that the immediate emergency requirements have been met, we are turning our full attention to sustaining the lives of the disaster victims and to aid them to once again lead productive lives.

Many of the survivors have lost virtually all of their possessions. Unless given the means to provide for themselves and to protect themselves, they may yet perish. Hundreds of thousands of tons of food grains have also been lost, and unless there is substantial help from abroad, there will be an even greater human tragedy in East Pakistan.

In response to appeals from the Government of Pakistan and the Secretary General of the United Nations, I am today announcing that the United States is increasing its grant of food grain to Pakistan to 200,000 metric tons as part of a major international effort. I hope that other countries, especially those in a position to provide rice, will join us in helping to feed the survivors until they are able to plant and harvest another crop.

Much more remains to be done, and we are committed to do what we can over the longer term to assist in the reconstruction and rehabilitation of the devastated area. The Agency for International Development, in its continuing work in Pakistan, will devote special attention in collaboration with the Government of Pakistan to meeting these longer term requirements. The U.S. voluntary agencies, who have already responded to the initial emergency needs, will also continue to serve long after the initial shock of the cyclones and floods has passed.

In this connection, I call the attention of all Americans to the campaign, which the privately organized Pakistan Relief Committee of prominent Americans will be pressing, to raise funds for use by the U.S. voluntary agencies operating in East Pakistan. If given the means, these organizations can help save the survivors by providing indispensable rehabilitation assistance in the form of such necessities as building materials to replace demolished homes and villages, seeds to grow new crops, farming tools for planting and harvesting, and cooking utensils.

Helping those in need is a deeply rooted American tradition, and I am sure that Americans will respond generously to the needs of the disaster-struck people of Pakistan.

6 "A Conversation With the President," Interview With Four Representatives of the Television Networks. *January* 4, 1971

THE PRESIDENT. Good evening, ladies and gentlemen, I wish to welcome the distinguished members of our television panel to the White House Library, and also to welcome all of you who are listening on television and on radio to this "Conversation with the President."

I was thinking when this program was announced that I would have an opening statement as I had, you will recall, 6 months ago when we met in California. But in view of the record of the 91st Congress and some of the talk that went on at the end, I thought that a filibuster would not be appreciated. So, we will go directly to your questions.

QUESTIONS

CHANGES IN THE PRESIDENT

[1.] JOHN CHANCELLOR (National Broadcasting Company). Sir, you have lived here in the White House and had this responsibility now for 2 years, and I wonder, Mr. President, how you have changed. We heard some talk and read in the papers during the last campaign about the "old Nixon," but all the historical evidence we have indicates that the Presidency changes men.

And I wonder what changes in yourself you have observed.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, the changes, Mr. Chancellor, are primarily not physical. Physically, as you probably noted from the doctor's report—which, incidentally, a President is required to have once a year, and probably that is a good thing—there have been no significant changes there. So, the job must agree with me.

The changes more are in an understanding of the job. When you come into office, the Presidency, one has ideas as to what he can accomplish. And he believes he can accomplish a great deal, even though he may have a Congress that is not part of his own party. Then, after he gets in, he finds that what he had hoped in terms of achieving goals will not be as great as the actual performance turns out to be.

So, I would say that in terms of how I have changed, it is in realizing that while we must set high goals and always seek them, that we must not become impatient. And we must plow forward, recognizing that in the end we are going to make some progress, if not all the progress that we had hoped.

I would say, in other words, at this time I am not disappointed in the record of the last 2 years in terms of some of the things we accomplished. But I have great hopes for the next 2 years, because I think I know better how to do the job. I think I know better how to deal with the Congress. I think I know better how to work with the Cabinet.

This is perhaps how I have changed. I know more. I am more experienced. I hope I do better.

ACHIEVEMENTS AND DISAPPOINTMENTS

[2.] ERIC SEVAREID (Columbia Broadcasting System). Mr. President, to be specific about the last 2 years, what do you

now think of as your primary achievement, specifically, and what is your primary failure or mistake?

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Sevareid, the primary achievement is, I think, in the field of foreign policy. We have not yet ended the war in Vietnam. I had hoped that we would have by this time. But we now see the end of Americans' combat role in Vietnam in sight. The fact, for example, that when we came in, American casualties in the last year of the previous administration were 14,500, the casualties this year are 4,200. That is still much too high. I will not be satisfied until I do not have to write any letter at all to the next of kin of somebody killed in Vietnam.

But we are on the way out and we are on the way out in a way that will bring a just peace, the kind of a peace that will discourage that kind of aggression in the future, and that will build, I hope, the foundation for a generation of peace. That is our major achievement in, I think, the foreign policy field.

Now, in the disappointment side, I think the greatest disappointment legislatively was the failure to get welfare reform. I believe this would have done more than anything else to deal with the problems of poverty in this country, the problems that many of our cities have and our States have, the problems of minority groups who have particular difficulties, insofar as welfare is concerned.

And then finally, if I could add one other—I would not like to limit it to just one—I think the greatest disappointment was in terms of the tragedies of Kent State, of Jackson State, and of the University of Wisconsin.[1]

It is true that over the past 2 years we have seen the war wind down. We have seen our cities not as inflamed as they were previously. We have seen the amount of violence going down some, but during this Administration to have had three such tragedies as that, left a very deep impression upon me. And I trust, that as we continue to have success in foreign policy, as we continue to solve the problems that people are interested in, that this kind of violence will begin to recede even more.

THE ECONOMY

[3.] NANCY H. DICKERSON (Public Broadcasting Service). Mr. President, I would like to ask you about one of your specific problems, namely the economy. Now, despite the initiatives that you have taken in the past few weeks, there is still widespread pessimism about unemployment. In fact, in places like California, there is a near panic psychology about joblessness. And your own economic advisers say that the basic trouble is a lack of confidence in the economy.

What do you plan to do to restore people's confidence in the economy before things get any worse than they now are?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, first, I believe that that confidence is being restored. Confidence is something that is a very intangible factor, as you know. It is how people feel at a particular moment. And people who may be very confident one month may have lack of confidence the next month.

---

[1] Four students were killed in a clash with National Guardsmen at Kent State University on May 4, 1970, two students were killed by police gunfire at Jackson State College on May 14, 1970, and a research assistant was killed at the University of Wisconsin when his laboratory was destroyed by a bomb on August 24, 1970.

But let's look at some of the facts. First, we find that insofar as our efforts to control inflation are concerned, that while the progress has not been as fast as we would have liked, that the Wholesale Price Index is half of what it was a year ago; the retail Consumer Price Index is turning down—not as much as we would like, but turning down. We are beginning to make real progress in fighting inflation.

Now second, in terms of the unemployment front, here we find that the rate of unemployment for this year will be approximately 4.9 percent. That is too high, even though we could perhaps point to the fact that over the past 20 years there have been only 3 peacetime years in which unemployment was less than 5 percent—the years were '55, '56, '57.

But on that score let me say that I take no comfort in that statistic. I know what unemployment does to somebody. I have seen an unemployed man come into my father's store. I have seen the look in his eye when he can't pay the bill. I have seen the look in his children's eyes when he can't pay that bill. And so I want a program which not only will turn down the inflation, in which we are now beginning to succeed, but one which will expand the economy, and this gets to the specifics that you have asked for.

What we are going to do first is to have an expansionary budget. It will be a budget in deficit, as will be the budget in 1971. It will not be an inflationary budget because it will not exceed the full employment revenues.

We also, according to Dr. Arthur Burns, will have an expansionary monetary policy, and that will, of course, be a monetary policy adequate to meet the needs of an expanding economy.

Now, in addition to that, we are going to have a program that we will present to the Congress, a program that I believe in terms of government reform will be the most significant reform that we have had perhaps in a century. And I think that this program will also have an indirect effect in restoring confidence in the economy.

If I can make a prediction—I made one last year and many people took me to task about it, about the fact that the stock market might go up and right afterwards it went down. But it did go up. And I made that prediction not because I was expecting people to buy stocks and urging them to do so without consulting a broker, whose judgment would be better than mine, but because I had faith in the long-term prospects of the American economy.

This is the prediction: 1971 is going to be a year of an expanding economy in which inflation, the rise in inflation, is going to continue to go down; in which unemployment, which is presently too high, will finally come under control and begin to recede. Nineteen hundred seventy-one, in essence, will be a good year, and 1972 will be a very good year.

Now having made that prediction, I will say that the purpose of this Administration will be to have an activist economic policy designed to control inflation but at the same time to expand the economy so that we can reduce unemployment, and to have what this country has not had for 20 years, and that is a situation where we can have full employment in peacetime without the cost of war and without the cost of excessive inflation.

THE PRESIDENT'S REACTION TO CRISIS

[4.] HOWARD K. SMITH (American Broadcasting Company). Mr. President, it

is so rare to induce a President to be introspective in public that I want to follow up Mr. Chancellor's opening question and ask you a question about yourself.

The best analysis of Richard Nixon I have ever read has been written by Richard Nixon in his book, the "Six Crises." In that book you say the easiest period in a crisis is actually the battle itself. The most dangerous period is the aftermath.

It is then with all resources spent and the guard down that you have to watch out for dulled reactions and faulty judgments, and you cite some cases where that actually happened to you.

Now the Presidency is the center of crisis. Do you think you have mastered that aftermath period now?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, one of the benefits, Mr. Smith, of course, of being in this position and having gone through so much before I got here, is that a man tends not to make as many mistakes. Now that doesn't mean that he doesn't make some mistakes. I have made my share, not only as President but before.

But on the other hand an individual knows himself so well that he paces himself properly, and if he goes through a period of very great tense activity, he will watch for the moment afterwards when in a moment of letdown he might make a mistake.

I don't mean that I have mastered it completely because I would be the first to admit that I am just as human as anybody else.

WAGE AND PRICE ACTIONS

[5.] MR. SEVAREID. Mr. President, you described what you want to happen with your new economy program in the new year, but what is going to be in it? You have sounded as though there is going to be nothing about controls of prices or wages, or anything of the sort. Is that what we are to assume from what you have just said?

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Sevareid, I do not plan to ask for wage controls or price controls. And I have noted, incidentally, that all of you, the four commentators here, have commented upon controls in one way or another. I know Mr. Smith, for example, has talked about the possibility of wage-price guidelines or a wage-price board, and Dr. Arthur Burns has hinted that possibly that might be something we should turn to.

I have considered all those options. I have decided that none of them at this time would work. And consequently I feel that the best course is to proceed, as I have suggested, with an expansionary budgetary policy, but one that will not exceed full employment revenues, and at the same time with a monetary policy that will be adequate to fuel a growing economy. I believe this will reduce unemployment, and also I believe it will do so at a time that inflation will continue to come down. Now, there is still the wage-price push and that is what you are referring to.

EMPLOYMENT OUTLOOK

[6.] MR. CHANCELLOR. Mr. Nixon, your budget is going to be a full employment budget—I understand that is going to be true—which will be deficit spending. In the very good year of 1972, which you have said you hope will happen, will you get unemployment down to 4 percent, which most people call full employment, which you have just referred to? Will it get down that far?

THE PRESIDENT. That certainly will be

our goal, Mr. Chancellor. I am not going to indicate what the number actually will be, because even though I am willing to predict on football games and also the stock market, to say what the unemployment number is going to be a year and a half from now, of course, would be completely irresponsible. But our goal is full employment by the end of 1972.

TAXES

[7.] If I could come back, Mr. Sevareid, to another point that you raised, I also should point out that we do not plan—despite the speculation that you have heard about—I do not plan to ask for new taxes. I have considered the possibility of the value-added tax as a substitution for some of our other taxes, and, looking to the future, we may very well move into that direction.

But this year, I do not think it is realistic to propose a new tax, either new taxes or tax reform, because I am going to give the Congress—and particularly the Ways and Means Committee of the House and the Finance Committee of the Senate—a very full plate in other areas requiring their attention, including, for example, welfare reform that I will submit again; and including also a new health program which will go to those committees; and including also a new, what we will call revenue sharing, going far beyond anything that we have suggested to date.

COMMUNICATION WITH THE UNEMPLOYED

[8.] MRS. DICKERSON. Mr. President, I would like to ask you a little bit more about the man who is unemployed, as you mentioned the man who went into your father's store. There are an awful lot of those people now and their unemployment insurance is running out, and the idea of expansionary programs just—it doesn't really quite get to them.

How do you convince that man who is out of a job and his wife has had to go back to work and his children are leaving college because they don't have any money—how do you convince him right now to keep cool because you think that things are going to be reasonably better in the future?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, one way you cannot convince him, I can say, Mrs. Dickerson, is simply by what we call jawboning. People are too smart to listen to even the President of the United States and be convinced that things are going to be better the day after tomorrow. The way he is convinced is by what happens.

For example, notice the area of southern California, which you referred to, the fact that we are going to have by far the biggest year in housing in the history of this country is going to have a rather dramatic effect on employment in southern California; the fact that in areas like the environment we are going to have expanding programs; the fact that in the proposals that we are making to the Congress, that these will have an effect in stimulating the economy.

Now, as this movement occurs, that man who is unemployed will see that the rolls go down. That is the only thing that is going to convince him, not any promises, not any talk.

I can only say that I am convinced that our policies are right. I am committed to an activist policy, and I will assure that man who is unemployed that the President of the United States knows what it means, and I intend to do everything that

I possibly can to see that our policies will deal with it and deal with it effectively.

DR. MOYNIHAN'S MEMORANDUM

[9.] MR. SMITH. We have so much to cover and so little time, I am going to dare to change the subject slightly. Dr. Moynihan, Pat Moynihan,[2] sent you the most widely publicized secret memorandum in the world which recommended a policy of "benign neglect" towards the racial problem. We know about that—we don't know what your answer or reaction was. What did you think about that?

THE PRESIDENT. He got a bad rap out of that, Mr. Smith. Dr. Moynihan is one of the most dedicated men to racial justice and to justice for all people that I have ever known. He was referred to when he was in the White House Staff as the White House liberal. Well, as a matter of fact, we have others who perhaps can also be so categorized. But he was enthusiastic.

He was, for example, the author of the family assistance welfare reform, which I believe will be, as he has said the greatest single social reform in the last 40 years, and which, incidentally, is the answer to "benign neglect."

When he talked about "benign neglect," he was not referring to neglecting black Americans or any Americans. What he was referring to was not to react to violence, not to react to attacks that might be made, verbal or others, by minority groups, black Americans, extremist groups.

His advice was to act on the problems but to have a policy—and he used the term "benign neglect" in a philosophical way and then the thing came out and everybody jumped on him and, of course, on me.

But I want to say I am proud that he was a member of our staff for 2 years. And his legacy—and I promised him the day that he left, the day before Christmas—his legacy will be that we are going to have welfare reform, and that every family in America with children will have a minimum income.

SUBURBAN INTEGRATION

[10.] MR. SMITH. I've known him since his youth when he was merely 6 feet tall so I know your assessment of him is correct.

We have been asked questions, as someone, I think, told you earlier, about—telegrams come to us and ask us to ask you questions. And I would like to put one to you from a telegram. In your last news conference you said that you opposed forced integration in the suburbs. Well, if a suburban community should use zoning and land use authority to block housing developments for minority groups—and, in fact, there are cases where it has happened—would you or would you not apply the Federal fair housing law to prevent that?

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Smith, what we are talking about here, first, is carrying out the law and then, second, going beyond the law.

I also said in that news conference, as you will remember, that I was pledged to carry out the law, this law and every other law, and that I would carry it out.

The law, as you know, does require that there can be no urban renewal funds, that there can be no Federal housing funds,

[2] Dr. Daniel P. Moynihan, Counsellor to the President 1969–70.

in any community that has a policy which is discriminatory insofar as fair housing is concerned. But now the law does not now require or, in my opinion, allow the Federal Government to have forced integration of suburbs. Now there is argument on this point.

I realize, for example—and I do listen to some of your commentaries and I read them all; I know Mr. Chancellor has very strong feelings on this—but I believe that that is the best course. We are going to carry out the law. We are going to open up opportunities for all Americans to move into housing, any housing that they are able to afford.

But, on the other hand, for the Federal Government to go further than the law, to force integration in the suburbs, I think is unrealistic. I think it will be counterproductive and not in the interest of better race relations.

COMMUNISM AND CHILE

[11.] MR. SEVAREID. Mr. President, if we could turn to some foreign problems for a while, for many years the leaders of your party held the Democratic administrations to blame for the loss to Communism of East Europe and of China. Do you feel that what has happened in Chile [8] now in any way bears upon your responsibility?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, what happened in Chile is not something that we welcomed, although, Mr. Sevareid, as you note, we were very careful to point out that that was the decision of the people of Chile, and that therefore we accepted that decision and that our programs with Chile—we still recognize the government, we still have our People-to-People program, we still have our Peace Corps programs—those programs would continue as long as Chile's foreign policy was not antagonistic to our interests.

Now, as far as what happened in Chile is concerned, we can only say that for the United States to have intervened—intervened in a free election and to have turned it around, I think, would have had repercussions all over Latin America that would have been far worse than what has happened in Chile.

I would say, finally, just as I told the Chilean Ambassador, when he paid his farewell call on me, I told him to tell the new President that as far as the United States was concerned that we recognized the right of any country to have internal policies and an internal government different from what we might approve of. What we were interested in was their policy toward us in the foreign policy field.

So, I haven't given up on Chile or on the Chilean people, and we are going to keep our contact with them.

VIETNAM

[12.] MR. CHANCELLOR. Mr. President, let me ask a question about Vietnam, as though nobody was going to ask you tonight.

THE PRESIDENT. I didn't expect that.

MR. CHANCELLOR. Last month you sent a number of bombers into North Vietnam and we were told that they bombed missile sites and antiaircraft installations because the North Vietnamese had fired on an American reconnaissance plane. But then a few days later, sir, we learned that apparently that opportunity was used to make very heavy bombing raids on sup-

[8] President Salvador Allende Gossens, elected with the support of a coalition of several leftist groups, took office on November 3, 1970.

ply lines in the Mu Gia Pass and in the passes from North Vietnam into Laos.

Now, I am confused because of all the talk about the understandings with North Vietnam, with the new criteria on the bombing you seem to have put on, and the fact that what many people got out of this one series of raids was that we have quite enlarged the reasons for our going north to bomb.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, Mr. Chancellor, I have no desire to resume the bombing of North Vietnam. We do not want to go back to the bombing of the strategic targets in North Vietnam, and we do not want even to bomb military targets unless it becomes necessary to do so—and this is the key point—to protect American forces.

Now, with regard to the understanding, let us see what it is.

First, there was an understanding. President Johnson said so, Dean Rusk said so, Clark Clifford said so, Mr. Harriman [4] said so. There was an understanding that after the bombing halt, that unarmed reconnaissance planes could fly over North Vietnam with impunity. We had to insist on that, because otherwise we would have no intelligence with regard to what they were planning on an attack.

So, when they fire on those planes I have given instructions that we will take out the SAM [surface-to-air missile] site or whatever it is that has fired upon them.

We will continue to do so; and if they say there is no understanding in that respect, then there are no restraints whatever on us, and so we must have that in mind.

Now, the other understanding is one that I have laid down. It is a new one. It is a new one which goes along with our Vietnamization program and our withdrawal program. I pointed out a moment ago what has happened in Vietnam, the fact that our casualties are a third of what they were 2 years ago, the fact that we have 265,000 out of Vietnam now, and that we now can see the end of the American combat role in Vietnam. We can see that coming.

We must realize, however, as Secretary Rogers pointed out in his news conference at the State Department a few days ago, that in May of this year most American combat forces, ground combat forces, will have been withdrawn from Vietnam. But there will still be 280,000 there left to withdraw.

Now, the President of the United States, as Commander in Chief, owes a responsibility to those men to see that they are not subjected to an overwhelming attack from the North. That is why we must continue reconnaissance, and that is why also, if the enemy at a time we are trying to deescalate, at a time we are withdrawing, starts to build up its infiltration, starts moving troops and supplies through the Mu Gia Pass and the other passes, then I, as Commander in Chief, will have to order bombing strikes on those key areas.

That was one of the reasons for this strike, and it will be done again if they continue to threaten our remaining forces in Vietnam. But only on those military targets, and only if necessary.

MR. CHANCELLOR. Does it bother you, sir, that this was not made as clear then as you have made it now?

---

[4] Dean Rusk, Secretary of State 1961–69; Clark M. Clifford, Secretary of Defense 1968–69; and W. Averell Harriman, head of the U.S. delegation to the Paris peace talks with North Vietnam 1968–69.

THE PRESIDENT. It has been made clear only since we began our withdrawal program. You see, this is a new policy.

MR. CHANCELLOR. Pardon me, sir. I meant in just a month ago, in December, when the first announcement came out.

THE PRESIDENT. I made it clear not just a month ago, but in November—you may recall that on November 3, when I made my speech on November 3,[5] I warned the North Vietnamese then that if at a time we were withdrawing they stepped up their infiltration and threatened our remaining forces, that I would retaliate.

I have said that on eight different occasions on national television and national radio. I have said it also in other messages to them that have gotten to them very loud and very clear. So there is no question about the understanding, and that was why we did this.

MR. SMITH. Sir, you talked about the situation through May of '71. I hate to ask a hypothetical question, but people do ask them.

THE PRESIDENT. Everybody else does.

MR. SMITH. And one of your own military advisers put it to me, not to get an answer from me because I don't know, just to tell me what was on his mind.

Suppose, say in 1972 our role is virtually eliminated, we are passive, we have few troops there, then the North Vietnamese attack and begin to come into control of the country. What is our policy then? Do we stand aside?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, Mr. Smith, our Vietnamization policy has been very carefully drawn up, and we are withdrawing in a measured way on the basis that the South Vietnamese will be able to defend themselves as we withdraw, and it is working. For example, did you realize that—I am sure you do because I think it was reported on your network—all of our naval forces now, combat forces, have been removed?

The South Vietnamese Navy has taken over. And so it will be in these other areas. When the time comes in 1972 that you speak of, it is possible, of course, that at that time North Vietnam might launch an attack, but I am convinced that at that time, based on the training program of the South Vietnamese, based on the watershed that occurred when they jelled and became a fighting, confident unit after the Cambodian intervention, I am convinced that they will be able to hold their own and defend themselves in 1972.

Now, that doesn't answer your hypothetical question, but I am simply not going to borrow trouble by saying that I expect them to fail. I don't think they will.

U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS

[13.] MRS. DICKERSON. Mr. President, I would like to ask you an overall question about our relations with the Communists. When you took office, you said this was going to be an era of negotiation, not confrontation. But in reality, haven't we returned to something of a cold war situation in regard to our relations with the Soviets? And how were our relations affected by their duplicity during the Middle East crisis when they helped rebuild the missile sites?

THE PRESIDENT. Mrs. Dickerson, when we talk about an era of negotiation rather than confrontation, we must remember that negotiation means exactly that. It means that you have two parties that have

[5] See 1969 volume, Item 425.

very great differences with regard to their vital interests, and the negotiation process will sometimes be very, very extended. It doesn't mean that we are going to have—negotiation does not necessarily mean agreement.

Now, let's be quite specific. Mr. Kosygin in his statement just a couple of days ago to the Japanese newspaperman, as you know, complained about our policy in Vietnam as he has previously; he complained about our policy in the Mideast.

We, of course, have been concerned about their movements in the Caribbean. We have been concerned by what you mentioned, their own activities in the Mideast; and, of course, we have been concerned about their continuing harassment from time to time of the Berlin access routes.

Nevertheless, on the plus side, let's see what has happened. Over the past 2 years the United States and the Soviet Union have been negotiating. We have been negotiating, for example, on arms control. Those negotiations will begin again in Helsinki* in March. I am optimistic that we will reach an agreement eventually. I do not suggest now that we are going to have a comprehensive agreement, because there is a basic disagreement with regard to what strategic weapons—what that definition is.

But we are now willing to move to a noncomprehensive agreement. We are going to be able to discuss that with the Soviets in the next round at Helsinki.*

I am not predicting that we are going to have an agreement next month or 2 months from now or 3 months from now. But in terms of arms control, we have some overwhelming forces that are going to bring about an agreement eventually, and it is simply this: The Soviet Union and the United States have a common interest in avoiding the escalating burden of arms—you know that they have even cut down on their SS–9 and big missile deployment lately, and development—and, second, the Soviet Union and the United States have an overwhelming common interest in avoiding nuclear competition which could lead to nuclear destruction.

So, in this field, I think we are going to make some progress. In the Mideast it is true we are far apart, but we are having discussions. On Berlin we are far apart, but we are negotiating. And finally, with regard to the rhetoric—and the rhetoric in international affairs does make a difference—the rhetoric, while it has been firm, has generally been non-inflammatory on our part and on theirs.

So, I am not without the confidence that I had at the beginning. I always realized that our differences were very great, that it was going to take time. But the United States and the Soviet Union owe it to their own people and the people of the world, as the super powers, to negotiate rather than to confront.

POSSIBILITY OF SUMMIT TALKS

[14.] MRS. DICKERSON. Mr. President, you always have put a certain value on personal diplomacy. Do you think this would be a good time for you personally to talk with some of the Russian leaders? Do you think it is a good time to have a summit, of sorts?

THE PRESIDENT. Mrs. Dickerson, as you know, I have had conversations with the Russian leaders through the years and, of course, with Ambassador Dobrynin, a

*The strategic arms limitation talks resumed in Vienna on March 19, 1971.

very skilled diplomat here in Washington, and with Mr. Gromyko when he was here.

Now, as far as another meeting is concerned, a meeting at a higher level, that is a matter that has been speculated about. If it appears at some time that a meeting of that type would be what is needed to bring about the final consummation in one of these areas, for example the SALT talks or the Mideast or the rest, we will certainly have such a meeting.

But unless there is the chance for progress, a summit talk is not in their interest and it is not in our interest, and not in the interest of world peace. It creates a false sense of security.

THE MIDDLE EAST

[15.] MR. SEVAREID. Mr. President, we have no formal alliance with the State of Israel. But isn't it really a fact that we are now so deeply committed morally to the Israelis that if they were in unmistakable danger of defeat wouldn't we have to intervene?

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Sevareid, to speculate on that question would not really be in the interests of peace in that area, as I see them at this point. Let's look how far we have come. We have had a cease-fire for 5 months, no killing, and for 3 or 4 years before that there were killings every day in that part of the world.

Second, as you know, the Israelis have gone back to the Jarring talks, and also the other side will be there. That doesn't mean that the prospect for an early agreement is very great. It does mean, however, that there is some chance that there will be discussion.

And, third, it seems to me that we must take into account the fact that the people in that part of the world, the people of Israel, the people in the countries that are Israel's neighbors, that they are overwhelmingly on the side of peace—they want peace. Their leaders are going to have to reflect it.

I think that we are at a critical time in the Mideast, a critical time over the next few months when we may get these talks off dead center, make some progress toward a live-and-let-live attitude. Not progress that is going to bring a situation where the Israelis and their neighbors are going to like each other. That isn't ever going to happen, perhaps. But where they will live with each other, where they won't be fighting each other.

Now, to speculate about what is going to happen in the event that Israel is going to go down the tube would only tend to inflame the situation with Israel's neighbors. And I won't do it.

MR. SEVAREID. Would it, Mr. President, calm the situation and help the prospects for peace if we did have some formal alliance with the State of Israel?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I don't believe so, because I think that what we are doing for Israel is so well known to them, and also incidentally it is quite well known to their neighbors, that it provides the balance that is needed.

We just provided a $500 million aid program for Israel. I say "aid"—they are going to be able to purchase weapons to that extent. We have made it clear time and again that we would help to maintain the balance of power in the area so that Israel would not be in a position that its neighbors could overwhelm them with their superior manpower or with the forces that they got from the Soviet Union. But I do not believe that a formal alliance would be—is either necessary or would be in the interest of peace in the area.

MR. SMITH. The kind of thing that bothers me is the tendency towards adventurism in that part of the world by the Russians. They are manning the SAM sites, and last summer—it wasn't widely publicized, but eight Israeli jets were on patrol, they ran into eight Egyptian MIG's, there was a fight and over the radio they heard they weren't Egyptians, they were Russian-piloted MIG's. The score was four Russians shot down.

But how frightfully dangerous that is. If the Russians had been tempted to retaliate, then it could have become terribly complicated.

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Smith, you will remember in the last 5 minutes of our conversation a year ago—we didn't get to the Mideast till the last 5 minutes—but I mentioned this very point, that the key to peace in the Mideast is held by several people: first, the parties involved, the Israelis and their neighbors, primarily the U.A.R. and Jordan; but second, the key to peace is in the hands of the Soviet Union, the United States, Great Britain, France—the four major powers.

If the Soviet Union does not play a conciliatory peacemaking role, there is no chance for peace in the Mideast. Because if the Soviet Union continues to fuel the war arsenals of Israel's neighbors, Israel will have no choice but to come to the United States for us to maintain the balance to which Mr. Sevareid referred. And we will maintain that balance.

That is why it is important at this time that the Soviet Union and the United States as well as Britain and France all join together in a process of not having additional arms and additional activities go into that area, because that will only mean that it produces the possibility of a future confrontation.

This is the time to talk. Let me say one other thing with regard to the talk. I would hesitate to give advice to other nations as they enter such delicate talks, but I am sure of this: These talks will have no chance for success if they are done in a public forum. It is very important that it be done quietly, because every time an offer is made or a suggestion is made, it is talked about in the parliaments of one country or another, on the radio—you can forget it. So if these talks can be quietly conducted, there is a chance for success, and in the end we want to remember that the United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain, and France must all be, and I think will be, in a position to guarantee whatever settlement is made through the United Nations.

CUBA AND THE SOVIET UNION

[16.] Mr. CHANCELLOR. Sir, can I take you to Cuba?

Last October, just before we all left with you on your European trip, one of your aides here spoke about the potential of a grave threat in Cuba if the Russians introduced what apparently was a submarine missile base, a tender to serve nuclear submarines. Can you tell us what is going on there? Apparently there is a tender there. Will we react if the tender services a submarine in the harbor, or what happens? Can you tell us about that?

THE PRESIDENT. I can tell you everything that our intelligence tells us, and we think it is very good in that area, because, as you know, we have surveillance from the air, which in this case is foolproof, we believe.

First, let us look at what the understanding is. President Kennedy worked

out an understanding in 1962 that the Russians would not put any offensive missiles into Cuba. That understanding was expanded on October 11 [13] of this [last] year by the Russians when they said that it would include a military base in Cuba, and a military naval base. They, in effect, said that they would not put a military naval base into Cuba, on October 11 [13].

Now, in the event that nuclear submarines were serviced either in Cuba or from Cuba, that would be a violation of the understanding. That has not happened yet. We are watching the situation closely.

The Soviet Union is aware of the fact that we are watching it closely. We expect them to abide by the understanding. I believe they will.

MR. CHANCELLOR. Could we be close to a crisis, sir, if they begin doing that?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't believe that they want a crisis in the Caribbean, and I don't believe that one is going to occur, particularly since the understanding has been so clearly laid out and has been so clearly relied on by us and as I stated here today.

FEDERAL-STATE-LOCAL RELATIONS

[17.] MRS. DICKERSON. Mr. President, could we switch from foreign affairs for a moment to some other areas? I would like to ask you a question that involves whether this government really is going to be able to govern in the future. It involves how you cut up the money, how you slice the pie. Now the cities are crying; the mayors say they can't run them. They don't have enough money to pay their teachers or their firemen. The State Governors say the States are near bankruptcy.

How soon are you going to be able to reverse the flow of money and power and responsibility from Washington back to the States and the cities that you said you wanted to do?

THE PRESIDENT. Mrs. Dickerson, if we get cooperation from the next Congress, we are going to begin to make a breakthrough in that area in this historic next Congress, the 92d. That will be the major thrust of my State of the Union Message, how we can take this great government of ours—and it is a great government—but how we can give the people of this country an opportunity to make decisions with what that government should be and what it does, and what kind of activities it should engage in. That is why when I referred to revenue sharing a moment ago in answering Mr. Sevareid, I pointed out that we were going to have a program that went far beyond any proposal that we have made to this date; and it is one that will be, I believe, widely supported by the Governors, by the mayors, and I trust by the Congress, because, you know, we tried to make a breakthrough when I submitted this in August of last year. The Congress didn't even have hearings on it.

This time we expect to get hearings, and this is one area where Mr. Connally can help.

PRESIDENTIAL ADVOCACY OF PROGRAMS

[18.] MRS. DICKERSON. I know that, sir, but, you know, Dr. Moynihan when he left said one of the criticisms was the impression got around that you really weren't behind some of these programs that you had enunciated, and many of the Senators and Congressmen felt that you hadn't really given your personal push to it and that is why it failed to get any hearing at all.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, Mrs. Dickerson, evaluating what a President is behind, of course—that is fair game. It is done with all Presidents and I have no complaints about members of the press and others who do this, or members of my own staff.

But there is nothing that I feel more strongly about than the proposal for welfare reform and the proposal for revenue sharing, the new one that I will be submitting to the Congress.

One of the reasons is that if we do not have it we are going to have States, cities, and counties going bankrupt over these next 2 to 3 years and we are going to have massive problems in those areas. And I believe as the Congress sees that crisis they will act on it.

Let me give you an example with regard to welfare reform. In 1967 there were 660,000 people on welfare in New York City. In 1971 there were 1,200,000 people on welfare in New York City. It just goes up and up and up.

Now, if anybody wants to defend the present welfare program let them be against ours. We are going to propose it again. We have a commitment from the Congress to act on it or at least get a vote on it early in the next session. And if we can get revenue sharing with it, this crisis of the cities, local government—we at least will have a start on an answer to it.

CONGRESSIONAL RELATIONS

[19.] MR. SMITH. A great deal depends on your getting Congress to act. Now a liberal Republican Senator has recently said to me that he has rarely been called to confer with you. A liberal Congressman said he has trouble seeing you. I compare this with your predecessor's having Congressmen and Senators in droves and in small groups here every week of his Administration.

Do you think that you have nursed your Congressional relations well enough?

THE PRESIDENT. Well now, Mr. Smith, in regard to how many droves of Congressmen and Senators have been down there, I think you will find—and the record, I think, is going to be put out in the next 2 or 3 days because, you know, at the end of 2 years people ask for these statistics—I have seen more Congressmen and Senators than any of my predecessors saw, for a good reason. I didn't have a majority.

You see, in the case, for example, of President Johnson he could call the leaders down and they could get the program through. In the case of President Kennedy he could do the same thing. In the case of President Eisenhower, whereas he had a Republican Congress only in his first 2 years, in the last 6 years he had Vice President—he was then the Majority Leader—Johnson and Sam Rayburn and they could deliver the Democratic vote. I do not have that situation.

You do not have that kind of leadership on the Democratic side or, for that matter, on the Republican side in the United States Senate. No fault of the leaders, but because they are a group of individualists.

But to come more precisely to your question, there is nothing that I am going to devote more of my time to than in this field of revenue sharing and this field of welfare reform which will be in the Ways and Means Committee of the House and in the Finance Committee of the Senate—nothing that the new Secretary of the

Treasury, Mr. Connally, is going to devote more of his time to, than getting that through.

I noticed, incidentally, because I was interested in your reactions to the Connally appointment, that some wondered what good is it going to do. They were thinking that it had to do with Texas politics in '72. Let me be quite candid. We need, I need, this country needs John Connally as Secretary of the Treasury and in this Cabinet because he is persuasive, he is strong, and he will be effective in helping us get through the Democratic Congress the kind of measures that we need in this domestic field that we haven't been able to get through over the past 2 years. I am confident he will do that.

THE TICKET IN 1972

[20.] MR. CHANCELLOR. Mr. President, I feel impelled to break in here and ask you a question about the ticket in '72 because you have heard as many rumors as we have, I am sure, that John Connally is being groomed to be your vice presidential running mate. And I know you are not going to talk to us about that, sir, at this stage, but would you absolutely now rule out any Democrat running with you in '72? Could you go that far?

THE PRESIDENT. I am not even going to comment as to what my own plans are, Mr. Chancellor. You, of course, knew that when you asked the question, but it was proper to ask it because all of our listeners and viewers would have said, "These people are being soft on Nixon."

You would lose your jobs if you started doing that.

Actually, let me say that this is public service time. I know there is an interest in politics. As a President, I am the leader of my party. That is one of my jobs. And in a campaign, I try to lead my party. But this is a non-campaign year and now I am going to wear my hat as President of the United States and that is where I will be on this program and on other programs for the balance of '71.

THE 1970 CAMPAIGN

[21.] MR. SEVAREID. Mr. President, now that we are into the subject of politics——

THE PRESIDENT. You can still ask the questions, but I may not give you the answers.

MR. SEVAREID. ——if you had the November election to do over again, what would you do differently?

THE PRESIDENT. I never try to second-guess elections. And here we get back to Mr. Smith's point a moment ago, or my answer to his question. After what happened to me in the 1960 elections, when I thought of what could I have done differently to have changed 9,000 votes in Illinois, or 8,000 votes in Missouri, or 10,000 votes in South Carolina, or 3,000 votes in New Mexico—I didn't go through that agony then when the national election was involved and, frankly, I am not going to go through it now with regard to the '70 elections.

I will only say this: I believe that I had a responsibility, having made certain pledges to the people when I ran for President, to work for the election of Senators, and I campaigned particularly for Senators, as you know, Senators who would support me in those policies. Sometimes we succeeded; sometimes we failed. Now that campaign is over and I am going to work with those that got in despite my opposition and those who went with us as best we possibly can.

I want to also say one other thing, and I want to give credit to the men—you, of course, were generally not on the campaign tour, but representatives—Herb Kaplow was on from NBC and others from your networks, Jarriel,[6] and so forth. But they very properly reported that in the 22 States that I visited, I never attacked any of the men, the Senators, that were the incumbents.

I simply went in on the basis of saying that we had a choice between two men, one of whom was pledged to support the President on some basic issue and one of whom honestly felt otherwise, and I asked the people for support. I think that was my responsibility. I would do that again.

MR. SEVAREID. One very specific tactical matter.

THE PRESIDENT. Sure.

MR. SEVAREID. Do you regret the rebroadcast of the Phoenix speech about the San Jose incident? [7]

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, I think that was a mistake. As a matter of fact, we apparently felt at that time, that the speech said some things that needed to be said, but having it rebroadcast the night before election is not something that I would have perhaps planned had I been, shall we say, running the campaign. Incidentally, when I am the candidate, I run the campaign.

MR. SMITH. It was a technically bad tape, too. You could hardly hear you on it.

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, it was technically bad, and I do not think it was the right speech to make the night before election. I would have preferred to go on, as you know I usually do, in a quiet studio type of program, talking quietly to the American people about the choice and then letting them make the choice, and if I am in another campaign, that is the way it will be the night before election. We won't run that kind of tape again.

THE PRESIDENT'S HOPES FOR AMERICA

[22.] MRS. DICKERSON. Speaking of your campaigns, when you made the kickoff address in New Hampshire in '68, your first speech I remember——

THE PRESIDENT. You couldn't be that old.

MRS. DICKERSON. Oh, yes I am. I was even there when you were running for Vice President. But anyway, you made a speech about how the next President had to give this country "the lift of a driving dream."

Well, as yet, many people have failed to perceive the lift of a driving dream. And I wondered if you could articulate that dream for us briefly and tell us how you plan to specifically get it across to the people in the next 2 years.

THE PRESIDENT. Mrs. Dickerson, before we can really get the lift of a driving dream, we have to get rid of some of the nightmares we inherited. One of the nightmares is a war without end. We are ending that war. And one of the good things incidentally about the campaign of 1970 was that the war was not an issue. That is good. The American people finally realized that we are ending the war.

When I appeared on this program, you may recall, in July with you, at that time a poll had just been taken of college students, and indicated that 4 million college students, because of their disenchantment about the war in Cambodia and the rest,

[6] Tom Jarriel, ABC News.

[7] See 1970 volume, Item 415.

71-234—72——5

were going to campaign for the peace candidates in the November elections. They didn't.

That doesn't mean that they are for war, but they were—or some way had become convinced that we were sincerely trying to end the war. We are ending it.

Second, we have got to quiet this country down at home. We made some progress in that respect—not enough.

Third, we have to make that delicate transition from a wartime to a peacetime economy. The fact that 1,700,000 Americans have been let out of defense plants and out of the armed services, that has contributed to this unemployment to which we referred. But I think most Americans want this Administration to succeed in achieving not only the end of a war but a peace that will last, something we haven't had—a peace for a generation—and not only the ending of a war, and a peace that will last, but a new kind of prosperity, an era of opportunity for all Americans.

This is why I believe that we are now right at the breakpoint. The war is beginning to end. We are seeing the economy moving through the difficult period of transition. We see the unemployment, I believe, will move down over the period of 1971—not as fast as we would like, but it is going to go down. Inflation is going to be checked. And then we can move forward in the field of welfare reform, in the field of returning decisionmaking power to the people of this country, and we can move forward on great programs in the environment.

For example, did you happen to see the cover story in Life this week on youth in America? Three-fourths of them, I noticed, said that they would not work for a plant that was guilty of polluting the environment. That shows you that this is an issue.

And incidentally, I will give credit—our Democrat friends are just as interested in it as we are—but we are in and we are pushing it.

But if we can get this country thinking not of how to fight a war, but how to win a peace—if we can get this country thinking of clean air, clean water, open spaces, of a welfare reform program that will provide a floor under the income of every family with children in America, a new form—a new approach to government, reform of education, reform of health—if those things begin to happen, people can think of these positive things, and then we will have the lift of a driving dream. But it takes some time to get rid of the nightmares. You can't be having a driving dream when you are in the midst of a nightmare.

THE YOUNG VOTER

[23.] MR. SEVAREID. Mr. President, speaking of the young, we are now going to have the 18-, 19-, 20-year-olds voting for Federal elections. What political party or philosophy of government do you think this may on balance benefit?

THE PRESIDENT. At the present time it would benefit, referring to this Life piece—because it was based on a poll, I understand—it would benefit the Democratic Party more than the Republican Party. But the significant thing about the poll—and I quote this poll only because it was taken by someone else, because I don't quote any if I have taken them—but the significant thing about this poll is that it showed that 40 percent of the 18- to 21-year-old voters had no opinion. They had no party.

So this means that the young people of America are a very volatile group, that they are a group that both parties are going to have to go out and have to try to win. I think we have just as good a shot at them as others do, but we don't have the confidence of young people that some in the other party have at this time, because we have all the problems and we are responsible for them.

But if we can end the war, if we can end the draft, if we can bring jobs and equal opportunity without the cost of war and without the cost of a rising inflation, I believe that young people as they see our very imaginative programs for reforming government, for the environment, and the rest, that they will be attracted to our party not as a party, but to our principles beyond party.

THE NEW FEDERALISM

[24.] MR. CHANCELLOR. Mr. President, you signed two bills last week, one setting Federal standards on water pollution, another Federal standards on job safety. How do you reconcile the necessity for Federal standards in this country with your avowed desire to return some of this power to the people?

THE PRESIDENT. You cannot return all the power to the people, Mr. Chancellor. For example, social security is an area that should be handled at the Federal level. And in the case of job standards, these things cross State lines. You see they involve interstate commerce, and that is why that can't be returned to the people.

But if you will listen to my State of the Union Message—I have been working on it for the past month—this program will separate out those programs that must be kept by the Federal Government, and have others go to the people.

MR. SMITH. Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, excuse me, we have just about run out of time. And I don't think we have asked one-third the questions we wanted to, or had time to get one-third the answers. But on behalf of my colleagues I thank you very much for this conversation.

THE PRESIDENT. Thank you very much, Mr. Smith. And I would like to say that since you said exactly that same thing 6 months ago, that means you got one-third 6 months ago, one-third tonight, so we will give you another shot about 6 months from now, if you would like.

NOTE: The interview was broadcast live on radio and television beginning at 9 p.m. from the Library at the White House.

A previously televised "Conversation with the President" on foreign policy, which was referred to several times during this interview, took place on July 1, 1970 and is Item 208 in the 1970 volume.

7 Statement About the Legislative Record of the 91st Congress. *January* 5, 1971

THE 91st Congress of the United States has now passed into history. Much useful and valuable, even historic legislation, was enacted—responsive in whole or part to the initiatives and recommendations of the Administration. Yet, regrettably, this Congress will be remembered and remarked upon in history not so much for what it did, but for what it failed to do.

With the rising national demand for

governmental reform and innovation in the arena of social policy, with a multiplicity of Administration initiatives before it, the 91st Congress had the opportunity to write one of the most productive and memorable chapters in the history of American Government. That opportunity was lost. The Nation was the loser.

In the final month and weeks of 1970, especially in the Senate of the United States, the Nation was presented with the spectacle of a legislative body that had seemingly lost the capacity to decide and the will to act. When the path was finally cleared, vital days had been lost, and major failures insured.

In probably no month in recent memory did the reputation of the whole Congress suffer more in the eyes of the American people, than in the month of December 1970. In these times when the need to build confidence in government is so transparent, that was good neither for the Congress nor the country. Let us hope that it never takes place again.

Even a partial listing of the vital legislation rejected, or left unenacted, by the departing 91st Congress provides a yardstick of just how far this Congress fell short of the mark of becoming the Great Congress—that might have been. Left unenacted were:

—our proposal to consolidate the complex and complicated grant-in-aid system, jerry-built over the years of the Federal Government

—the historic proposal, endorsed by both party platforms in 1968, to share Federal revenues on an annual basis with the revenue-starved States, counties, and cities

—the family assistance plan, the most far-reaching social reform in four decades, to overhaul America's chaotic and costly welfare system by providing a floor of dignity under every family and the incentives for Americans to begin to move off welfare rolls.

Rejection of these reforms is nothing short of tragic at a time when the burden of welfare bears down with increasing severity upon States and municipalities confronted, all, with a mounting fiscal crisis.

But there were other excellent proposals, excellent ideas, that died of neglect in the 91st Congress:

—the emergency school aid proposal to assist those school districts bearing the special burdens of the rapid desegregation now underway

—the proposal for establishment of a National Institute of Education

—the Higher Education Opportunity Act itself, a long overdue reform

—pay increases for enlisted men in the armed services, a first step toward realization of our goal of zero draft calls and an army composed entirely of volunteers

—added reforms to make selective service more equitable and just for young Americans

—half a dozen separate measures dealing with control of pollution and threats to the environment

—four separate bills designed to help protect the consumer from victimization

—vitally needed Administration legislation for helping the Nation deal with national emergency strikes, a recurring and dangerous phenomenon

—the proposed increase in social security benefits that died in the very last days of this Congress

—the proposed cost-of-living escalator

in social security to provide permanent protection to old-age recipients from the rages of inflation
—trade legislation, giving the Administration authority over textile quotas, providing incentive programs for American exports, and repealing the American Selling Price
—electoral college reform
—national bail reform legislation
—wagering tax amendments
—authority to tax airline tickets to pay for protection against hijackings
—additional legislation to deal with the distribution of pornographic and obscene materials
—proposals to assist those who are perhaps America's most needy minority, the American Indian
—the proposal for establishment of a Federal City Bicentennial Development Corporation.

These are but some of the measures. All of them were worthwhile; none of them was enacted.

Congress' failure to enact them, however, in no way diminishes the desirability of the Administration's commitment. When the 92d Congress convenes, these and others will be presented for action, as the first order of Administration business.

Further, the Congress may wish to consider revision of the "turn-of-the-century" work schedules and procedures that now obtain on Capitol Hill. While there are many excuses for Congressional inaction—there are no good reasons.

Hopefully, the 92d Congress will pick up where the 91st faltered; hopefully, it can succeed where the 91st did not; hopefully, it will become the Great Congress that the 91st Congress did not become.

To the Members of the 92d Congress I say: Let us open the New Year in a new spirit. Let us mutually commit ourselves to work, and work hard, for the record of achievement which we all can share. Let us thereby build the kind of society we all desire for our children and grandchildren. To that end, I pledge the full cooperation of this Administration.

8 Statement on Signing the District of Columbia Revenue Act of 1970. *January* 6, 1971

IT IS with special satisfaction that I have signed the District of Columbia Revenue Act of 1970. This legislation represents a significant step forward in making the District truly a city of which all Americans can be proud.

While the Congress did not enact the formula approach that I recommended for determining the Federal payment, it did enact a substantial and appropriate increase which will enable the District to meet its obligations and to move ahead in improving vital government services. These additional funds were especially needed in such important areas as narcotics treatment and the fight against crime, a struggle that has now reached a welcome turning point in our Nation's Capital.

I also note with approval the granting of authority to the City Council to fix rates for water and sewer services. This carries forward on the commitment I made last year to see greater responsibility delegated to the District Government. The bill also contains additional measures to promote

economy and improve efficiency in the District Government, such as allowing long-term leasing and allowing the use of HEW standards for milk inspection. These measures are important if the District is to improve its effectiveness and keep costs within available resources.

In my April 28, 1969, message on the District of Columbia, I said that it was my aim to increase the responsibility and efficiency of the Government of the District of Columbia. The steps taken in this bill are part of this effort, which I am hopeful will also be carried forward by the recently established Commission on the Organization of the Government of the District of Columbia.

It is unfortunate that actions on this bill came too late to allow appropriation action by the 91st Congress on the funds requested for the Washington Technical Institute and the Federal City College. In light of the increased authorization provided in this bill, I am confident that the new Congress will act early in the next session to provide the appropriations necessary to expand the capacities of these important institutions. Such action will provide needed educational opportunity for the youth of the District and prove a sound investment in the future.

NOTE: The statement was released at San Clemente, Calif.

As enacted, the bill (H.R. 19885), approved January 5, 1971, is Public Law 91–650 (84 Stat. 1930).

9 Statement About the Special Foreign Assistance Act of 1971. *January* 6, 1971

I HEARTILY welcome the prompt and decisive action of the Congress in passing H.R. 19911. The additional foreign assistance funds which I requested only a little over a month ago are vital to the security of the United States and to the success of our foreign policy. They are critical to the success of the Nixon Doctrine and to our efforts to achieve a peaceful solution in the Middle East.

The funds made available by this bill represent major support by the United States for our friends and allies who are assuming greater responsibility in the building of the peaceful and stable world we all seek in the 1970's. They enable us to provide the assistance required by nations which, with our encouragement, are assuming a greater burden for their own defense, and thereby enabling us to reduce our direct overseas involvement.

I am particularly pleased by the consultation and accommodation between Congress and the Administration demonstrated in the legislative history of this bill. America's world leadership depends upon our being able to put aside partisan differences when the national interest is at stake and to band together to demonstrate the unity of purpose so vital to the success of our foreign policy. We have done so on this legislation.

NOTE: The statement was released at San Clemente, Calif.

As enacted, H.R. 19911, approved January 5, 1971, is Public Law 91–652 (84 Stat. 1942).

10 Statement Announcing Changes in Administration of the Depreciation Provisions of the Tax Laws. *January* 11, 1971

TODAY I have approved three important changes in the administration of the depreciation provisions of the tax laws which will

—help create jobs for the unemployed as well as young people joining the labor force;

—promote the economic growth which is essential if this Nation is to meet its domestic and international responsibilities;

—increase the competitiveness of U.S. goods abroad, thus strengthening our balance of payments; and

—reduce significantly the complexity and uncertainty of the application of an important section of the Internal Revenue Code.

Briefly summarized, these highly technical changes will:

1. Authorize the Internal Revenue Service to accept depreciation based on lives for business equipment acquired after 1970 that are not more than 20 percent shorter nor 20 percent longer than the present "guideline lives" fixed by Treasury in July 1962.

2. Terminate the complex "reserve ratio test" for determining limits on depreciation allowances.

3. Provide an alternative to the present "convention" which permits deduction of half the annual depreciation in the year in which equipment is placed in service. Under the modified "convention," a full year's depreciation for assets acquired after 1970 will be accepted for assets placed in service in the first half of a year; one-half year's for those in the second half of a year.

These actions will reduce business tax payments by $2.6 billion in this calendar year, rising to a peak of about $4 billion in 1976, and thereafter gradually declining. In evaluating the impact of these tax actions on economic activity, it should be remembered that as of January 1, 1971, almost $7 billion in individual income tax cuts had already occurred as a result of the Tax Reform Act of 1969.

I want to emphasize that these short-run revenue reductions announced today are not so large as to prevent us from maintaining balance, now and in fiscal year 1972, between budget spending and the revenues that would be generated in a full employment economy. Most importantly, they can be expected to have a substantial "feedback" effect. Past experience demonstrates that depreciation liberalization will stimulate the pace of spending on new plant and equipment, which has been leveling off, and thus create jobs. As a result, Federal tax collections in the long run will increase. The estimates of revenue loss may, therefore, be regarded as maximum estimates.

Sound depreciation reform to create jobs and growth has a long history of bipartisan support. In 1961, the first year of the Kennedy Administration, Under Secretary of the Treasury Henry H. Fowler supported the impending program for major depreciation reform as a stimulant to economic recovery (unemployment was then about 6½ percent of the

labor force), as a means of increasing competitiveness of U.S. goods in world markets, and as a major force for longrun economic growth.

Several months later, in announcing broad revisions in depreciation guidelines, Secretary of the Treasury Douglas Dillon pointed to the job-creating impact of rising investment. In this respect, economists have long recognized that, in a highly industrialized society such as ours, each productive worker has to be equipped, in effect, with tools and machinery costing many thousands of dollars.

Depreciation reform is especially desirable today when we are requiring the diversion of significant amounts of business capital into the financing of pollution control facilities and away from those investments which would ordinarily go to increasing material productivity.

The specific administrative changes which I have approved are consistent with the recommendations of the President's Task Force on Business Taxation. I appointed this task force in September 1969 and asked the members to "concentrate on the role of business taxes in promoting growth, full employment, and a strong progressive economy." The task force included leading businessmen, lawyers and accountants, economists, a former U.S. Senator, and two former Secretaries of the Treasury.

A liberalization of depreciation allowances is essentially a change in the timing of a tax liability. The policy permits business firms to reduce tax payments now, when additional purchasing power is needed, and to make up these payments in later years.

Clearly, therefore, these steps toward meaningful depreciation reform are important for the present—in light of current economic conditions—and for the future—to maintain the growth which has made this Nation the strongest and most productive the world has ever known.

NOTE: The statement was released at San Clemente, Calif.

On the same day, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing on the depreciation provisions of the tax laws by Charls E. Walker, Under Secretary, and John S. Nolan, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Tax Legislation, Department of the Treasury.

11 Message to American Jewish Leaders About Recent Acts of Violence Against Soviet Facilities in the United States. *January* 11, 1971

ALL DECENT and law-abiding Americans share your outrage at recent criminal acts of violence against Soviet facilities in this country. You may be certain also that this Administration, reflecting the traditional liberties upon which this country was founded, joins with you in urging freedom of emigration as explicitly provided in Article 13 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and in its commitment to cultural and religious freedom at home and abroad.

But acts of violence and lawlessness such as those that have occurred in this country lately will not advance our common cause; they are, as you say, morally wrong and injure that very cause.

This Administration, in cooperation with local authorities, will use every means at its disposal to prevent such acts

and to bring to justice those who perpetrate them.

RICHARD NIXON

NOTE: The message was released at San Clemente, Calif.

The text of a telegram from 73 Jewish leaders, released with the President's message, read as follows:

Dear Mr. President:

We are outraged by the bomb explosion outside the Soviet cultural building in Washington. Such irresponsible and criminal actions must be stopped. While we are united in our conviction that those Jews in the Soviet Union, who wish to emigrate should be allowed to do so, and those who wish to remain should be permitted religious and cultural freedom, we are equally united in our abhorrence of these acts of violence. American Jews strongly condemn such criminal acts for they are morally wrong and injure the cause of Soviet Jews and undermine the cause of democracy in America.

12 Remarks to a Student-Faculty Convocation at the University of Nebraska. *January* 14, 1971

Mr. President, Mr. Chancellor, Governor Exon, Senator Curtis, Senator Hruska, all of the distinguished guests on the platform, and students, members of the faculty of the University of Nebraska, and I also understand that we have guests here from Nebraska Wesleyan and from Union College, and friends of the University of Nebraska:

I appreciate the honor that has been extended to me to visit this campus, and the opportunity to pick up a raincheck in effect, because Secretary Hardin, 2 years ago on the 100th anniversary of this great university, invited me to come to the university at the request of the university officials,[1] and because I had another engagement at that time I was unable to do so. I told him then that sometime while I was in office I would come. I wasn't quite sure I could make it. I am glad I could make it this year in view of what has happened.

And that allows me, before making this award, to tell a little story. You will recall that from time to time, because I am somewhat of a football fan, that I have called football coaches or captains after a great victory in a significant game. I read a story in one of the Nebraska papers to the effect that immediately after the Orange Bowl game some of the team were gathered around the phone waiting for the call from the White House. It never got through. As a matter of fact, I was not able to make the call because while I had seen the last quarter of the game, which was very exciting—wasn't that something, that last quarter?—in any event—it shows what the defense means—but in any event, when we came to the end of the long day of football that day, I had to go on to another engagement. I checked with the White House operator and asked if it might be possible to get through to the dressing room down in Miami. Usually the President can get through on the telephone. This time the operator said, "Well, it will be just a moment, Mr. President. All the circuits are busy." She said, "Everybody from Nebraska is calling."

I knew that was the case, and I knew that this great team and the University of Nebraska have pride for the whole State, for all the institutions of this State,

[1] Secretary of Agriculture Clifford M. Hardin was chancellor of the University of Nebraska at Lincoln from 1954 to 1969.

71-234—72——6

whatever they may be, and all the people of this State. And I am, therefore, honored to be here to participate in your pride in that team.

Now having said that, I want you to know that I have gotten into a little trouble over the past couple of years in picking number one teams. In 1969—or '70, I should recall, the 100th anniversary of college football, you will remember that before the bowl games I said that Texas was number one, and since then I have never been able to go to Pennsylvania without a passport.

This year I didn't make that mistake because I sought and got very good advice. I was in Omaha in the last weeks of October. At that time Nebraska was number three in the Associated Press poll. And I had already been to Columbus, Ohio, where everybody said Ohio State was number one. I was in Indiana where everybody told me that Notre Dame was number one. I was in Texas where everybody told me that Texas was number one, and I was going to be in California where, of course, all Californians thought that Stanford was number one. And in Arizona, Barry Goldwater said Arizona State was number one.

So with Roman Hruska and Carl Curtis, I said, "What should I do?" They thought a bit and finally Carl spoke up and he said, "You know, Mr. President, I would wait until after the bowl games." That was vision, real vision.

So in this year of football, a year of many great teams, a year in which many can perhaps rightfully claim to be number one, to come to Nebraska, a great university clearly apart from its great records in the field of athletics, to come here to the only major college team that was undefeated, and to make an award is something that I am very proud to do, proud to recognize this university, to recognize its coach, to recognize its co-captains, to recognize its fine members of the team, and in so doing to present the plaque from the President of the United States.

Consequently, at this time, for the official presentation, I would like to have the coach, Bob Devaney, to step forward. [*Applause*] You ought to run for something in this State.

And now the co-captains, Jerry Murtaugh and Dan Schneiss, if they would step forward to represent the team.

I shall now read the plaque which I understand will be put in one of the lockers. But in any event [*laughter*]—the plaque's wording is as follows:

"The University of Nebraska 1970 football team, Champions of the Big Eight Conference. Victor in the 1971 Orange Bowl, and picked by the Associated Press Number One Team of the Nation."

[At this point, the President presented the plaque to the coach of the University of Nebraska football team, Bob Devaney, who spoke briefly. The President then resumed speaking.]

And now if I could come to the other part of my assignment, as was pointed out by your president a moment ago, I wanted to use this opportunity to address the great student body of this university and your guests about some of the problems we have in this Nation, common problems, for younger people and older people as well.

In beginning my remarks, it is quite clear from the feeling in this audience that this is a very exciting time for this university. You are beginning the second hundred years of a very great tradition, and you are beginning it as champions.

You can all take pride in your great

team. It is a splendid thing to be champions. But a more splendid thing, I believe, is the process by which a team becomes champion, the long struggle through defeat, through doubt, and then on to victory.

There is satisfaction here, and for all of us there are valuable lessons as well. For as vital as the understanding we gain in the classroom is the deeper understanding of ourselves that comes from competing against others and competing against ourselves.

In these endeavors, we go beyond awareness of what we are and we discover a higher understanding of what we can be if we know and have the courage and if we have the will.

It is in this way that we learn to believe in our dreams.

Nothing matters more to the future of this Nation than insuring that our young men and women learn to believe in themselves and believe in their dreams, and that they develop this capacity—that you develop this capacity, so that you keep it all of your lives.

As this great university looks to a new century so does our Nation. In this decade we Americans will celebrate the anniversary of the greatest experiment in liberty the world has ever known. It has succeeded for what, in the year 1976, will be 200 years. But like the continued success of this university, the continued success of the American experiment depends on one thing: on the qualities of heart and mind and spirit that our young people bring to both.

This Nation will not run on inertia. It could fail in one generation or it can last another 100 years or another 1,000 years. The answer lies in what you and your generation bring to the task of being an American and what you pass on to others.

These depend, in turn, upon what your Nation gives to you and gives to you now. And if we are to benefit fully from the energies and the ideals of our young people, we must break down the barriers to the exercise of those energies, the pursuit of those ideals.

Let me discuss one of those barriers that I know is on the minds of many of you here and many all over this Nation.

The war in Vietnam has taken a very heavy toll of our young men. This Administration has no higher priority than to end that war. But to end it in a way that we will have a lasting peace.

For one thing, I want to end it because this Nation has positive priorities, right here at home, that young men and women now occupied in war could turn their hands to in peace. Beyond this, I have some very personal reasons that I would like to end it.

Every week, as President of the United States, I write letters to the parents and the wives or even sometimes the children of men who have given their lives in Vietnam. It is no comfort to me that when I came into office I wrote 300 of those letters a week and that this week I will write 27. One is too many.

They were precious human lives and what they might have brought to America in peace no one will ever know. But there would have been poets among them and doctors and teachers and farmers; there would have been builders of America.

I want nothing in the world so much as to be able to stop writing those letters.

I know you realize, you who have studied history, that every American generation in this century has known war. I

want yours to be the first generation in this century to enjoy a full generation of peace.

I have a plan which we are implementing to obtain that kind of peace. I can tell you confidently today it is succeeding. I believe yours will be a generation of peace. And then the question comes, and this is a bigger question, more profound: What will we do with the peace?

I am not one of those who believe that we will have instant tranquillity when we have peace. I was talking to a European statesman a few months ago about the common problems that we had in both of our countries with student unrest, and he said to me, "The problem with your youth is war. The problem with our youth is peace."

What he meant, of course, was that the challenges of peace are as great as the challenges of war and as difficult to meet. There needs to be something more than the mere absence of war in life. Young people need something positive to respond to, some high enterprise in which they can test themselves, fulfill themselves. We must have great goals—goals that are worthy of us, worthy of our resources, our capacities, worthy of the courage and the wisdom and the will of our people. And we do have such great goals at home in America.

Consider, for example, the problems of our environment. To subdue the land is one thing. To destroy it is another, and we have been destroying it. And now we must undo what we have done. You must help in this venture. It will require all the dedication you can bring to it—your brains, your energy, your imagination, those special qualities you possess in such abundance—idealism, impatience, and faith. To preserve the good earth is a great goal.

Consider the problems of our cities. Through time, cities have been centers of culture and commerce, and nowhere has this been more true than in America. But today, many of our great cities are dying. We must not let this happen. We can do better than this. We must do better than this. Only if the American city can prosper can the American dream really prevail.

Consider the problems of rural America. We are a nation not only of cities but of towns, of villages and farms. In the soul and substance of rural life in this country the most abiding values of the American people are anchored. Rural America, too, needs our attention. We must create a new rural environment, a new rural prosperity, which will not only stem the migration from rural areas to the cities but which will bring people back to the heartland of America.

Consider the problems of overpopulation, the problems of education, the problems brought about by technology, the problems of achieving full and equal opportunity for all of our people, of health, the problems of prosperity itself, of poverty in a land of plenty. Those are just a few of the challenges that face us.

We must face them together. There can be no generation gap in America. The destiny of this Nation is not divided into yours and ours. It is one destiny. We share it together. We are responsible for it together. And in the way we respond, history will judge us together.

There has been too much emphasis on the differences between the generations in America. There has been too much of a tendency of many of my generation to blame all of your generation for the ex-

cesses of a violent few. Let me repeat what I have said over and over again during the past 2 years.

I believe one of America's most priceless assets is the idealism which motivates the young people of America. My generation has invested all that it has, not only its love but its hope and its faith, in yours.

I believe you will redeem that faith and justify that hope. I believe that as our generations work together, as we strive together, as we aspire together, we can achieve together—achieve great things for America and the world.

And so let us forge an alliance of the generations. Let us work together to seek out those ways by which the commitment and the compassion of one generation can be linked to the will and the experience of another so that together we can serve America better and America can better serve mankind.

Our priorities are really the same. Together we can achieve them.

I pledge to you that as you have faith in our intentions, we will do our best to keep faith with your hopes.

Let me cite one of the ways in which I propose to give substance to this alliance between the generations. One thing government must do is to find more effective ways of enlisting the dedication and idealism of those young Americans who want to serve their fellow man. Therefore, I will send a special message to the 92d Congress asking that the Peace Corps, VISTA, a number of other agencies now scattered throughout the Federal Government, be brought together into a new agency, a new volunteer service corps that will give young Americans an expanded opportunity for the service they want to give, and that will give them what they do not now have offered to them—a chance to transfer between service abroad and service at home.

I intend to place this new agency under the dynamic leadership of one of the ablest young men I have ever known, the Peace Corps Director, Joe Blatchford, and I intend to make it an agency through which those willing to give their lives and their energy can work at cleaning up the environment, combating illiteracy, malnutrition, suffering, and blight, either abroad or at home.

To the extent that young people respond to this opportunity, I will recommend that it be expanded to new fields, new endeavors, for I believe that government has a responsibility to insure that the idealism and willingness to contribute of our dedicated young people can be put to constructive use.

As we free young Americans from the requirements of the draft and of the war, from the requirements of forced service, let us open the door to voluntary service. And for those who want to serve but cannot devote their full time, the new Center for Voluntary Action will open new opportunities for millions of Americans of all ages to the extent they wish to contribute their time, their talents, their heart, to building better communities, a better America, a better world.

Let me turn now to another way in which you can contribute. You all know that in the year 1970 we have taken a step which could have a very dramatic effect on your future and the future of America. We have provided you with the most powerful means a citizen has of making himself felt in a free and democratic society.

You now have the right to vote. To-

day in a new and exciting and dramatically promising way, you, each of you 18 or over has a voice in the future of America. The whole history of democracy in this country is a chronicle of the constant broadening of the power to participate. Each new group receiving the franchise has had a beneficial effect on the course of America. Each new group has given freshness and vitality to the purposes of government. And now it is your turn to do the same.

So much is in your hands now. To those who have believed the system would not be moved, I say try it. To those who have thought that the system was impenetrable, I say there is no longer a need to penetrate; that door is open. For each of you, as for each of the rest of us, there are going to be some disappointments. There will be defeat. In the hard logic of life, for anyone to win, someone else has to lose. For some to know victory, others have to know defeat. This is part of democracy.

For it is in the very nature of a free society that no one can win all the time, no one can have his own way all the time, and no one is right all the time. If we suffer a setback or if we lose on an issue, the answer is not to blame the system but to look within ourselves to see how we can strengthen our resolve and intensify our effort or perhaps to see whether the other fellow just might have been right all the time.

Defeat, therefore, can be an occasion for learning, for weighing the wisdom of our own purposes, examining the strength of our own resources.

I have seen two of Bob Devaney's teams play in the Orange Bowl when they lost. But defeat, instead of disheartening them, brought that experience which later led to victory.

I know that there are those who reject politics, who scorn the political life, and I can assure you that politics attracts its share of bad people, but so do all the other professions. This does not reflect on the political system, for politics is a process, not an end in itself, and the process can be as good or as bad as the people that are part of it.

It may be tempting to suppose, like the ostrich, that what we choose not to be involved in will, therefore, not involve us. But we cannot make a separate peace, not one of us can. We are all committed, whether we choose to be or not. You can reject this, you can come to the task of being an American like Nietzsche's ropemakers, who "pull their threads in length and themselves, they are always going backward." Or you can accept the commitment. You can accept the challenge. You can accept the high adventure of being an American citizen.

In the end, the history of this time will reflect your choice, and it will record that you were the first generation of young Americans to be given this chance. And therefore, I urge you to choose well and to choose carefully.

There is an old excuse: This is a world that I never made. That won't do any longer. You have now the opportunity, the obligation, to mold the world that you live in, and you cannot escape this obligation.

There is a story of an old and very wise teacher in early Athens. There was no question the teacher could not answer. There seemed to be nothing in life the old man did not understand. And finally, one of his students hit upon a way to defeat the old man's wisdom.

The student determined that he would catch a bird and hold it concealed in his

hands. He would ask the old man to guess what he was holding. If the old man guessed it was a bird, then the boy would make him say whether the bird was alive or whether it was dead. And if the teacher guessed that the bird was dead, the boy would open his hands and let the bird go, free and alive. But if the wise man guessed that the bird was alive, then the boy would crush out its life and open his hands to reveal a dead bird.

And so it progressed, just as the boy had planned, until he asked the wise man, "Is the bird alive or is it dead?" And the old man said, "My son, the answer to that question is in your hands."

In your hands now rests the question of the future of this Nation, of its promise of progress and prosperity, of the dream of democracy and the future of freedom, of whether men can continue to be governed by human wisdom.

And I believe that these things rest in good hands, and that as we put our hands together, your generation and mine, in the alliance we forge we can discover a new understanding, a community of wisdom, a capacity for action, with which we can truly renew both the spirit and the promise of this great and good land we share together.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:36 p.m. at the university's Coliseum in Lincoln, Nebr.

Joseph Soshnik was president and Durward B. Varner was chancellor of the University of Nebraska at Lincoln.

An advance text of the President's remarks was released on the same day.

13 Remarks at the Dedication of the Dwight D. Eisenhower National Republican Center. *January* 15, 1971

Chairman Morton, Mrs. Eisenhower, Members of the Congress, members of the National Committee, and our very special guests this morning:

I feel that it is a very great honor to have the opportunity to participate in this ceremony that I understand has been going on for some time before I arrived.

I don't know whether there was any significance in the fact that they gave the dollar away before I got here.[1]

But, in any event, the remarks that I will make will be brief and quite personal, as I think General Eisenhower would have wanted them to be on such an occasion.

We have here a building and we think of how it came into being. And we know that it came into being because men helped to build it, men who knew things about bricks and mortar and superstructure and architecture and all that. And we are very proud that they built such a good building.

It also came into being because one man in particular had a dream. I know that his name has been referred to previously, but let me refer to him in the terms that General Eisenhower, I think, would have referred to him.

I well recall a conversation I had with General Eisenhower right after he became President and I became Vice President in 1953. We were riding back from Quantico after a meeting there of various members

[1] Mary T. Brooks, Director, Bureau of the Mint, had presented a bronze model of the designs on both sides of the Eisenhower dollar to Mrs. Dwight D. Eisenhower. Representative Rogers C. B. Morton of Maryland, chairman, Republican National Committee, then accepted the model from Mrs. Eisenhower for display at the Center.

of the armed services with regard to our defense budget. And the General was reminiscing about some of the great days of the victory in Europe and about some of the men who served under him and with him.

And I asked him that if he had to select one quality in an individual for an organization, above everything else what would it be? And he thought a moment and he answered, "Selflessness." He said, "Of course, other things matter. You want brains and dedication and hard work." But he said the most important quality that you can have in an army, whether it is an army in war or an army in a political campaign or an organization in a great national administration, is "selflessness," the willingness to go out and do hard and tough jobs in a completely unselfish manner; the willingness to sacrifice one's self for a greater cause than himself.

I think Jim Auchincloss [2] was a selfless man. I remember 20 years ago when I was in the House and later in the Senate and then as Vice President and when I was out of office, I could always expect a call from Jim Auchincloss about the Eisenhower Center.

And he spoke about his dream, the necessity to get support for it, ideas that didn't seem to have any chance of succeeding. But he drove on and on and others then joined him and eventually this great building, the center for all of the Republican National Committee's activities finally came into being.

And a selfless man, Jim Auchincloss, and all the other selfless people with him, and many of them are right here in this audience, I think General Eisenhower would want me especially to pay tribute to this morning.

The other thing I think the General would say today is something about the party of which he was a member, and the party to which he had such dedication, and what he would like for it in the future. And perhaps he would speak of this party the way he used to speak about the party and its organization to the members of the Cabinet and to me during those occasions when we were in political campaigns in '54, '56, '58, and then again in 1960. He often used to emphasize the necessity for the party to expand, to get more people, more troops to join with us. And he pointed out, which was actually a very great truth, that by itself neither political party in this country could win an election. In order to win, it is necessary to pick up enough Independents and enough members of the other party to get the majority.

And President Eisenhower, for that reason, would emphasize the necessity in speaking to a party organization—and all of us, you, our party organization people here today—to say organize the party well, but be sure that you organize it in a way that you can bring others into the party and allow others to have allegiance to it and to our cause even though they may not be members of the party.

And I think on that score one thing that General Eisenhower used to say in talking about the party, on those occasions when he saw in it a tendency that might be too introverted, was that, he said, the tendency of most organizations is to organize fewer and fewer better and better.

---

[2] James C. Auchincloss, United States Representative from New Jersey 1943–64.

And that, of course, is the great danger of any party organization. It is the great danger of any club. It is the great danger of any association of people to be more interested in the organization as a goal and an end in itself, rather than an organization as simply a base to do something, do something bigger than itself, an organization that will grow, an organization that will have an influence on the community and on the State and on the Nation and even on the world.

And so I think General Eisenhower would have said, "Organize this Republican Party well. But organize it in a way that it can grow, that it can attract Independent voters and Democratic voters, that it can attract Americans in all walks of life so that we can become an organization that will be an effective instrument for doing better things for America and better things for the world."

As a matter of fact, I noted as I came out onto this platform today—which, incidentally, is heated by the television lights—but in any event, I noted as I came out that the door was open. And now it is closed.

Symbolically, what I would like to say as this new building is officially dedicated is that I would like this building to be the building of the open door. I would like the Republican Party to be the party of the open door, a party with its doors open to all people of all races and of all parties, those who share our great ideals about the future of America and the future of the world.

That is how the Republican Party came into being. It was a party then that brought into it not just a group of people who believed certain very narrow things, but people who differed about a great number of things but were united on one principle: They wanted union. They believed in the unity of this Nation. They believed in the freedom of men.

And so our party has great principles, principles that are far bigger than the Republican Party. They are as big as all of America itself. But our party will not grow unless it is the party of the open door, open to all people, all people who share our principles, who want to work with us for the betterment of America and the betterment of the world.

And so I think these are the two thoughts that General Eisenhower would have wanted me, who was proud to be his Vice President during the 8 years he was President of the United States, to convey to you, this very distinguished audience today:

First, an appreciation to all of you who have been selfless in your work for our party in campaigns. Sometimes we won. Sometimes we lost. But you gave everything you had. And that is, of course, the greatest attribute an individual can have.

And, second, his advice that ours should be the party of the open door, open to all people, all parties, all faiths, all races.

That is the kind of a party he would want and that is the kind of a party we are, and that we shall be in the years ahead.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:16 a.m. at the Center, on Capitol Hill.

Following the President's remarks, Mrs. Eisenhower cut the ribbon officially opening the Center.

14 Statement on the Anniversary of the Birth of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. *January* 15, 1971

I FIRST MET Martin Luther King when, as Vice President, I headed the U.S. delegation to the ceremonies marking the independence of Ghana. While there, he and I began a conversation that ran long into the night. We talked about the new African nations, about war and peace, and about our country. We talked a long time about the problems of the races in America.

Millions of Americans are observing Martin Luther King's birthday today. I remember Dr. King not only for his dream, but for his personal courage. That courage will remain as an inspiration to the Nation long after his dream becomes part of the reality of American life.

NOTE: The statement was read by Deputy Press Secretary Gerald L. Warren during a morning news briefing at the White House on January 15, 1971.

The ceremonies in Ghana, to which the President referred, took place March 3–7, 1957.

15 Statement About the Report of the National Commission on Reform of Federal Criminal Laws. *January* 16, 1971

OVER two centuries the Federal criminal law of the United States has evolved in a manner both sporadic and haphazard. Needs have been met as they have arisen. Ad hoc solutions have been utilized. Many areas of criminal law have been left to development by the courts on a case-by-case basis—a less than satisfactory means of developing broad governing legal principles.

Not unexpectedly with such a process, gaps and loopholes in the structure of Federal law have appeared; worthwhile statutes have been found on the books side by side with the unusable and the obsolete. Complex, confusing, and even conflicting laws and procedures have all too often resulted in rendering justice neither to society nor to the accused.

Laws that are not clear, procedures that are not understood, undermine the very system of justice of which they are the foundations.

In 1966, Congress undertook to provide the United States with a modern, comprehensive, and workable Federal code. The first major step in that effort was an act of Congress [1] creating the Commission on Reform of Federal Criminal Laws—and its principal author was Congressman Richard H. Poff of Virginia.

Composed of distinguished legislators, judges, attorneys—all of demonstrated competence in the field of Federal criminal law—the Commission was mandated to review exhaustively the Federal criminal code and to make recommendations for both procedural and substantive reform.

The Commission has fulfilled its mandate, and I was pleased to receive its report. My personal appreciation goes to the members of the Commission, the Advisory Committee, and the staff—and especially to the Commission Chairman, the Honorable Edmund G. Brown, the Vice Chairman, Congressman Poff, and the Chair-

[1] Public Law 89–801, 80 Stat. 1516.

man of the Advisory Committee, Justice Tom Clark.

Even a brief examination of the report indicates the enormous investment of time and thought it represents, and the value of this vast work of 4 years. Because of its scope and its various approaches to controversial problems, it would be premature at this time for me to render judgment on the substance of the recommendations.

What is apparent, however, is that the 92d Congress has been given what the 89th Congress had requested—a broad comprehensive framework in which to decide the issues involved in reform of the Federal criminal code.

I have directed the Attorney General to create and staff a team of experienced Justice Department attorneys to undertake their own evaluation of the Commission's many suggestions and, further, to make the results of their evaluation available to the appropriate committees of the Congress. Further, I have directed the Department to work with Congress in the same close and cooperative spirit that marked the evolution and passage of the District of Columbia Court Reform and Criminal Procedure Act of 1970.

Certainly, the need for clarification and modernization of Federal criminal law is as great as was the need for reform of the criminal law and procedures of the District of Columbia. Just as in the latter, so in the former, procedural reform must go hand-in-glove with substantive reform—as the Chief Justice recommended himself in the State of the Judiciary message.

Further, if the same spirit of bipartisan cooperation prevails in this new endeavor, as it did in the last, our success is assured.

NOTE: The report is entitled "Final Report of the National Commission on Reform of Federal Criminal Laws' (Government Printing Office, 364 pp.).

16 Memorandum to the Attorney General About Reform of Federal Criminal Laws. *January* 16, 1971

THE FEDERAL Criminal Code reflects our national growth. It has continuously been amended to meet new problems. However, this evolution has resulted in conflicting and overlapping criminal statutes. The entire Code is in dire need of comprehensive reform.

I have recently received the Report of the National Commission on Reform of Federal Criminal Laws, which was created in 1966 to make a thorough and complete review of the statutory and case laws constituting the Federal system of Criminal Justice. The Report provides a useful framework for considering the issues involved in reform of the Federal penal law.

Because reform of the Federal Criminal Code should be among the highest of priorities of your Department, I am requesting you to take the following actions:

1. Establish a team of experienced attorneys within the Department of Justice to work full-time on a comprehensive reform of the Federal Criminal Code, and make sufficient deployment to that team of other personnel with specialized expertise.

2. Prepare a thorough evaluation of the

Commission's Report.

3. Make an independent examination of the present Federal Criminal Code and recommendations for its comprehensive reform.

4. Carefully examine the recent address on the State of the Judiciary by the Chief Justice of the United States, and consider procedural as well as substantive areas of reform.

5. After the foregoing thorough analysis, prepare and submit appropriate legislation encompassing comprehensive reform of our Federal Criminal laws.

6. Work closely with appropriate Congressional committees and their staffs throughout your evaluation and recommendation process.

I would like to receive in six months a summary of your progress and your views concerning appropriate future action.

17 Letter to Dr. Henry A. Kissinger on His Decision To Continue as Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs. *January* 16, 1971

Dear Henry:

Your decision to resign from the faculty of Harvard University so that you can remain as a member of my Administration is one that I know was very difficult for you. The intensity of both your devotion to scholarship and your affection for Harvard are well known to your friends and associates. I want you to know that I greet your decision with deep personal appreciation.

Frankly, I cannot imagine what the Government would be like without you. Your wise counsel and strong support over the past two years have meant a great deal to me. During this time, our country has made great strides toward achieving that just and lasting peace which has always been our objective. The Nation's many accomplishments in the field of foreign policy during these past two years have been due in no small measure to your energy and to your vision.

I am grateful for what you have done and I am grateful that you are staying.

Sincerely,

RICHARD NIXON

[Honorable Henry A. Kissinger, The White House, Washington]

18 Memorandum Establishing the Council on International Economic Policy. *January* 19, 1971

Memorandum for:

The Secretary of State
The Secretary of the Treasury
The Secretary of Agriculture
The Secretary of Commerce
The Secretary of Labor
The Director, Office of Management and Budget
The Chairman, Council of Economic Advisers

The Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs

The Executive Director of the Domestic Council

The Special Representative for Trade Negotiations

This memorandum establishes a Council on International Economic Policy. I will serve as Chairman with the addressees as Members. In my absence, the Secretary of State will chair meetings of the Council.

The purposes of the Council are these:

1. Achieve consistency between domestic and foreign economic policy.

2. Provide a clear top level focus for the full range of international economic policy issues; deal with international economic policies—including trade, investment, balance of payments, finance—as a coherent whole; and consider the international economic aspects of essentially foreign policy issues, such as foreign aid and defense, under the general policy guidance of the National Security Council.

3. Maintain close coordination with basic foreign policy objectives.

An Executive Director will be designated to help the Council in its operations. He will organize the general secretariat of the Council and be responsible for the staff work. He will have ready access to the President and will initiate projects and call upon staff resources from throughout the Government to augment his own small staff. In collaboration with the members of the Council or designated individuals at the senior political appointee level and pursuant to the directions of the President, his responsibilities will include:

—Develop the agenda and supporting materials for Council meetings and review all papers going to the Council.

—Help develop a sense of direction, strategy and relationship of the parts to the whole of this problem area.

—Establish a work program, including topics, timing and identification of individual assignments and set up task groups on special topics.

An Operations Group will be established, similar to the present Under Secretaries Group but replacing the work of that Group insofar as international economic policy is concerned. Its responsibilities will include:

—Follow up on decisions reached.

—Coordination of actions of the Government where that is necessary.

—Review of operating problems arising out of actions of other Governments or outstanding international economic developments.

The State Department will chair the Operations Group. Standing or special subcommittees may be added from time to time. To the extent practical the Council shall bring within its structure those existing committees or groups presently dealing within the scope of the Council's work as set forth above.

RICHARD NIXON

NOTE: The memorandum was dated January 18, 1971, and released January 19.

19 Remarks Announcing Appointment of Peter G. Peterson as Assistant to the President for International Economic Affairs and Executive Director, Council on International Economic Policy. *January* 19, 1971

Ladies and gentlemen:

We are sorry that we delayed our meeting with you, but we have had a rather long Cabinet meeting this morning for the purpose of going over the various proposals that will be presented to the Congress, and particularly those proposals that will be included in the State of the Union Message.

At the Cabinet meeting I presented one of the men who will be playing a very active role with several members of the Cabinet over the next few months and, we trust, the next few years.

A statement has been distributed to you with regard to the setting up of a Council on International Economic Policy. And as the man who will be the Executive Director of that Council and as the man who also will be Assistant to the President for International Economic Affairs, I am announcing today the appointment of Mr. Peter Peterson, the chief executive officer and also the chairman of the board of Bell and Howell.

All of you who follow business affairs know of Mr. Peterson's rather remarkable record in that field. He is, as you can see, a very young man. He is a man that has been described by his colleagues in the business community as one of the ablest—and some have even used the term brilliant—chief executive officers of this generation.

We feel very fortunate that he would take this assignment. While his primary responsibilities at Bell and Howell have been domestic, he has had a great deal of experience in international affairs, and we think that having him on the White House Staff as an Assistant to the President for International Economic Affairs will be a great asset to our staff.

If I could just spend one moment to use some examples as to why this kind of council is needed, let me just tell you about my schedule for the last 4 days.

I was talking to the Secretary of State this morning, and we reminisced, as we were talking about Mr. Peterson, about the fact that over the past 4 days either personally or by phone we have been discussing matters in the field of this Council which were of great concern to the Nation.

For example, you read of the oil crisis in the Mideast. You also read of the decision of the Tariff Commission, a split decision, which now will have to come to the President, with regard to a shoe import [quota] for shoes. And you, of course, have been following the situation with regard to possible British entry into the Common Market and what decisions that may require, what impact that may have on our policies.

In all of these areas we have direct examples of matters that cut across foreign policy and domestic policy which involved, in the one instance the Department of Commerce and the Department of State, in another instance the Department of State and the Tariff Commission, in another instance the Department of State and the Department of Agriculture.

There has long been needed in the

White House a direct adviser and Assistant to the President who can coordinate all of these activities.

Of course, the State Department has the primary responsibility. That is why the Secretary of State will be the Vice Chairman of this Council. I, of course, will serve as the Chairman of the Council, just as I serve as Chairman of the National Security Council and the Domestic Council.

And the Secretary of State will also, incidentally, be just as enthusiastic as I am about Mr. Peterson. Secretary Rogers was one of those who initially recommended that the Council be set up to bring these things together, and Mr. Peterson was not only my first choice but his first choice, and we are fortunate to get our first choice to serve as the man who will be the Executive Director of the Council and the Assistant to the President for International [Economic] Affairs.

I will not further detain you. Mr. Peterson will be glad to answer any questions you may have with regard to his personal plans or his future activities on the Council. And George Shultz is here for the purpose of answering any questions you might want to ask for background on the Council and what particular areas that it will cover, because its scope is very broad, very broad in covering the whole area of international economic affairs. And Mr. Shultz, who has been consulted throughout on this matter, will be able to answer any questions in that respect.

I will just say finally I think all of you who cover the White House will find that Mr. Peterson is a very great asset to our staff, one who will be accessible to you when it is proper for him to be so to discuss some of the matters in which you have interest and one who will bring some new ideas and, more important than that, some form, some central direction to a number of areas that have simply been handled on an ad hoc basis due to the fact that they cut across so many departments.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:43 p.m. in the Briefing Room at the White House.

On the same day, the White House released the transcript of a news conference by Peter G. Peterson and George P. Shultz, Director, Office of Management and Budget, on Mr. Peterson's appointment.

A White House announcement of the appointment was also released January 19, 1971, and is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 7, p. 79).

20 Statement About Halting Construction of the Cross Florida Barge Canal. *January* 19, 1971

I AM today ordering a halt to further construction of the Cross Florida Barge Canal to prevent potentially serious environmental damages.

The purpose of the canal was to reduce transportation costs for barge shipping. It was conceived and designed at a time when the focus of Federal concern in such matters was still almost completely on maximizing economic return. In calculating that return, the destruction of natural, ecological values was not counted as a cost, nor was a credit allowed for actions preserving the environment.

A natural treasure is involved in the case of the Barge Canal—the Oklawaha River—a uniquely beautiful, semitropical stream, one of a very few of its kind in the

United States, which would be destroyed by construction of the Canal.

The Council on Environmental Quality has recommended to me that the project be halted, and I have accepted its advice. The Council has pointed out to me that the project could endanger the unique wildlife of the area and destroy this region of unusual and unique natural beauty.

The total cost of the project if it were completed would be about $180 million. About $50 million has already been committed to construction. I am asking the Secretary of the Army to work with the Council on Environmental Quality in developing recommendations for the future of the area.

The step I have taken today will prevent a past mistake from causing permanent damage. But more important, we must assure that in the future we take not only full but also timely account of the environmental impact of such projects—so that instead of merely halting the damage, we prevent it.

21 Remarks at a White House Staff Meeting on the Second Anniversary of the President's Inauguration. *January* 20, 1971

JOHN D. EHRLICHMAN (Assistant to the President for Domestic Affairs). Mr. President, we are here to review next year's budget in general detail and the next year's legislative program. But we are delighted that you stopped by so that we can wish you many happy returns of the day.

If I could just be permitted a word before we have an opportunity to hear from you, I think, if I can speak for the group, that we appreciate the quality of life here at the White House in the sense of the—this is your phrase.

THE PRESIDENT. You mean particularly the night life? [*Laughter*] I don't mean that the way you think, either.

MR. EHRLICHMAN. Well, the days here are long but the years are short. They seem to fly by. In looking back on them and considering the climate and national conditions when we got here and things as we find them today, we are grateful for the progress that has been made. We are very grateful for your leadership and for your insistence on the principles that you set down for us.

We congratulate you on this anniversary and sincerely wish you many happy returns of the day.

THE PRESIDENT. I will say a word. I want the press pool to hear what I say about the staff when I am not speaking behind their backs.

I do want you to know that—the members of the press—that I am very proud of our White House Staff. What I have said about their night work was not said facetiously. I often do go over to the EOB, as you know, and after my lights go off over there, most of the members of the staff, many of them certainly, are still working.

It is a remarkable staff, remarkable in its quality, in its devotion. I was going to say also in its youth, apart from its years, it at least has the vigor, the determination, the imagination of youth, and, as the State of the Union and the legislative program will indicate, the boldness of youth. And

that will be spelled out in considerable detail not only in the State of the Union but in our legislative program.

What I present this year in the State of the Union and in the legislative program will be by far the most comprehensive, the most far-reaching, the most bold program in the domestic field ever presented to an American Congress. I could not have done it, obviously, by myself. I couldn't have done it with my small group of associates, like John Ehrlichman and George Shultz and Cap Weinberger and others who come in day to day. It could only have been done because out through the Government—in all the departments and here in the White House Staff, particularly over in the Executive Office Building, in the Bureau of the Budget, or the Office of Budget and Management as it is now called, in John Ehrlichman's Domestic Council, in all of the other activities that are represented here—there has been a great deal of midnight oil burned over not just the past 2 or 3 weeks—because this has been developing, as you know, for at least the past year and a half.

We began to pour the coal on 6 months ago after we met in San Clemente and I made the basic decisions. As you know, they were made then. That was a pretty well-kept secret. I didn't read it until the p.m. papers. [*Laughter*]

But since that time I know that you have been working in a way that we really couldn't compensate you. You know, they talk sometimes—I say "they," I mean critics of government, people—about the fact that people in government are drones, they don't work long enough, they are overpaid and all that. All that I say is that they haven't been on this White House Staff. There is not one person here that I could possibly employ on the basis of how much you are being paid, on the hours of work, and, despite how John describes it, on the basis of all the extras you are supposed to get. This is hard work. It is work that is certainly one that takes you away from your families a great deal. I know some of your wives call me from time to time just to be sure. I am never sure, but I always tell them the right thing, I can assure you. [*Laughter*]

Although, I really am sure. Your wives might hear what the TV says, then you would be in trouble. [*Laughter*]

And, Virginia,[1] I am not slighting you either, when I say that.

I want to say that we look at what you have done and we know those hours that have come in. And now, 2 days from now—if I can just get through the next 2 days, and now I have to kind of go into solitary and sit and struggle with all the drafts that are before me with regard to the final aspects of the State of the Union—and we will get it ready—I usually do get the speeches ready and deliver them. But when it is delivered you will see then the unveiling of the program that you have been working on all these years. It will be, however, only a beginning because then come the legislative proposals.

This State of the Union—and this could happen only because we now have been here 2 years and we have the experience and we have quite a backlog—this State of the Union as distinguished even from last year when we did, as you know, in the first 2 weeks send in a great deal of legislative material, in the first not only 2 weeks but even 2 months after the State of the Union; this State of the Union will

[1] Virginia H. Knauer, Special Assistant to the President for Consumer Affairs.

be followed by a series of legislative proposals, again, that I think will be unprecedented in certainly the modern history of the Congress of the United States. But without you we couldn't have done it.

I wanted the members of the press to hear this. I believe it very strongly. It is a devoted staff, an intelligent staff, with a very high IQ and with a much higher, if that is possible, DQ, a dedication quotient. And the IQ sometimes can come out of a university or a college or out of your own background, unless you believe in the behavioristic analysis of how people become as bright as all of you have become. But, on the other hand, that dedication quotient can only come from your hearts, from the fact that you really believe in this country, you believe in what this Administration is trying to do for this country, and you are willing to give that extra hour or hours of devotion so that we can get it done. I just hope we don't let you down as we make the presentation.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:42 a.m. in the Family Theater at the White House.

A summary of additional remarks made by the President to the staff was read by Press Secretary Ronald L. Ziegler during his regular news briefing at the White House on January 20, 1971, as follows:

The President, in his discussion with the staff, expressed what his feelings were about the country and what he feels has to be done to deal with problems effectively. He expressed his faith in people.

He talked about the various programs which had been presented to the staff, and I think he referred to those in the previous material which you have been given. He talked about the boldness of the new program and so forth.

He said that the new domestic program has a lot of innovations, and he told the staff that some of the new programs which will be put forth will be opposed by those who do not want to change. But he went on to say we must keep in mind that anything worthwhile doing will be opposed by some.

He then went on to say to the staff that we must not be discouraged because what we are doing and what we are going to do is right and needs to be done and needs to be done now.

Then in the context of discussing revenue sharing and expressing his feelings about the role of government and the other programs, he said that the idea that a small group at the top is the only group fit to govern, and a small group at the top—just a very few, he said—are the ones that should make all of the decisions, is foreign to America and foreign to the principles of America. He said, "Because what America really was in the beginning and what I think it is about is that we do have confidence in people."

Going on in a discussion of revenue sharing and other programs, he said—referring specifically to revenue sharing—that if we are really going to get the job done that needs to be done in America, "We need many centers of power," so that "more people have a chance to have a part of the action out across the country."

Then he went on to make the point so that more will have a real chance to contribute and realize what they do does matter, and realize that they can participate and that their participation can be productive and meaningful.

Then he goes on to follow up on that point by saying that: "To me one of the reasons revenue sharing is so important"—and here he went specifically to talking about revenue sharing—"is because it is going to make a difference for people. It is going to mean that the people at the local level who are not in government are going to feel that they do count."

He then went on to talk about his goals, achieving peace for a generation, having America at peace throughout the world, dealing with the economy, to have something we have not had since 1957—prosperity in peacetime—the environment, crime, equal opportunity, and noting the progress we have made on these and, referring to the proposals he intends to put forth in the State of the Union, he said, "It is time to seize this moment and present the American people a new approach to government, one that is relevant to our times."

Then he went back over the reference to the goals and dealing with the problems, basically the way I outlined them to you, and said: If

the Administration did these things—and he said I feel we will make progress and great progress on them all—this would be a record to point to with pride. He said, however, these are goals that any Administration would work for and want to achieve.

He said, however, he thinks this is the time to do more even than solving and dealing with these problems. He said as well as doing all of this, he thinks this is a time for a revolutionary approach to government relevant to our times which will leave a legacy to be proud of, not for just the immediate future but for generations to come.

He went on to conclude that he feels that he has a group of devoted, dedicated, and strong people who will put something forward they believe in, and who, by so doing, will start a process of change.

Those are the notes that I was able to pull out of what he said. He spoke for about 35 minutes. Some of the things I cannot refer to here, where he referred specifically to the new programs and made reference to the budget, and so forth. But I think this gives you a general feeling as to what he said and the tone of what he said.

I think I can conclude that the President is very optimistic. He was very optimistic with the staff as to what can be accomplished next year.

22 Statement About a Summary Report on Progress in Nutrition and Health. *January* 21, 1971

WE HAVE MADE great strides in improving the incomes and nutrition of millions of Americans.

One year ago, I convened a White House Conference on Food, Nutrition, and Health. I promised the participants that we would review what had actually been accomplished a year later.

The Nutrition Subcommittee of the Domestic Council has prepared a summary report of major achievements during this time, and they make an impressive record indeed:

—New figures indicate that the food stamp program will assist over 10 million people by the middle of this year, nearly triple the number helped just 18 months earlier.

—All but 10 of the Nation's 3,129 counties and independent cities have now moved to implement a family food program. A year ago there were 300 counties with no plans for such a program.

—Monthly expenditures on food stamps have quintupled in only 1 year to a current level of more than $125 million per month.

This Administration will soon provide free food stamps to the very poorest families under a proposal recently approved by the Congress.

We have committed greatly increased funds to child feeding programs—almost 50 percent more this year than last. The money to assist with free or reduced-price lunches for needy children has been increased eightfold since 1969. We are feeding hundreds of thousands of additional needy children each month.

The Food and Drug Administration is working to establish guidelines which will help Americans become better informed in food selection.

The Federal Trade Commission has created a division of food enforcement to assure that families are fully protected from deceptive or misleading claims or advertisements.

Those who administer our food and nutrition programs can be justly proud of the accomplishments described in this

summary report.

But this is no time to sit back or to ease off in our efforts. The programs which are now operating must be made to operate even more effectively. More importantly, we must remember that the key to better nutrition in the long run is to provide sufficient income to purchase adequate diets and to meet the other basic day-to-day needs.

I will urge the Congress to enact welfare reform and higher social security benefits to meet this need. These essential reforms should be made promptly—for the good of the poor, the elderly, and the Nation as a whole.

I urge those who will participate in the followup Conference on Food, Nutrition, and Health to study this summary report to assist them in evaluating the original recommendations and in gauging our progress in this vital area of national policy.

NOTE: The report is entitled "White House Conference on Food, Nutrition, and Health: Summary Report" (Government Printing Office, 14 pp.).

On the same day, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing on the report by Elliot L. Richardson, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare; and Clifford M. Hardin, Secretary, and Edward J. Hekman, Administrator, Food and Nutrition Service, Department of Agriculture.

23 Exchange of Letters With Dr. Jean Mayer About a Followup Meeting of the White House Conference on Food, Nutrition, and Health. *January* 21, 1971

Dear Dr. Mayer:

It was particularly thoughtful of you to write to me about the Williamsburg meeting. It should be an extremely useful review of the work accomplished over the past year since the original White House Conference. I understand that you have already done a great deal to develop plans for this follow-up conference, and I want you to know how much I appreciate not only your encouraging comments but also your readiness to continue helping us out.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

RICHARD NIXON

[Dr. Jean Mayer, School of Public Health, Harvard University, 665 Huntington Avenue, Boston, Massachusetts 02115]

NOTE: The President's letter was dated January 19, 1971, and released January 21.

Dr. Mayer was Special Consultant to the President in 1969 with responsibility for planning the first White House Conference on Food, Nutrition, and Health.

Dr. Mayer's letter, dated January 11 and released with the President's letter, read as follows:

Dear Mr. President:

I would like to congratulate and thank you for calling the follow-up meeting on the Conference on Food, Nutrition and Health as you indicated you would a year ago. By doing so you have demonstrated that White House conferences can, indeed, become important tools in national planning rather than simple exercises in the listing of desirable reforms.

During the intervening year, I have seen my role as a prodder to try to get members of the administration, officials at the state and local level, industry and voluntary associations to do more to fulfill the national pledge expressed by you to eliminate hunger and malnutrition from America for all time. Let me assure you that while I have constantly pushed for more action, I have been very much impressed with the progress made this year under your leadership. The number of poor children receiving free

school lunches has doubled, the number of our poor fellow citizens benefiting from food stamps has tripled. We now have an excellent School Lunch Act and a Food Stamp Act, which, while not perfect, is a definite improvement over what we had before. The F.D.A. and the Department of Agriculture have changed their regulations so as to facilitate improvement of the quality of our food supply by industry. In turn, the leadership of industry has made a serious start towards putting nutrition at the forefront of their preoccupations. Voluntary organizations, particularly the women's organizations and the churches, have been most supportive of these efforts and have often stepped in when local authorities have been less effective than they might have been.

I want to assure you that I will do what I can to make sure that the Williamsburg follow-up meeting takes cognizance of these achievements, and publicizes the fact that under your leadership more has been done in the area of hunger and malnutrition in the past year than had been done in decades before.

Sincerely yours,

JEAN MAYER
Professor

[The Honorable Richard M. Nixon, President of the United States, The White House, Washington, D.C.]

24 Statement on the Death of Senator Richard Brevard Russell of Georgia. *January* 21, 1971

WITH the death of Senator Richard Russell, America mourns the passing of one of her greatest sons.

A quarter of a century ago, when I first came to the Congress of the United States, Richard Russell of Georgia was already a name that inspired a universal admiration and respect, from legislative adversaries and allies alike. He possessed in unprecedented abundance a rare blend of courage, character, vision, and ability that moved him indisputably into the ranks of those giants who have served in the United States Senate.

When the security of the United States was the issue, six American Presidents leaned upon this great patriot; he never failed them. I am honored to have served with him briefly in the Senate; I am honored to have known him as a friend.

The Nation whose security was his constant concern for four decades in the upper chamber will be ever in his debt. His home State of Georgia, which he represented with such nobility, perseverance, and skill, can take perpetual pride in his memory.

NOTE: Senator Russell, 73, died at Walter Reed General Hospital of respiratory complications.

He had served in the United States Senate since 1933, and was chairman of the Committee on Armed Services 1951–52 and 1955–68, and chairman of the Committee on Appropriations 1969–71.

25 Letter About the Formation of Federal Regional Councils. *January* 22, 1971

Dear Bob:

As you know, one of my priority aims is to establish a more effective partnership between the States and the Federal Government.

On September 30, 1970, we completed

realignment of the field operations of the principal Federal agencies concerned with social programs into ten standard regions, and relocation of the regional headquarters for these agencies in the same city in each region. Thus, you and your staff will now be able, for the first time, to deal with the most senior field officials of the Departments of HEW, HUD, and Labor and the OEO and Small Business Administration, all in Kansas City.

Furthermore, I have directed that the regional directors of HEW, HUD, the Manpower Administration, OEO, and the regional representatives of the Secretary of Transportation in each of these headquarters cities, convene themselves as a Federal Regional Council. These Councils are to develop and maintain close working relationships with State and local governments, to coordinate their grant programs in a manner responsive to other levels of government, and when necessary, to convene their counterparts from other Federal departments and agencies to develop means to react better to specific regional, State and local problems.

I expect Council members to be especially attentive to the needs of the chief executives of State and local governments. The Kansas City Regional Council will welcome your views regarding the relationship of Federal grant programs to your State, and also on ways to increase the effectiveness of the Federal-State partnership in the solution of our domestic problems.

If you have not already done so, I hope you will take the opportunity to meet with the Kansas City Regional Council, and to discuss with its members our efforts to restore a better balance between the State capitals and the National capital. I am sure you will find them both interested and cooperative.

Sincerely,

RICHARD NIXON

[Honorable Robert D. Ray, Governor of Iowa, Des Moines, Iowa]

NOTE: A similar letter was sent to each of the Governors of the States and Territories.

For statements about the standardizing of regional boundaries, see 1969 volume, Items 134 and 208.

26 Annual Message to the Congress on the State of the Union. *January* 22, 1971

Mr. Speaker, Mr. President, my colleagues in the Congress, our distinguished guests, my fellow Americans:

As this 92d Congress begins its session, America has lost a great Senator, and all of us who had the privilege to know him have lost a loyal friend. I had the privilege of visiting Senator Russell in the hospital just a few days before he died. He never spoke about himself. He only spoke eloquently about the need for a strong national defense.

In tribute to one of the most magnificent Americans of all time, I respectfully ask that all those here will rise in silent prayer for Senator Russell.

[*Moment of silence*]

Thank you.

Mr. Speaker, before I begin my formal address, I want to use this opportunity to congratulate all of those who were winners in the rather spirited contest for leadership positions in the House and the Senate and, also, to express my condolences to the losers. I know how both of you feel.

And I particularly want to join with all of the Members of the House and the Senate as well in congratulating the new Speaker of the United States Congress.

To those new Members of this House who may have some doubts about the possibilities for advancement in the years ahead, I would remind you that the Speaker and I met just 24 years ago in this Chamber as freshmen Members of the 80th Congress. As you see, we both have come up in the world a bit since then.

Mr. Speaker, this 92d Congress has a chance to be recorded as the greatest Congress in America's history.

In these troubled years just past, America has been going through a long nightmare of war and division, of crime and inflation. Even more deeply, we have gone through a long, dark night of the American spirit. But now that night is ending. Now we must let our spirits soar again. Now we are ready for the lift of a driving dream.

The people of this Nation are eager to get on with the quest for new greatness. They see challenges, and they are prepared to meet those challenges. It is for us here to open the doors that will set free again the real greatness of this Nation—the genius of the American people.

How shall we meet this challenge? How can we truly open the doors, and set free the full genius of our people?

The way in which the 92d Congress answers these questions will determine its place in history. More importantly, it can determine this Nation's place in history as we enter the third century of our independence.

Tonight I shall present to the Congress six great goals. I shall ask not simply for more new programs in the old framework. I shall ask to change the framework of government itself—to reform the entire structure of American government so we can make it again fully responsive to the needs and the wishes of the American people.

If we act boldly—if we seize this moment and achieve these goals—we can close the gap between promise and performance in American government. We can bring together the resources of this Nation and the spirit of the American people.

In discussing these great goals, I shall deal tonight only with matters on the domestic side of the Nation's agenda. I shall make a separate report to the Congress and the Nation next month on developments in foreign policy.

The first of these great goals is already before the Congress.

I urge that the unfinished business of the 91st Congress be made the first priority business of the 92d Congress.

Over the next 2 weeks, I will call upon Congress to take action on more than 35 pieces of proposed legislation on which action was not completed last year.

The most important is welfare reform.

The present welfare system has become a monstrous, consuming outrage—an outrage against the community, against the taxpayer, and particularly against the children it is supposed to help.

We may honestly disagree, as we do, on what to do about it. But we can all agree that we must meet the challenge, not by pouring more money into a bad program, but by abolishing the present welfare system and adopting a new one.

So let us place a floor under the income of every family with children in America—and without those demeaning, soul-stifling affronts to human dignity that so blight the lives of welfare children today.

But let us also establish an effective work incentive and an effective work requirement.

Let us provide the means by which more *can* help themselves. This shall be our goal.

Let us generously help those who are not able to help themselves. But let us stop helping those who are able to help themselves but refuse to do so.

The second great goal is to achieve what Americans have not enjoyed since 1957—full prosperity in peacetime.

The tide of inflation has turned. The rise in the cost of living, which had been gathering dangerous momentum in the late sixties, was reduced last year. Inflation will be further reduced this year.

But as we have moved from runaway inflation toward reasonable price stability and at the same time as we have been moving from a wartime economy to a peacetime economy, we have paid a price in increased unemployment.

We should take no comfort from the fact that the level of unemployment in this transition from a wartime to a peacetime economy is lower than in any peacetime year of the sixties.

This is not good enough for the man who is unemployed in the seventies. We must do better for workers in peacetime and we will do better.

To achieve this, I will submit an expansionary budget this year—one that will help stimulate the economy and thereby open up new job opportunities for millions of Americans.

It will be a full employment budget, a budget designed to be in balance if the economy were operating at its peak potential. By spending as if we were *at* full employment, we will help to *bring about* full employment.

I ask the Congress to accept these expansionary policies—to accept the concept of a full employment budget. At the same time, I ask the Congress to cooperate in resisting expenditures that go beyond the limits of the full employment budget. For as we wage a campaign to bring about a widely shared prosperity, we must not reignite the fires of inflation and so undermine that prosperity.

With the stimulus and the discipline of a full employment budget, with the commitment of the independent Federal Reserve System to provide fully for the monetary needs of a growing economy, and with a much greater effort on the part of labor and management to make their wage and price decisions in the light of the national interest and their own self-interest—then for the worker, the farmer, the consumer, for Americans everywhere we shall gain the goal of a new prosperity: more jobs, more income, more profits, without inflation and without war.

This is a great goal, and one that we can achieve together.

The third great goal is to continue the effort so dramatically begun last year: to restore and enhance our natural environment.

Building on the foundation laid in the 37-point program that I submitted to Congress last year, I will propose a strong new set of initiatives to clean up our air and water, to combat noise, and to preserve and restore our surroundings.

I will propose programs to make better use of our land, to encourage a balanced national growth—growth that will revitalize our rural heartland and enhance the quality of life in America.

And not only to meet today's needs but to anticipate those of tomorrow, I will put forward the most extensive program ever

proposed by a President of the United States to expand the Nation's parks, recreation areas, open spaces, in a way that truly brings parks to the people where the people are. For only if *we* leave a legacy of parks will the next generation have parks to enjoy.

As a fourth great goal, I will offer a far-reaching set of proposals for improving America's health care and making it available more fairly to more people.

I will propose:

—A program to insure that no American family will be prevented from obtaining basic medical care by inability to pay.

—I will propose a major increase in and redirection of aid to medical schools, to greatly increase the number of doctors and other health personnel.

—Incentives to improve the delivery of health services, to get more medical care resources into those areas that have not been adequately served, to make greater use of medical assistants, and to slow the alarming rise in the costs of medical care.

—New programs to encourage better preventive medicine, by attacking the causes of disease and injury, and by providing incentives to doctors to keep people well rather than just to treat them when they are sick.

I will also ask for an appropriation of an extra $100 million to launch an intensive campaign to find a cure for cancer, and I will ask later for whatever additional funds can effectively be used. The time has come in America when the same kind of concentrated effort that split the atom and took man to the moon should be turned toward conquering this dread disease. Let us make a total national commitment to achieve this goal.

America has long been the wealthiest nation in the world. Now it is time we became the healthiest nation in the world.

The fifth great goal is to strengthen and to renew our State and local governments.

As we approach our 200th anniversary in 1976, we remember that this Nation launched itself as a loose confederation of separate States, without a workable central government. At that time, the mark of its leaders' vision was that they quickly saw the need to balance the separate powers of the States with a government of central powers.

And so they gave us a constitution of balanced powers, of unity with diversity—and so clear was their vision that it survives today as the oldest written constitution still in force in the world.

For almost two centuries since—and dramatically in the 1930's—at those great turning points when the question has been between the States and the Federal Government, that question has been resolved in favor of a stronger central Federal Government.

During this time the Nation grew and the Nation prospered. But one thing history tells us is that no great movement goes in the same direction forever. Nations change, they adapt, or they slowly die.

The time has now come in America to reverse the flow of power and resources from the States and communities to Washington, and start power and resources flowing back from Washington to the States and communities and, more important, to the people all across America.

The time has come for a new partnership between the Federal Government and the States and localities—a partnership in which we entrust the States and localities with a larger share of the Na-

71-234—72——7

tion's responsibilities, and in which we share our Federal revenues with them so that they can meet those responsibilities.

To achieve this goal, I propose to the Congress tonight that we enact a plan of revenue sharing historic in scope and bold in concept.

All across America today, States and cities are confronted with a financial crisis. Some have already been cutting back on essential services—for example, just recently San Diego and Cleveland cut back on trash collections. Most are caught between the prospects of bankruptcy on the one hand and adding to an already crushing tax burden on the other.

As one indication of the rising costs of local government, I discovered the other day that my home town of Whittier, California—which has a population of 67,000—has a larger budget for 1971 than the entire Federal budget was in 1791.

Now the time has come to take a new direction, and once again to introduce a new and more creative balance to our approach to government.

So let us put the money where the needs are. And let us put the power to spend it where the people are.

I propose that the Congress make a $16 billion investment in renewing State and local government. Five billion dollars of this will be in new and unrestricted funds to be used as the States and localities see fit. The other $11 billion will be provided by allocating $1 billion of new funds and converting one-third of the money going to the present narrow-purpose aid programs into Federal revenue sharing funds for six broad purposes—for urban development, rural development, education, transportation, job training, and law enforcement—but with the States and localities making their own decisions on how it should be spent within each category.

For the next fiscal year, this would increase total Federal aid to the States and localities more than 25 percent over the present level.

The revenue sharing proposals I send to the Congress will include the safeguards against discrimination that accompany all other Federal funds allocated to the States. Neither the President nor the Congress nor the conscience of this Nation can permit money which comes from *all* the people to be used in a way which discriminates against *some* of the people.

The Federal Government will still have a large and vital role to play in achieving our national progress. Established functions that are clearly and essentially Federal in nature will still be performed by the Federal Government. New functions that need to be sponsored or performed by the Federal Government—such as those I have urged tonight in welfare and health—will be added to the Federal agenda. Whenever it makes the best sense for us to act as a whole nation, the Federal Government should and will lead the way. But where States or local governments can better do what needs to be done, let us see that they have the resources to do it there.

Under this plan, the Federal Government will provide the States and localities with more money and less interference—and by cutting down the interference the same amount of money will go a lot further.

Let us share our resources.

Let us share them to rescue the States and localities from the brink of financial crisis.

Let us share them to give homeowners

and wage earners a chance to escape from ever-higher property taxes and sales taxes.

Let us share our resources for two other reasons as well.

The first of these reasons has to do with government itself, and the second has to do with each of us, with the individual.

Let's face it. Most Americans today are simply fed up with government at all levels. They will not—and they should not—continue to tolerate the gap between promise and performance in government.

The fact is that we have made the Federal Government so strong it grows musclebound and the States and localities so weak they approach impotence.

If we put more power in more places, we can make government more creative in more places. That way we multiply the number of people with the ability to make things happen—and we can open the way to a new burst of creative energy throughout America.

The final reason I urge this historic shift is much more personal, for each and for every one of us.

As everything seems to have grown bigger and more complex in America, as the forces that shape our lives seem to have grown more distant and more impersonal, a great feeling of frustration has crept across this land.

Whether it is the workingman who feels neglected, the black man who feels oppressed, or the mother concerned about her children, there has been a growing feeling that "Things are in the saddle, and ride mankind."

Millions of frustrated young Americans today are crying out—asking not what will government do for me, but what can *I* do, how can *I* contribute, how can *I* matter?

And so let us answer them. Let us say to them and let us say to all Americans, "We hear you. We will give you a chance. We are going to give you a new chance to have more to say about the decisions that affect your future—a chance to participate in government—because we are going to provide more centers of power where what you do can make a difference that you can see and feel in your own life and the life of your whole community."

The further away government is from people, the stronger government becomes and the weaker people become. And a nation with a strong government and a weak people is an empty shell.

I reject the patronizing idea that government in Washington, D.C., is inevitably more wise, more honest, and more efficient than government at the local or State level. The honesty and efficiency of government depends on people. Government at all levels has good people and bad people. And the way to get more good people into government is to give them more opportunity to do good things.

The idea that a bureaucratic elite in Washington knows best what is best for people everywhere and that you cannot trust local governments is really a contention that you cannot trust people to govern themselves. This notion is completely foreign to the American experience. Local government is the government closest to the *people,* it is most responsive to the individual *person.* It is people's government in a far more intimate way than the Government in Washington can ever be.

People came to America because they wanted to determine their own future rather than to live in a country where others determined their future for them.

What this change means is that once again in America we are placing our trust in people.

I have faith in people. I trust the judgment of people. Let us give the people of America a chance, a bigger voice in deciding for themselves those questions that so greatly affect their lives.

The sixth great goal is a complete reform of the Federal Government itself.

Based on a long and intensive study with the aid of the best advice obtainable, I have concluded that a sweeping reorganization of the executive branch is needed if the Government is to keep up with the times and with the needs of the people.

I propose, therefore, that we reduce the present 12 Cabinet Departments to eight.

I propose that the Departments of State, Treasury, Defense, and Justice remain, but that all the other departments be consolidated into four: Human Resources, Community Development, Natural Resources, and Economic Development.

Let us look at what these would be:

—First, a department dealing with the concerns of *people*—as individuals, as members of a family—a department focused on human needs.

—Second, a department concerned with the *community*—rural communities and urban communities—and with all that it takes to make a community function as a community.

—Third, a department concerned with our *physical environment,* with the preservation and balanced use of those great natural resources on which our Nation depends.

—And fourth, a department concerned with our *prosperity*—with our jobs, our businesses, and those many activities that keep our economy running smoothly and well.

Under this plan, rather than dividing up our departments by narrow subjects, we would organize them around the great purposes of government. Rather than scattering responsibility by adding new levels of bureaucracy, we would focus and concentrate the responsibility for getting problems solved.

With these four departments, when we have a problem we will know where to go—and the department will have the authority and the resources to do something about it.

Over the years we have added departments and created agencies at the Federal level, each to serve a new constituency, to handle a particular task—and these have grown and multiplied in what has become a hopeless confusion of form and function.

The time has come to match our structure to our purposes—to look with a fresh eye, to organize the Government by conscious, comprehensive design to meet the new needs of a new era.

One hundred years ago, Abraham Lincoln stood on a battlefield and spoke of a "government of the people, by the people, for the people." Too often since then, we have become a nation of the Government, by the Government, for the Government.

By enacting these reforms, we can renew that principle that Lincoln stated so simply and so well.

By giving everyone's voice a chance to be heard, we will have government that truly is *of* the people.

By creating more centers of meaningful power, more places where decisions that really count can be made, by giving

more people a chance to do something, we can have government that truly is *by* the people.

And by setting up a completely modern, functional system of government at the national level, we in Washington will at last be able to provide government that is truly *for* the people.

I realize that what I am asking is that not only the executive branch in Washington but that even this Congress will have to change by giving up some of its power.

Change is hard. But without change there can be no progress. And for each of us the question then becomes, not "Will change cause me inconvenience?" but "Will change bring progress for America?"

Giving up power is hard. But I would urge all of you, as leaders of this country, to remember that the truly revered leaders in world history are those who gave power to people, and not those who took it away.

As we consider these reforms we will be acting, not for the next 2 years or for the next 10 years, but for the next 100 years.

So let us approach these six great goals with a sense not only of this moment in history but also of history itself.

Let us act with the willingness to work together and the vision and the boldness and the courage of those great Americans who met in Philadelphia almost 190 years ago to write a constitution.

Let us leave a heritage as they did—not just for our children but for millions yet unborn—of a nation where every American will have a chance not only to live in peace and to enjoy prosperity and opportunity but to participate in a system of government where he knows not only his votes but his ideas count—a system of government which will provide the means for America to reach heights of achievement undreamed of before.

Those men who met at Philadelphia left a great heritage because they had a vision—not only of what the Nation was but of what it could become.

As I think of that vision, I recall that America was founded as the land of the open door—as a haven for the oppressed, a land of opportunity, a place of refuge, of hope.

When the first settlers opened the door of America three and a half centuries ago, they came to escape persecution and to find opportunity—and they left wide the door of welcome for others to follow.

When the Thirteen Colonies declared their independence almost two centuries ago, they opened the door to a new vision of liberty and of human fulfillment—not just for an elite but for all.

To the generations that followed, America's was the open door that beckoned millions from the old world to the new in search of a better life, a freer life, a fuller life, and in which, by their own decisions, they could shape their own destinies.

For the black American, the Indian, the Mexican-American, and for those others in our land who have not had an equal chance, the Nation at last has begun to confront the need to press open the door of full and equal opportunity, and of human dignity.

For all Americans, with these changes I have proposed tonight we can open the door to a new era of opportunity. We can open the door to full and effective participation in the decisions that affect their lives. We can open the door to a new partnership among governments at all levels, between those governments and

the people themselves. And by so doing, we can open wide the doors of human fulfillment for millions of people here in America now and in the years to come.

In the next few weeks I will spell out in greater detail the way I propose that we achieve these six great goals. I ask this Congress to be responsive. If it is, then the 92d Congress, your Congress, our Congress, at the end of its term, will be able to look back on a record more splendid than any in our history.

This can be the Congress that helped us end the longest war in the Nation's history, and end it in a way that will give us at last a genuine chance to enjoy what we have not had in this century: a full generation of peace.

This can be the Congress that helped achieve an expanding economy, with full employment and without inflation—and without the deadly stimulus of war.

This can be the Congress that reformed a welfare system that has robbed recipients of their dignity and robbed States and cities of their resources.

This can be the Congress that pressed forward the rescue of our environment, and established for the next generation an enduring legacy of parks for the people.

This can be the Congress that launched a new era in American medicine, in which the quality of medical care was enhanced while the costs were made less burdensome.

But above all, what this Congress can be remembered for is opening the way to a new American revolution—a peaceful revolution in which power was turned back to the people—in which government at all levels was refreshed and renewed and made truly responsive. This can be a revolution as profound, as far-reaching, as exciting as that first revolution almost 200 years ago—and it can mean that just 5 years from now America will enter its third century as a young nation new in spirit, with all the vigor and the freshness with which it began its first century.

My colleagues in the Congress, these are great goals. They can make the sessions of this Congress a great moment for America. So let us pledge together to go forward together—by achieving these goals to give America the foundation today for a new greatness tomorrow and in all the years to come, and in so doing to make this the greatest Congress in the history of this great and good country.

NOTE: The President delivered his address at 9 p.m. in the House Chamber at the Capitol before a joint session of the Congress. He was introduced by Speaker of the House of Representatives Carl Albert of Oklahoma. The address was broadcast live on radio and television.

An advance text of the President's address was released on the same day.

The White House also released the transcripts of three news briefings on the President's State of the Union proposals: the first, on January 25, 1971, by Senator Hugh Scott and Representative Gerald R. Ford following a Republican Congressional leadership meeting with the President; the second, on January 27, by John D. Ehrlichman, Assistant to the President for Domestic Affairs; and the third, on February 2, by Secretary of Commerce Maurice H. Stans, Secretary of Labor James D. Hodgson, and Secretary of Agriculture Clifford M. Hardin following a meeting of the Cabinet.

27 Remarks Honoring the Late Senator Richard Brevard Russell in Atlanta, Georgia. *January 23, 1971*

Ladies and gentlemen:

I have just had the very great honor to represent the people of the United States in paying a tribute to Senator Russell.

I have laid a wreath on the casket in the State Capitol of Georgia, and then I have met with members of his family, a very large family and a very devoted family, and spoke to them about what Senator Russell has meant to this country.

Last night on national television in the State of the Union, I asked the Members of the House and the Senate to rise in a silent tribute of prayer to Senator Russell. I said then that he was a great Senator and that he was a good friend for all of those who had the privilege to know him.

I think that my feelings today, as I stand here at the Capitol in the State of Georgia, go really to things more fundamental than friendship or service in the United States Senate. They go to the character of this man.

Richard Russell was certainly one of the most intelligent men ever to serve in the United States Senate. I have often heard it said that no new Member of the Senate should ever dare try to tangle with him. In fact, no older Members of the Senate would dare to do so with hope of coming out ahead.

He was one of the hardest working Members of the Senate. He was one who, of course, served in the Senate so many years that he had high seniority. But what really set him apart was what we call character—character which grew up over a period of years, character that came from his native soil of his native State, character that came from his family, character that came from his deep religious belief, and character which came from a sense of patriotism that enabled him to serve six Presidents with equal devotion.

The way I summarize Senator Russell's place in history very briefly is this: Had he been born 10 years later and served in the Senate 10 years later, he would probably have been President of the United States. All of those who knew him put him in that league.

But not having been President of the United States, he did something else that perhaps could have meant just as much. For five Presidents of the United States—for President Roosevelt, President Truman, President Johnson, President Eisenhower, President Kennedy—and then President Nixon, he was an adviser and a tower of strength in all areas of foreign policy and in national defense.

I would remember Senator Russell as a President's Senator, one that a President could always turn to when there was a hard fight, a close vote; one that he could always turn to and confide any information that was extremely confidential, knowing that it would never go beyond that room.

And I also remember one other thing that I think summarizes it all. I mentioned last night that I called on the Senator before his death, shortly, at Walter Reed Hospital, and what impressed me about him was that here was this man suffering in the last days of his life and never for one moment during about 45 minutes that we were there in the room did he talk about himself. He just talked about the country that he loved so much.

And he talked about the national defense of this country and the need to keep it strong.

When the conversation was over, and as we left the room, I will never forget the last words that he spoke. As I recall, this is what he said, "I only wish I could get down there and help."

I think that summarizes Richard Russell's life. He always wanted to be wherever he could be to help, and he has set an example for all of us as Americans to be proud of, an example for all of us to emulate, a selfless service to America.

We rather throw the word "great" around rather loosely these days, and every man who serves in the United States Senate or the Congress is, in a sense, a great man to have achieved that place of honor. But when we use the word "great" with Senator Russell, all of us who know him, all of us who had the opportunity to serve with him, know in our hearts that if we had to pick one Senator that we felt stood out above all the rest in times of crisis, that a President could rely on, it would be Richard Russell of Georgia.

That is why he was not just this President's Senator, but every President's Senator. He is going to be missed by this State. He is going to be missed by this country. But he is particularly going to be missed by Presidents of the United States in the future.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:35 p.m. at the State Capitol.

28 Remarks of Welcome to Prince Juan Carlos of Spain. *January* 26, 1971

Your Highness Prince Juan, Princess Sophia:

I welcome you, on behalf of all the people of the United States, very warmly to our country and to the Nation's Capital. I welcome you not only officially but personally.

Speaking officially for the people of the United States, we recall the great debt we owe to those courageous and daring Spanish explorers who came to the New World so many centuries ago.

We think of the heritage we owe to Spanish-speaking people in our Nation. We recall the fact, for example, that right at this time, next to English, more Americans speak Spanish than any other language. It is our second language.

We also think of the present, of the fact that we are partners in defense and that we also are partners in progress in our economic policies, partners in progress for the fastest growing economy of all the nations of Europe, the economy of your country.

And we think also of the future, of the vibrancy and the strength represented by the young people of your country of which you and your Princess are such distinguished representatives.

And speaking personally, Mrs. Nixon and I will never forget the welcome we received from the people of Spain in Madrid a few months ago.

You are welcomed just as warmly to our country, and we hope that your few days stay here will be as memorable for you as our stay in your country was memorable for us.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:45 a.m. on the South Lawn at the White House where Prince Juan Carlos received a formal welcome with full military honors.

See also Item 30.

The Prince responded in Spanish. A translation of his remarks follows:

Mr. President:

This is my fourth visit to the United States. For a Spaniard it is always an emotional experience to arrive on this continent to which my country has given the best of its culture, faith, blood, and ideals, all of which—reshaped and revitalized by the distinct personality of each of its nations—has contributed to form what is today the American reality.

On previous trips we acquired a direct and personal acquaintance with the people of the United States. We felt their kindness and generosity, their steadfast faith in their country's institutions, their organizational capacity—all of those ingredients and characteristics that make up your great Nation.

But the visit that Princess Sophia and I begin today has a new and deeper significance. As successor to the throne and future King of Spain, this is the first official trip taken on your personal invitation, Mr. President.

Spain is bound historically and by our commonly shared ideals of progress to the United States and all of America.

Today, nations cannot live in isolation. Our world must cope with problems often of a universal nature. Spain wishes to live in close harmony with all nations, respecting their national characteristics, but we must come to know one another better in order to better our mutual understanding. This desire of cooperation toward the progress of our two countries is attested to by the signatures on our recently negotiated treaties.

Many corners of the world cry out for the solution of their serious material needs, but in today's world there are also other urgent needs that must be satisfied. Freedom, to be authentic, must be responsible and based upon peace and culture; it also requires that we attend to new problems posed by an era of constant evolution.

Spain appreciates the efforts of the American people in serving the cause of peace. You may be sure that we share these same ideals and strive toward economic development, to achieve ever greater social well-being and political advancements, in accordance with our past experience and history.

Mr. President, Generalissimo Franco has requested me to convey his sincerest regards and profound esteem, and he has asked me to be the bearer of a letter. It is with great pleasure that I now fulfill both of these duties.

This trip, as your visit to Madrid several months ago, which we hold in fond memory, as well as our meetings and visits planned here, will contribute toward our increased mutual understanding, which is the cornerstone of the development of all nations.

Princess Sophia and I, Mr. President, thank you for your invitation and for this cordial welcome extended by you and your wife.

29 Special Message to the Congress Resubmitting Legislative Proposals. *January* 26, 1971

To the Congress of the United States:

This first special message to the Ninety-second Congress concerns itself not with the new, but with the familiar. As indicated in my State of the Union Message, this first request is that the unfinished business of the Ninety-first Congress be made the first business of the Ninety-second.

With this message, I am proposing to the Ninety-second Congress more than three dozen items of legislation which were previously submitted to the Ninety-first Congress. Some were acted on favorably by either the Senate or the House of Representatives. Some are being resubmitted in their original form. Others have been modified to meet legitimate concerns expressed by members of the Congress. Most will be in the hands of Congress today. All are bills which I consider to be in the national interest.

71-234—72——8

Although lengthy, this list does not contain all the measures proposed over the past two years which will be resubmitted to the Congress in this session.

There are other measures—measures to deal with strikes creating national emergencies, Social Security amendments, bail reform, aid for higher education, reform of the draft and steps to move toward an all-volunteer armed force, and other initiatives—which the Congress must also consider. I will deal with these separately.

In my message on the State of the Union, I outlined six great goals—goals which, by their accomplishment, could make this the greatest Congress in America's history as a nation.

These included one especially urgent item of unfinished business which I proposed to the 91st Congress: welfare reform. In fairness to the taxpayers, to the communities, and also to the children, we can afford to delay no longer in discarding the present system and replacing it with a new one.

In due course, I will be making more detailed proposals to the Congress for achieving the other goals that I outlined. Meanwhile, I believe that the items of unfinished business I propose today merit the prompt and careful consideration of the Congress. I believe they are good measures. I believe they are wise proposals. I believe they are necessary legislation. I urge the Congress to act favorably upon them.

Economic Justice

Two proposals being resubmitted would promote economic justice. One would provide broader opportunities for Americans entering into new small businesses—especially black Americans and members of other minorities who need, but cannot acquire, the seed capital to go into business for themselves. The other would provide improved benefits for certain American workers.

AID TO SMALL BUSINESS

Ten months ago, several proposals were sent to the Congress to promote the prospects for success of small businesses in the United States. They included:

—Allowing private and corporate lenders an income tax deduction equal to twenty percent of the interest earned on Small Business Administration guaranteed loans, which would act as an incentive for loans to small businesses and minority enterprises;

—Providing managerial training to disadvantaged persons going into business for themselves;

—Authorizing banks to become sole sponsors of Minority Enterprise Small Business Investment Companies (MESBICs);

—Authorizing SBA to pay interest subsidies on loans it guarantees, in cases of demonstrated need;

—Liberalizing the net operating loss carryover rules and stock option provisions for qualified small businesses;

—Allowing tax deduction for contributions to nonprofit MESBICs.

Many of these amendments passed the Senate in the 91st Congress. I urge this Congress to give them a favorable response.

LONGSHOREMEN'S DISABILITY COMPENSATION

The existing minimum disability compensation for longshoremen and harbor workers was established in 1956—the

maximum a decade ago. I am renewing the administration's proposal that these benefits be increased to a level more in line with the increased wages and living costs since the present levels were set. Other liberalizing provisions of the Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers' Compensation Act are being resubmitted as part of this proposal.

Under this legislation the recovery of damages by employees from their employers, including shipowners, would be limited to those specified under the Act. We seek to eliminate situations in which longshoremen are permitted to recover damages in suits against shipowners, which usually require the longshore employer to indemnify the shipowner for the damages paid.

America's Overdue Debts

There are three groups of peoples, two of them among the earliest inhabitants of the Western Hemisphere, to whom this nation has outstanding obligations that ought to be met.

AMERICAN INDIANS AND ALASKA NATIVES

The first two of these are the American Indians and the Alaska Natives. After full consultation with Indian leaders is complete, the unenacted legislation outlined in my Message of last July 8 will be reviewed and promptly submitted again. An Alaska Native Claims bill will also be submitted which I believe will equitably resolve the Native claims in that State. These legislative proposals would take America in a new more hopeful direction in dealing with the problems of a terribly neglected minority of our people.

THE MICRONESIANS

Under the Executive Agreement of April 18, 1969 between Japan and the United States, inhabitants of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands are to be compensated for damages suffered during World War II. The agreement stipulates that each government will make ex gratia contributions of $5 million for the welfare of the people of Micronesia.

I am renewing the administration's request that the Congress authorize appropriations of $5 million to meet that commitment, and also that the Congress establish a five-member commission to settle the claims of individual Micronesians resulting from World War II and to determine the validity of additional claims for property damage arising after the war.

Congressional action on these matters would render overdue justice to the people of Micronesia.

Pure Food and Drugs

Two pieces of "preventive" legislation are being resubmitted dealing with the health of the American people. The first has to do with the wholesomeness of fish and fish products which form so significant a segment of the American diet; the second with preventing illness and death from accidental misuse of prescription drugs.

FISH INSPECTION

Fish and fish products, a major source of protein in the American diet, are highly perishable foods. Improperly handled, they become a medium for bacterial

growth. The Wholesome Fish and Fishery Products Act, which is being resubmitted, would establish a broad surveillance and inspection system to assure the wholesomeness and quality of both domestic and imported fishery products.

Recent reports of mercury residues in both inland and deep sea fish provide urgent and concurring arguments for immediate passage of this legislation.

DRUG IDENTIFICATION

Every year some Americans, in times of medical emergency, are poisoned by drugs of unidentified composition. Some of these men, women, and children die from these poisonings; others suffer lasting physical harm. While these occurrences are not commonplace, their number can and should be reduced to an absolute minimum. To achieve that objective—to permit the rapid identification of prescription drugs in emergency situations—this administration again proposes the coding of all drugs. Such coding will also facilitate recalls of drugs when necessary to protect public health.

Some manufacturers already use coding systems for immediate identification and inventory control. A universal system of coding of drugs would benefit the entire drug industry—and perhaps save the lives of scores of Americans and their children in years ahead.

TOWARD A MORE SECURE AND DECENT SOCIETY

Within this broad category, I again urge action on five previously submitted measures. One of them would provide new and needed protection for the orderly processes of government in the event of disruptive activities conducted in or near Federal offices. Passed by the Senate, this measure should be viewed favorably by the House. It is needed to protect government workers as they carry out their duties. The wagering tax and the administration's proposal to give law enforcement officers the right to gather non-testimonial evidence are reforms which would provide us with new weapons in the war against crime. The final proposals, dealing with obscenity and pornography, I believe to be essential at a time when the tide of offensive materials seems yet to be rising.

PROTECTION OF PUBLIC BUILDINGS

If the Federal Government is to discharge its duties, the employees of government must cease being victimized by raucous and disorderly demonstrations in the offices where they work. Such disruptions have occurred too frequently in recent years.

To help end this harassment, I propose that the General Services Administration's authority to police Federal property be extended to all buildings leased or occupied by Federal agencies.

Further, I ask Congress to prohibit specifically:

—The obstruction of passage into or out of a government office;

—The use of loud, abusive, or threatening language, or any disorderly conduct that has as its goal the disruption of government business; and,

—Any act of physical violence within a GSA facility.

These are similar to the safeguards which the Congress provided for its own

employees in the U.S. Capitol Buildings and Grounds Security Act of 1967.

Under this proposal the maximum penalties for violation of the rules promulgated by GSA would be raised from a $50 fine or thirty days in jail to a $500 fine or six months in prison.

Passage of this legislation would help divert future protests back into the legitimate democratic channels where they belong.

FEDERAL WAGERING TAX

The Federal wagering tax can be a useful tool in our increasingly successful effort against organized crime. Some of its provisions, however, were ruled unconstitutional in 1968 as violative of the Fifth Amendment right against self-incrimination. Both to retain this needed weapon and to bring the law into accord with the rulings of the Supreme Court, I again propose a prohibition on any use—against the taxpayer—of information obtained through his compliance with this statute. At the same time, the new amendments would broaden the coverage of the wagering tax and increase the level of taxation.

NON-TESTIMONIAL IDENTIFICATION

Currently, law enforcement officers are often handicapped in obtaining significant non-testimonial evidence—such as blood samples or fingerprints—in a way to qualify it for use as legal evidence. Under this proposal, a judicial officer could, under prescribed conditions, issue an order *requiring* that a suspect give such kinds of evidence. This is a constitutionally sound step that would advance the cause of criminal justice without infringing upon any of the legitimate rights of suspects and defendants.

OBSCENITY AND PORNOGRAPHY

The overwhelming majority of Americans is rightly appalled at the burgeoning growth of the pornography industry here in the United States. Though Court rulings have restricted some government countermeasures, in other instances they have left us the freedom to act. They have both recognized the right to protect minors from the products of this obnoxious enterprise, and reaffirmed the right to restrict pandering through advertising. I propose anew that Congress pass measures, with stiff penalties, prohibiting the use of interstate facilities to transport unsolicited salacious advertising, or to deliver any harmful and offensive matter to youngsters. It would be difficult to overstate the strength of my support for these two pieces of legislation.

EDUCATION: REFORM AND OPPORTUNITY

Under this broad category, I have included three measures submitted to the Ninety-first Congress, all of which I believe have great merit and would serve great needs. The first is for a National Institute of Education, the need for which is becoming increasingly apparent; the second is a measure to provide financial assistance to those school districts carrying the strain of desegregation; the third is to encourage and assist the men coming home from Vietnam to make better use of the educational opportunity the coun-

try affords them. Higher education proposals will be resubmitted later to the new Congress.

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

A National Institute of Education—to bring to education the intensity and quality of research now developed in the fields of space and health—is truly a national need. Year by year, the American people grow more disenchanted with the returns on their education tax dollars. The schools of the nation are in growing need of new counsel and new ideas. Here is the opportunity to find the answers, by bringing to bear on the problems the wisdom, the knowledge and the experience of the most able men and women in the field. This Institute was a key part of my education proposals of last year. Today I again urge the Congress to act favorably upon this request.

EMERGENCY SCHOOL AID

Last year, both to encourage and to expedite desegregation of the public schools in the United States, I asked the Congress for a two-year Emergency School Aid Act. Although great progress has been made, the need for such aid remains. Therefore, today I reissue this request. The changes needed to desegregate our schools—either under court order or through voluntary action—place a heavy strain upon local school systems, and the Federal Government should assist the school systems in this effort. The measure I propose today is similar to the one which passed the House of Representatives in the closing days of the Ninety-first Congress. I urge the Congress to complete action at an early date.

VIETNAM VETERANS EDUCATION ALLOWANCE

It is this administration's hope that more veterans coming home from Vietnam will take advantage of the educational opportunities the nation affords them. The bill I now again recommend will help achieve that objective.

Under the GI Bill, the monthly allowances received by veterans begin only after they have enrolled and completed at least a month of their education or training. This deferral of payment often deters veterans from taking training or additional schooling because they lack the initial funds to meet tuition and living expenses.

This legislation would enable the Veterans Administration to make advance payments to veterans as soon as they submit evidence they have registered. This will provide them with funds when their need for funds is most pressing.

THE FEDERAL CITY

Two proposals being resubmitted deal with the nation's capital. The first envisions a corporation to carry out the revitalization of the heart of Washington. The second would give the District Government a new measure of freedom and control over its own capital outlay programs, reducing District dependency on the Federal Government.

FEDERAL CITY BICENTENNIAL DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION

The American Bicentennial—midway through the present decade—presents a powerful incentive and a realistic deadline for realization of Pierre L'Enfant's

vision for the Federal City. The proposal being resubmitted would create a public corporation to prepare plans for carrying forward the revitalization of the heart of Washington, and for generating the maximum private and commercial investment for the fulfillment of that dream. I urge the Congress not to allow any more time to be lost in completing this promising enterprise.

D.C. CAPITAL PROGRAM FINANCING ACT

Currently, when the District of Columbia Government is confronted with the need to borrow for major new building and construction, it must turn to the United States Treasury; and it can borrow only up to a temporary formula limit set by the Congress.

I now renew this administration's proposal that the Congress grant the District of Columbia Government the authority to issue its own local bonds, and that the future limit on borrowing be set according to a permanent flexible formula based on District revenues. Removing the District's capital spending requirements from the Federal budget would mean savings to the Treasury. Further, it would give Washington responsibilities and rights commensurate with those of other great American cities.

TRANSPORTATION

Under this heading, two proposals are being resubmitted. They relate to waterways safety, the need for which has become increasingly apparent as more and more great vessels ply the navigable waters of the United States. Decreasing accidents at sea is an important part of our overall program to provide greater safety to the traveling public. In addition, these bills enhance our efforts to prevent the damaging pollution of the Nation's waterways which often results from collisions at sea.

PORTS AND WATERWAYS SAFETY ACT

As commerce grows, and as world trade expands, more and more great ships use American waters. Many carry hazardous cargoes—potential dangers to America's ports, harbors, waterfront areas, the waters themselves and the resources they contain. There would, I believe, be a substantial benefit in the creation of a coordinated safety program. And I again ask that the Secretary of Transportation be empowered to prescribe standards and regulations, and to act upon them, to give the protection the nation increasingly needs.

VESSEL-TO-VESSEL RADIO PHONES

With the increasing number of vessels operating on inland and coastal waterways, the danger of accidents and collisions has become more serious. To help prevent unnecessary loss of life and property in future years, I am again proposing to the Congress legislation requiring that certain vessels transiting these waterways carry equipment for direct bridge-to-bridge contact. While most vessels today carry radio equipment, there is not always a compatible and open communication channel between two ships—and hence, they often cannot communicate even the most basic navigational information. Many vessels are already adequately equipped to meet the new requirements; the cost to the remaining shipowners would not be great.

Rural America

Two measures again being proposed concern Americans living in the countryside or on farms. One would establish a mixed-ownership bank to make loans to telephone borrowers, along the lines of the Farm Credit Administration; the other would reduce Federal expenditures by replacing direct loans to some farmers with government guaranteed loans.

THE TELEPHONE BANK

I propose creation of a mixed-ownership bank to make loans—at from 4 percent to market interest rates—to telephone companies and cooperatives which now rely almost exclusively on the Rural Electrification Administration for their financing.

The bank would be partially capitalized through Treasury purchase of stock at a rate of up to $30 million annually until the Treasury holdings reached $300 million.

When total capital stock plus paid-in surplus reached $400 million, the bank would begin to retire the Federal investment. Further, the bank would be empowered to sell stock to its borrowers, and to borrow from private investors up to eight times the paid-in capital and retained earnings of the bank. This could bring about bank loans during Fiscal Year 1972 of $94.5 million to telephone borrowers—and the 1972 budget assumes timely enactment of this legislation.

INSURED FARM OPERATING LOANS

This proposal would permit the Farmers Home Administration to substitute insured for direct loans to farmers up to a level of $275 million for the coming fiscal year.

This could reduce Treasury outlays by $275 million, while leaving a Federal guarantee for the loans. It is consistent with our belief in maximum use of the private sector in achieving public purposes, and its enactment is assumed in our 1972 Budget.

Government and Administrative Reform

A number of proposals being resubmitted deal with the smoother, more efficient and more responsive operation of the Federal Government. They argue for themselves on their own considerable merits.

GRANT CONSOLIDATION

First, I urge the Congress to enact legislation permitting the President to merge related Federal assistance programs, subject to Congressional review and concurrence. This authority, similar to presidential power to reorganize the Executive Branch, would be a vital part of our total effort to simplify the Federal system and make the delivery of goods and services at the regional, State and local level more effective. The consolidation of programs will make possible broader and more flexible use of funds and facilitate program administration at all levels of government. Originally submitted almost two years ago, this request for authority is thoroughly in keeping with the administration's unprecedented revenue sharing proposals contained in my State of the Union Message. The time has come to move on this bill.

JOINT FUNDING

Often when States, communities or even individuals apply for Federal grants, the funds must be drawn from more than a single agency. To answer these requests more quickly, more simply and more efficiently, I recommend that the Congress authorize Federal agencies to pool certain related funds—and to adopt common administrative procedures, to be carried out by a lead agency. The House passed this joint funding measure last year. I again urge both Houses to act favorably upon it early in the Ninety-second Congress.

AEC AMENDMENTS

This proposal would authorize the Atomic Energy Commission to collect license fees from any other government agency engaged in generating electric power on the same basis it now charges other electric utility systems for licensing nuclear powerplants. The cost of a license for a nuclear powerplant is part of the cost of doing business. Thus, it is appropriate that Federal power agencies should be placed on the same footing.

CLARIFYING CERTAIN PRESIDENTIAL AUTHORITY

Under Reorganization Plan No. 9 of 1950, the President was given authority to designate the Chairman of the Federal Power Commission. However, because the basic statute has not been amended to accord precisely with that plan, the President's authority is not crystal clear. This resulted, some time ago, in certain ambiguities when one of my predecessors sought to designate a new FPC Chairman.

The Ninety-first Congress was urged to clarify this situation, and I now request that the Ninety-second Congress enact the necessary clarifying legislation.

NATURAL GAS ACT AMENDMENT

The Federal Power Commission has asked the Congress for broader authority to gather and publish information on the natural gas industry. This would benefit the industry, its consumers and investors, government agencies and the Congress itself, as well as enable the FPC to exercise more effectively its own regulatory powers. The proposal is comparable to existing provisions of the Federal Power Act concerning the electric power industry—and in no way would it expand the regulatory responsibilities of the FPC. I urge the Congress to act favorably upon this request.

COST ACCOUNTING STANDARDS BOARD

Last year, in extending the Defense Production Act, the Congress established a Cost Accounting Standards Board—and then placed that Board under the authority of the Legislative Branch.

This Board is responsible for establishing cost accounting standards, rules and regulations for use by defense contractors and subcontractors. Since these standards necessarily affect the negotiation and administration of government contracts, and since government contracts are the responsibility of the Executive Branch under the Constitution, placing this board under the Legislative Branch violates the fundamental principle of the separation of powers.

On August 17, 1970, we asked Congress to remedy this situation. With this message I am reissuing that request.

DEFENSE PRODUCTION ACT AMENDMENTS

Under the Defense Production Act, the nation's industrial capacity is expanded and critical materials are produced and allocated in times of national emergency. I now renew the administration's proposal that this Act be extended for another two years and needed changes be made. These include:

—A new method of financing the production expansion provisions.

—Elimination of the unnecessary and undesirable restriction on guaranteed transactions imposed last year.

—Authority for the President to make adjustments in civilian pay and personnel administration to assure the effective functioning of government agencies in a civil defense emergency.

STOCKPILE DISPOSALS

Proposed legislation will be resubmitted which would authorize GSA to sell off from the government's stockpiles quantities of sixteen commodities which we now hold in excess of our needs for national security. The sales would bring substantial returns to the Treasury. In the near future, new legislation will be submitted to the Congress for authority to dispose of other commodities—authority which I urge the Congress to grant as consistent with both sound government and a sound economic policy.

LOST CURRENCY WRITE-OFF

Millions of dollars in U.S. currency and silver certificates issued since 1929 have been lost or destroyed, or are held permanently in collections—and will never be presented for redemption. I now renew the administration's proposal that the Department of the Treasury be authorized to write off these Federal Reserve bank notes and national bank notes, and to remove the limitation of $200 million on such write-offs. In anticipation of favorable Congressional action, the Fiscal Year 1972 budget reflects these write-offs as a receipt of $228 million.

REFORM OF VETERANS' PROGRAMS

Three separate reforms can be made in veterans' programs which would lift an unwarranted burden from the general taxpayer without in any way diminishing the legitimate rights or privileges of veterans. I am again asking the Congress to enact them, along with a proposal to facilitate sale of direct loans by the Veterans Administration.

BURIAL ALLOWANCE

The first deals with the veterans burial allowance which runs to $250. This allowance was established before the existence of other Federal programs—such as social security and railroad retirement—which often provide similar or greater burial benefits to the same eligible veterans. The legislation proposed would eliminate duplication by limiting the Veterans Administration's burial payment to the difference between $250 and the non-VA burial payment.

TUBERCULOSIS DISABILITY COMPENSATION

Secondly, some veterans are still receiving disability compensation for tuberculosis long after the disease has reached a

stage of complete arrest. The Congress has enacted legislation prohibiting future awards of compensation for arrested tuberculosis, recognizing that such awards no longer reflect medical reality. However, those on the rolls before that law was enacted continue to receive monthly payments, although their disease has been cured. This preferential treatment of a relatively few veterans should be terminated.

MEDICAL INSURANCE

My third proposal deals with the cost of caring in VA hospitals for veterans who have non-service connected ailments and who have private health insurance.

Generally, veterans who are over 65 or have war-time service, and who state that they cannot afford hospitalization, are entitled to VA care on a bed-available basis.

In many cases, the private insurance could pay part or all of the cost of hospitalization. But the insurance contracts often bar reimbursement to a veteran hospitalized in a VA hospital. This represents both an unwarranted windfall to the insurance company, and an unnecessary burden on the Federal Treasury.

Veterans should not be barred from receiving care in a VA hospital. But there is no reason why insurance companies should not reimburse the Federal Government in the same manner in which they pay a non-Federal private hospital. The proposed legislation will correct this discriminatory situation.

SALE OF VA DIRECT LOANS

Under present law, the Veterans Administration can sell direct loans from its portfolio only if the price received is at least 98 percent of par. Recent market conditions have resulted in prices below that level and this proposal would remove the statutory price limitation, allowing the Veterans Administration, when necessary, to sell loans if "reasonable prices" prevail.

USER TAXES

Two of my proposals deal with a more equitable allocation of user costs of transportation services. Under one proposal, the cost of providing security against aircraft hijackers would be borne by the passengers themselves and not by the general public. Under the other, the large trucks which use our national highway system would be made to bear a more appropriate share of the cost of highway construction.

AIRLINE USER TAXES

The number of airline hijackings that seemed to be taking place almost daily months ago has been reduced. Partly, this is due to the civil air and ground security program, particularly the sky marshals, established by the Federal Government. This program should be continued and strengthened—but its cost should be borne, not by the entire tax-paying public, but by the airline users themselves. For that reason I urge approval of legislation the administration is resubmitting to provide for an increase of one-half of one percent in the eight percent airline passenger ticket tax, and for an additional charge of $2 to be added to the present $3 departure tax on all international flights. Those who use our airlines are the principal beneficiaries of this new security

service, and it is appropriate, therefore, that they should bear the cost.

HIGHWAY USER TAXES

Believing that the burden of highway taxes should be more equitably distributed between larger trucks and smaller vehicles and automobiles, I again ask that the Federal tax on diesel fuel be raised from four cents per gallon to six cents, and that the present $3 per thousand pounds annual use tax on trucks weighing over 26,000 pounds, be changed to a graduated tax schedule ranging from $3.50 to $9.50 per thousand pounds. This new tax would be applied only to those truck combinations weighing in excess of 26,000 pounds.

IMMIGRATION AND FOREIGN ASSISTANCE

Finally, I urge passage of several measures which are being resubmitted dealing with the immigration policies of the United States, and with American contributions to international banks to assist the economic development of friendly nations.

REFORM IN THE IMMIGRATION LAW

To improve our immigration laws and to enlarge upon our national tradition as an open nation and an open society, legislation is being resubmitted which would, among other reforms, provide:

—A higher percentage of immigrant visas for professionals, needed workers and refugees.

—Additional visas for the Western hemisphere, with special provisions for our nearest neighbors, Mexico and Canada.

Further, to encourage travel and tourism in the United States, the requirement for a visa would be waived for all business and pleasure visits of ninety days or less by nationals of countries designated by the Secretary of State.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO ASIAN DEVELOPMENT BANK AND INTER-AMERICAN DEVELOPMENT BANK

In recent years, the benefits of increased multilateral aid to developing countries have become more and more manifest. Multilateral aid enables a pooling of the assistance of the donor nations; it reduces political frictions inherent in some bilateral programs; it strengthens international institutions; it is preferred by many recipient nations.

Thus, I again urge the Congress to authorize $100 million in United States contributions to the Special Fund of the Asian Development Bank, and $900 million to the corresponding fund of the Inter-American Development Bank. The former will enable the nations of free Asia to assume greater responsibility for the success of their own development. The latter, along with the $100 million first installment authorized by the last Congress, will make possible significant advances in the economic development of the hemisphere, in which we ourselves have so vital a stake, and also give substance to the partnership of the Americas.

To the veterans of the Ninety-first Congress, the measures proposed once again in this message will of course be

familiar. In the case of many of them, the work begun by the Ninety-first Congress should aid prompt consideration by the Ninety-second. Each is worthy, and by moving promptly and favorably on these matters of unfinished business this Congress will make an auspicious beginning on what could become a record of splendid achievement.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
January 26, 1971

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released a fact sheet on 40 bills being resubmitted to the 92d Congress.

30 Toasts of the President and Prince Juan Carlos of Spain. *January 26, 1971*

Your Royal Highnesses and all of our distinguished guests this evening:

As everybody who has been in this room before knows, a lot of history has occurred here. And through the 190 years that the White House has been here and through the years that this has been the State Dining Room, many honored guests have been received in this room. It is significant to note that tonight is the first time in the long history of this Nation and the history of this house and of this room that we honor not only a nation, a nation with whom we have so many strong bonds and such great affection, but for the first time we honor the representative of that nation, the Royal Family of Spain.

This is the first time, in other words, that while through the years we have had heads of government and heads of state from other nations, that one who will be the head of state of his nation, and a member of the Royal Family, is honored here from Spain.

And on such an occasion, therefore, all of us here who know Spain, who have had the opportunity to visit Spain—and that is virtually everybody in the room—have a feeling of the history of the moment and what it means about our past and what particularly it means about our future, the future of both of our countries.

We think, for example, of the visit that His Royal Highness and Princess Sophia will be making to other States after they leave Washington. They will go to three States, three great States, which have such a background of Spanish culture, Spanish language, Spanish music, some of which we heard tonight—to Florida, Texas, and California.

And we are reminded, as I pointed out this morning, of the fact that the United States and all the New World owe so much to Spain, the great courageous explorers who found the New World and who explored it, and that we owe far more than that in culture and language and the other areas with which we are familiar.

And all of us who have visited Spain, too, know that it is a magnificent country to visit because of the places of historical interest there, because, also, of the immense and unique warmth and hospitality which characterizes the Spanish people.

Mrs. Nixon and I, Secretary of State Rogers and his wife, and a few others here tonight had one of the great experiences of the time that we have been here in the reception that we had in Spain, and we were there a few months ago, an official reception. But I can assure you that if an individual goes to Spain, even as an ordinary citizen or a tourist, as millions do, he

will receive the same warmth, be accorded the same dignity that the head of state of the United States would receive and be accorded.

And now, having spoken of the past, of what we owe to Spain historically, having spoken also of the fact that Spain is known not only in the United States but throughout Europe and throughout the world as a place that everybody enjoys going to, because of what it offers in the way of tourism, let me come to something which for the future is far more important, far more significant.

There is a tendency for some in the United States to think of our relationship with Spain as being primarily and almost exclusively because of our common interest in defense. That, of course, is important.

But far more important for the future is the fact that Spain, a country with a very proud and glorious past, is now moving into an era of great progress for the future.

Spain has the youngest Cabinet of any country in Europe. Spain has, as you see, a very young man and a young Princess who will be in the future, and have already been designated as, heads of state. And one who visits Spain realizes that there in that country is a vibrant, dynamic force for growth which has already meant that Spain has the fastest growth rate of any country in Europe, but that looking to the future, that this nation with its proud past is now entering an era of even a greater future.

And so we in the United States feel that we are very fortunate to be able to be partners in cooperating toward that future, not simply in our defense, which is very important, but also in terms of our economic cooperation, our cultural cooperation, and in every other area in which two great peoples with so many ties in the past have the opportunity to work together for a greater future.

And so at this moment, when for the first time, at long last, we honor as the guest of the United States of America one who will be the head of state, a very proud and great country, and a very great friend of the United States, I know that all of you will want to join me in the toast that I will propose. And that toast will be to his Royal Highness, to Princess Sophia, and to Generalissimo Franco, the President of Spain.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:51 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House.

See also Item 28.

Prince Juan Carlos responded as follows:

Mr. President, Mrs. Nixon:

Both Princess Sophia and myself deeply appreciate your hospitality.

Our visit today to Washington as your guests symbolizes, in my opinion, the bonds that unite our two countries. These bonds are not new, Mr. President.

Men of the world from which I come, men of my homeland, lent their efforts and initiative to the creation of those bonds. Their moral tenacity, the sweat of their brows, and their intelligence contributed to the discovery and formation of America, and today they are part of your history:

Men like Junipero Serra, founder of California, your home State, Mr. President, whose statue rises above the capitol dome; a woman such as Queen Isabella, my ancestress, who with the ships of Columbus made possible the discovery of this continent; or King Charles III, whose moral and material efforts aided this country to achieve its national independence.

But we must not confine ourselves to the glorious deeds of the past. I feel a duty of our time and also of my own generation to look toward the future and hope that the significance of this visit will remain alive long after our departure.

Spain admires, above all, your country's moral virtues. Yours is the land of the liberty

and efficiency that today has been called upon to play a decisive role in the free world.

You can be sure, Mr. President, that my country with its deeply rooted past understands and appreciates all the valuable efforts of your great Nation and fully shares your ideals of justice, because only justice will bring peace to nations and to man's conscience.

For these reasons, you have in Spain a country who has always been at the crossroads of civilization and cultures, a good friend and sincere ally.

My country believes in the qualities of nobility and generosity. We like friendship and we admire, above all other things, justice and loyalty.

Spain is capable of making great sacrifices for an ideal, to aid and to defend those countries who offer her their friendship, and we also hope that those whom we call our friends will return this gesture accordingly.

You may be certain that Spain will always repay loyalty with loyalty, the understanding of our problems with the understanding of yours.

Therefore, I do not hesitate in predicting a lasting and fruitful understanding between our two countries.

Spain is today again a young country, with hard-working and hopeful people who have their eyes set on the future.

Through many years of effort under the leadership of Generalissimo Franco we achieved our reconstruction and development. We are adapting the structure of our society to better assure our prosperity.

One of our main goals is to raise the standard of living of all the Spanish people. We know that we are not alone in pursuing this goal, because you, Mr. President, also attach great importance to the American welfare program in your State of the Union Address.

Now, as we approach the end of the 20th century, we are prepared to follow the path of liberty, peace, and justice and to offer our contribution toward harmony among nations.

And with this desire and hope in mind, I would like to raise my glass and toast the friendship of our two nations, the prosperity of the United States, and the personal well-being of you, Mr. President, and you, Mrs. Nixon.

31 Special Message to the Congress About Draft Reform. *January* 28, 1971

To the Congress of the United States:

On April 23, 1970, in a message to the 91st Congress, I proposed that the nation embrace a new approach to meeting our military manpower requirements—an approach that recognized both the necessity for maintaining a strong national defense and the desirability of ending the draft.

In that message I put forth two sets of proposals.

The first set of proposals dealt with the fundamental question of how this nation should raise the armed force necessary to defend the lives and rights of its people and to fulfill its existing commitments abroad.

After carefully weighing both the requirements of national security and the desirability of reducing infringements on individual liberties, I urged that we should begin moving toward an end of the draft and its replacement with an all-volunteer armed force, with an eye to achieving this goal as soon as we can do so without endangering our national security.

The second set of proposals dealt with reforming the draft system itself, while this continues to be needed in the immediate future to maintain our armed strength as we move toward an all-volunteer force.

Now, more than nine months later, I am even more strongly convinced of the rightness of these proposals. Now, as then, the objective of this administration is to reduce draft calls to zero, subject to the

overriding considerations of national security—and as long as we need the draft, to make it as fair and equitable as we can.

Over the past nine months the Secretary of Defense and the Director of Selective Service have initiated a comprehensive series of steps designed to help us achieve that goal. Average draft calls are now substantially lower than they were when this administration assumed office, and we have significantly improved the consistency and fairness of the draft system. We shall continue these actions at an accelerated pace.

However, to continue the progress that now is possible toward both goals—toward ending the draft, and in the meantime making it more nearly fair—legislative as well as Executive action will be needed.

Ending the Draft

Since my April 1970 message, a 7.9 percent across-the-board increase in the rate of basic pay has been enacted that will raise the pay of members of the Armed Forces by almost $1.2 billion a year.

Building on this base, I am submitting a number of legislative proposals (some of which were previously submitted to the 91st Congress) which, together with Executive actions I shall take, would move us substantially closer to the goal of an all-volunteer force.

—I propose that we invest an additional $1.5 billion in making military service more attractive to present and potential members, with most of this to be used to provide a pay raise for enlisted men with less than two years of service, effective May 1, 1971. If approved by the Congress, this action would result in a total additional investment of $2.7 billion for military manpower, and would substantially reduce the present inequity in the pay of men and women serving in the Armed Forces. The proposed pay raise would increase rates of basic pay at the entry level by *50 percent* over present levels. Also, I am proposing increases in the quarters allowance for personnel in the lower enlisted grades.

—I am proposing a test program of special pay incentives designed to attract more volunteers into training for Army combat skills.

—Existing law provides that as general adjustments are made in civilian pay, corresponding increases will be made in military pay. In addition, I am directing the Secretary of Defense to recommend for the 1973 fiscal year such further additions to military compensation as may be necessary to make the financial rewards of military life fully competitive with those in the civilian sector.

—The Department of Defense, through Project Volunteer, has been actively engaged in expanding programs designed to increase enlistments and retentions in the services. A fair level of pay, while necessary, is only one factor in increasing the relative attractiveness of a military career. I will propose that approximately one-fifth of the additional $1.5 billion be devoted to expanding our efforts in the areas of recruiting, medical scholarships, ROTC, improvement of housing, and other programs to enhance the quality of military life.

—During the past year, the Department of Defense has reviewed the policies and practices of the military services and has taken actions to emphasize

recognition of the individual needs and capabilities of all military personnel. These efforts will be continued and strengthened.

Extension of Induction Authority

No one knows precisely when we can end conscription. It depends on many things—including the level of military forces that will be required for our national security, the degree to which the combination of military pay increases and enhanced benefits will attract and hold enough volunteers to maintain the forces we need, and the attitude of young people toward military service.

Current induction authority expires on July 1, 1971. While I am confident that our plan will achieve its objective of reducing draft calls to zero, even the most optimistic observers agree that we would not be able to end the draft in the next year or so without seriously weakening our military forces and impairing our ability to forestall threats to the peace. Considerations of national security thus make it imperative that we continue induction authority at this time.

Normally, the Congress has extended induction authority for four year intervals. I propose that this Congress extend induction authority for two years, to July 1, 1973. We shall make every endeavor to reduce draft calls to zero by that time, carefully and continually reexamining our position as we proceed toward that goal.

Reform of the Draft

As long as we must continue to rely on the draft to meet a portion of our military manpower requirements, we must make the draft as equitable as possible. To that end I am proposing legislation to modify the present draft law, including the resubmission of recommendations I sent to the Congress last year. This proposed legislation would:

—Permit the phasing out of undergraduate student deferments, and also exemptions for divinity students.

—Establish a uniform national call, by lottery sequence numbers each month, to ensure that men throughout the country with the same lottery numbers have relatively equal liability to induction by their local boards.

In addition, the legislation I am proposing includes a number of other amendments which will improve the administration of existing law.

For the immediate future we will need the draft and, moreover, even when the draft has been ended, we will have to maintain some form of a standby system that could be re-activated in case of emergency. Therefore, I urge favorable Congressional action on these proposals to reform the draft and make it as nearly fair as we can for the time it is needed.

While the reforms proposed in our existing draft system are essential, however, it must be remembered that they are improvements in a system that will be used only as long as the draft is necessary.

This Congress has both the power and the opportunity to take an historic action. As I stated in last year's message, with an end to the draft we will demonstrate to the world the responsiveness of our system of government—and we will also demonstrate our continuing commitment to the principle of ensuring for the individual the greatest possible measure of freedom.

I urge the 92nd Congress to seize this opportunity, and to make the bold decisions necessary to achieve this goal.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
January 28, 1971

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing on draft reform by Roger T. Kelley, Assistant Secretary of Defense for Manpower and Reserve Affairs, and Curtis W. Tarr, Director of Selective Service.

32 Remarks at the Swearing In of Rogers C. B. Morton as Secretary of the Interior. *January* 29, 1971

WE WILL now have the swearing in of the new Secretary of the Interior.

And before the ceremony takes place, I should like to point out that it is a happy coincidence that Mr. Justice Stewart, who will swear in the new Secretary of the Interior, Rogers Morton, was a classmate of the new Secretary of the Interior at Yale a few years ago.

[At this point, Potter Stewart, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, administered the oath of office. The President then resumed speaking.]

It shows you these Yale men can read, anyway.

Mr. Vice President, Mr. Justice Stewart, members of the Cabinet, Mr. Former Secretary Udall, all of the distinguished guests who are gathered here today:

I would like to speak just briefly in this historic room on this very special occasion of the swearing in of a new Secretary of the Interior, because I think it is appropriate to point out how the position now has far more meaning even than it had then during the period of Theodore Roosevelt's bringing such great interest in this subject to all of the American people.

Theodore Roosevelt was known as the man who was the great conservationist, and he was a great conservationist because he deeply believed in conserving the natural resources of this country, the beauty of America.

He was a man of the outdoors; he loved the outdoors. He was a man of the West; he traveled extensively through the West. And some way his spirit was contagious. Americans who never got to the West, and most didn't, Americans who never visited a park, and the great majority never did or never have even today, some way were inspired by Theodore Roosevelt, the great conservationist of 70 years ago.

Now we are swearing in a new Secretary of the Interior. I could refer to him, too, as being a man of the outdoors, which he is. I can refer to him, too, as one who loves the West, which he does, and he travels much through the West.

But the position is different. The charge that I give to the new Secretary of the Interior is not just conservation. That is perhaps a part of the job, a very important part, conserving what we have. But the charge is restoration, restoration of the beauty of this country which has been so marred by what we have done to it in these recent years.

Restoration and also relevancy; and by relevancy—this is something that I touched upon very briefly in the State of the Union. Having those magnificent parks in the West, which I have been to,

and many of us have had the privilege of visiting, means very little to people in the great cities of the East and the West and the others who never have been to Yellowstone, and perhaps will never have a chance to go, or to the Grand Canyon, even to Yosemite.

And that is why we have a program which is imaginative and novel, and one that I think is quite exciting, of bringing parks to the people, conserving and developing those that we have in the West, the great beauty of this country, but also bringing them to the people so that the people, the majority of the people, will have an opportunity to know, just a little, how beautiful this country is.

And it is truly a beautiful country. And we have a chance to make it more beautiful.

One little personal anecdote: Some of you in the press, I see, were here when I took a little walking tour in New York a few months ago. And I went by the apartment house where I used to live. I looked for an elevator operator who was one of my very good friends there. One of the reasons was we were born on the same day in 1913, January 9.

He had lived all of his life in New York, except for one brief period just before World War II when he had gone across the country. He used to speak almost wistfully of how beautiful that country was and how much he wished that he could afford to take his family out to see the parks, the real beauty of America out across this country.

I realized that he was one of millions of people in this country living in great cities, but who never really have the chance to enjoy the beauty of America, not simply because of the smog, not simply because of the crime, not simply because of the noise and the traffic, and all of the other things that make city life more and more unbearable, but because we have not thought enough about our responsibility not simply to conserve those beautiful places in America where a few of us who can afford it can go to see them but to bring that beauty very close to people, so that the great majority, all the people of America, could have just a little chance to enjoy it, to appreciate it, to get the lift, the inspiration of being outdoors and then of coming inside and feeling a little better about that task, that sometimes very dull and routine task, that we have to go on day after day, year after year.

It is because I think Rogers Morton has this feeling in his heart, because he loves the outdoors, because he spoke to me about the environment very feelingly long before I became a candidate for President in 1968, because he is committed to not only restoring the environment of this country, but to the renewal of this Nation throughout its natural beauty, and because he wants to bring the beauty of America to the people, make it relevant; it is for this reason that I think he has the greatest opportunity of any Secretary of the Interior in history.

And I think Theodore Roosevelt in this historic room, if he were here today, would say, "This is a great time. This is an exciting time." And I believe it is a time that requires a big man for a big job.

We have a big man, big in every way.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:22 a.m. in the Roosevelt Room at the White House.

Stewart L. Udall was Secretary of the Interior from 1961 to 1969.

Secretary Morton's response to the President's remarks is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 7, p. 129).

33 Annual Budget Message to the Congress, Fiscal Year 1972. *January 29, 1971*

To the Congress of the United States:

In the 1971 budget, America's priorities were quietly but dramatically reordered: For the first time in 20 years, we spent more to meet human needs than we spent on defense.

In 1972, we must increase our spending for defense in order to carry out the Nation's strategy for peace. Even with this increase, defense spending will drop from 36% of total spending in 1971 to 34% in 1972. Outlays for human resources programs, continuing to rise as a share of the total, will be 42% of total spending in 1972.

The 1972 budget has a historic identity of its own.

- *It provides a new balance of responsibility and power in America* by proposing the sharing of Federal revenues with States and communities on a grand scale—and in a way that will both alleviate the paralyzing fiscal crisis of State and local governments and enable citizens to have more of a say in the decisions that directly affect their lives.
- *It introduces a new fairness in American life,* with the development of national strategies to improve the health care of our citizens and to assure, with work incentives and requirements, an income floor for every family in this Nation.
- *It adopts the idea of a "full employment budget,"* in which spending does not exceed the revenues the economy could generate under the existing tax system at a time of full employment. In this way, the budget is used as a tool to promote orderly economic expansion, but the impact of the resulting actual deficit is in sharp contrast to the inflationary pressure created by the deficits of the late sixties, which were the result of excessive spending that went far beyond full employment revenues. *The full employment budget idea is in the nature of a self-fulfilling prophecy: By operating as if we were at full employment, we will help to bring about that full employment.*

The 1972 budget reaffirms the determination of the Federal Government to take an activist role in bringing about the kind of prosperity that has rarely existed in the American economy—a prosperity without war and without runaway inflation. In the 1972 budget, the Government accepts responsibility for creating the climate that will lead to steady economic growth with improving productivity and job stability.

Of course, our objective of prosperity without inflation cannot be achieved by budget policy alone. It also requires:

—the monetary policy adopted by the independent Federal Reserve System to provide fully for the growing needs of the economy; and

—increased restraint in wage and price decisions by labor and business—in their own and the Nation's interest and as a matter of common sense.

Only by working together can the budget, monetary policy, and common sense in the private sector make orderly expansion the order of the day.

The full employment 1972 budget—expansionary but not inflationary—does its full share to provide a defense strong

enough to protect our national security, higher standards of income and care for the poor and the sick, a reorganized and responsive Federal structure, and the basis for a sound prosperity in a full generation of peace.

Toward a Growing Noninflationary Economy

Economic setting.—When I took office 2 years ago, rampant inflation was the Nation's principal economic problem.

This inflation was a direct result of the economic policies of the period 1966 to 1968, when we were mired in war in Vietnam, and when Federal spending rose sharply. Federal outlays were allowed to exceed full-employment revenues by $6 billion in 1966, $10 billion in 1967, and $25 billion in 1968. Expansive monetary policy in the summer of 1968 helped upset the hoped-for stabilizing impact of an income tax surcharge. The effect of these actions was to turn the thermostat up in an economy that was already hot enough.

My administration acted promptly to move us out of that war and cool the superheated economy.

We controlled Federal spending in 1969 and achieved a budget surplus. Spending was restrained again in 1970. Independently, the Federal Reserve System maintained a monetary policy of restraint which increased in severity throughout calendar year 1969 and continued into early 1970.

The forces of inflation have been durable and persistent—and they remain strong. But their momentum was slowed in calendar year 1969 and early 1970. Excessive demand was eliminated as a source of inflationary pressure during this period. The turnaround of this inflationary trend permitted us to enter the second phase of our plan: to follow more expansive economic policies without losing ground in the battle against inflation.

Budget policy.—Last July, I set forth the budget policy of this administration:

"At times the economic situation permits—even calls for—a budget deficit. There is one basic guideline for the budget, however, which we should never violate: except in emergency conditions, expenditures must never be allowed to outrun the revenues that the tax system would produce at reasonably full employment. When the Federal government's spending actions over an extended period push outlays sharply higher, increased tax rates or inflation inevitably follow."

The principle of holding outlays to revenues at full employment serves three necessary purposes:

- It imposes the discipline of an upper limit on spending, a discipline that is essential because the upward pressures on outlays are relentless.
- It permits Federal tax and spending programs to be planned and conducted in an orderly manner consistent with steady growth in the economy's productive capacity.
- It helps achieve economic stability by automatically imposing restraint during periods of boom and providing stimulus during periods of slack.

The budget policy of this administration is to keep firm control over Federal spending. The outlay total of $229.2 billion in 1972 is the sum of spending for programs that were scrutinized carefully to make certain that they would be managed effectively and efficiently and that they are essential to carry out present laws or to achieve desirable changes in our national priorities.

THE BUDGET AT A GLANCE

[Fiscal years. In billions]

Description	*1970 actual*	*1971 estimate*	*1972 estimate*
Budget receipts	$193.7	$194.2	$217.6
Budget outlays	196.6	212.8	229.2
Actual deficit (—)	—2.8	—18.6	—11.6
Full-employment surplus	2.6	1.4	0.1
Budget authority	213.0	236.3	249.0
	1969 actual		
Outstanding debt, end of year:			
Gross Federal debt	$367.1	382.6	407.0	429.4
Debt held by the public	279.5	284.9	302.5	313.1
Outstanding Federal and federally assisted credit, end of year:				
Direct loans [1]	46.5	51.1	53.8	56.5
Guaranteed and insured loans [2]	104.0	106.4	119.4	140.3
Direct loans by Government-sponsored agencies	27.0	37.6	45.4	53.2

[1] Including loans in expenditure account.

[2] Excluding loans held by Government or Government-sponsored agencies.

If this careful scrutiny were not maintained—if we weaken in our resolve to control spending—we would risk permitting outlays to build up a momentum that will carry them beyond full employment receipts in the longer run, and we would risk losing the ability to restrain spending in times when a deficit is undesirable.

SUMMARY OF THE 1972 BUDGET

The budget that I propose for 1972 is consistent with the fiscal policy I announced 6 months ago.

Budget receipts in 1972 are estimated to be $217.6 billion, $23.4 billion more than in 1971, but still below the $229.3 billion of revenue that would be produced if the economy were operating at full employment throughout the year.

The estimates reflect a reduction in revenues of $2.7 billion due to the new tax depreciation rules announced on January 11. These rules are part of our plan to expand the economy and help the Nation achieve full employment without inflation.

Budget outlays in 1972 are expected to be $229.2 billion, an increase of $16.4 billion over the previous year.

The increase in outlays will help move the economy toward higher employment and production. At the same time, outlays are being held to full employment receipts.

I am requesting *budget authority*—the right to make commitments to spend—of $249.0 billion in 1972. Over $170 billion of this total will require new action on the part of the Congress.

REVENUE SHARING: RETURNING POWER TO PEOPLE

During the 1960's, more governmental initiative and power shifted to Washing-

ton and away from elected officials in State and local governments. Towards the end of the decade it became apparent that, despite new programs and massive Federal expenditures, government at all levels was not working well.

When this administration took office, I directed that an intensive review of our governmental system be made. We found that State and local governments were breaking down under an incredible fiscal burden. We also found that the red tape involved in the narrow categorical grant system made it almost impossible for the Federal Government to be effective and responsive to the needs of individuals in different localities.

The financial squeeze on State and local governments is acute, and shows no sign of becoming less painful. These governments rely mainly on receipts from consumer and property taxes, which have not grown nearly as fast as the demand for State and local government services. As a result, combined State and local debt has increased by over 600% since 1948.

The Federal Government helped meet some of this demand by increasing its financial aid, largely through grant programs, which now accounts for 18% of State and local revenues.

The results of grant programs have been impressive in some cases. But the grant structure has become a haphazard collection of hundreds of separate programs, each with its own policies, its own requirements and procedures, and its own funding.

Such a complicated method of providing Federal assistance is not only inefficient, but it:

—*restricts the freedom* of State and local governments to spend funds in accordance with their priorities;

—*is unresponsive* to the needs of specific local situations because the funds are distributed and regulated by guidelines that do not—perhaps cannot—sufficiently take account of differences among local communities; and

—*separates resources and responsibility,* because State and local governments have the responsibility for providing services, but, all too often, they do not have the money to provide those services. The Federal Government dominates the field of income taxation, and its redtape restricts the discretion of State and local governments over the services they provide.

Clearly, not enough authority over the use of resources for federally assisted programs is now lodged at the State and local level. More of the power—and the responsibility—for using federally collected funds must be given to elected officials in these governments.

The need for remedying this situation is urgent. The time for reform is now.

Local freedom of action.—I propose a revenue sharing plan to give State and local governments the money they need to deliver the services that can best be performed by government closest to the people.

This is how the new "freedom of action" plan will work:

In the first full year of the plan, $16 billion will be directed to the States and localities, in a way that will enable them to decide as never before how that money will be spent.

Of this amount, $5 billion will be in the form of *general revenue sharing,* without restrictions. This will all be "new" money, without matching requirements and with the decision on how it is to be used exclusively a State and local matter.

The remaining $11 billion will be in the form of *special revenue sharing,* with the discretion on how it will be used within each of six broad subject areas strictly a State and local matter. These areas are:

—Urban community development,
—Rural community development,
—Education,
—Manpower training,
—Law enforcement, and
—Transportation.

The hobbling restrictions now on much of the Federal aid in these areas would be removed, along with matching requirements that presently force localities to spend their own matching money on low-priority projects for fear of "losing" available Federal aid.

To emphasize the importance of the special revenue sharing funds, the change from the present tightly restrictive categorical grants to special revenue sharing in the six broad areas will be accompanied by an *increase* of $709 million in the amounts budgeted for 1972 for Federal aid to States and localities. But even more important is the fact that these governments would have far greater freedom of action in deciding how money is to be spent within each of the six areas. For example, although the Federal Government would designate the total amount of special revenue sharing for education, the State or local area would decide how much is to be spent on new textbooks, new schools, equipment, or other matters of priority to it in the field of education.

In this way, both general and special revenue sharing will redirect the control of State and local decisions on $16.1 billion to the States and localities affected most by those decisions. This is about half of Federal Government aid, excluding public assistance grants, to States and communities—a historic and massive reversal of the flow of power in America.

BUDGET AUTHORITY PROPOSED FOR REVENUE SHARING PLAN, FIRST FULL YEAR

Description	*Billions*
General revenue sharing	$5.0
Special revenue sharing:	
Urban community development	2.0
Rural community development	1.0
Education	3.0
Manpower training	2.0
Law enforcement	0.5
Transportation	2.6
Total	16.1

We must make provision at the outset of this freedom of action plan for both growing State and local needs and growing State and local capacity to manage their affairs.

The new funds for general revenue sharing will grow in years to come because they will be tied to the Federal personal income tax base. As that tax base expands, more unrestricted money will flow to States and localities.

To help State and local governments develop greater capacity to plan and manage their own affairs, I will send to the Congress a planning-management assistance plan, which will provide $100 million to help these governments make their own long-range plans and enhance their capability for the efficient use of their growing revenues.

In essence, this is what revenue sharing will do:

—*for the individual taxpayer,* it will provide a stronger voice in how his tax money is spent locally, new con-

fidence in government that comes from more "citizen control," and the hope that, in some States and localities, taxes may be reduced, or that the rising cost of government can be met without raising taxes;

—*for State and local governments,* it will not only help meet the current financial crisis, but will also wipe out rigidities and delays in Federal aid and permit them to build their capacity to respond to local needs;

—*for our federal system,* it will provide new strength by assigning services to the level of government best equipped to perform them; and

—*for all our people,* it will provide a means of encouraging local diversity and experimentation within the framework of our great national purposes.

Of course, these revenue sharing proposals will not be the vehicle for any retreat from the Federal Government's responsibility to ensure equal treatment and opportunity for all. The proposals I send to the Congress will include the safeguards against discrimination that now accompany all other Federal funds allocated to the States.

This massive revenue sharing proposal is central to my philosophy of giving people the opportunity to become more involved in the decisions that affect their lives. The magnitude of the problem calls for this kind of bold move; by acting decisively and without delay, we will strengthen our federal system and respond better to the needs of our people.

WELFARE REFORM.—One of the first steps in our review of the federal system was to sort out those activities that are appropriate for the Federal Government from those that are best performed at the State and local level or in the private sector. We decided early on one primary Federal responsibility—providing, with a combination of work incentives and work requirements, an income floor for every American family.

We knew beforehand that the existing welfare system was in desperate need of reform. We also knew that the existing system imposes a crushing and growing financial burden on States.

My welfare reform proposals, described later in this message, are an integral part of our effort to give people the ability to make their own decisions, to build the capacity of State and local government, and to encourage more orderly national growth.

By building a floor under the income of every family everywhere in America with Federal funds, we provide each dependent family a new dignity, we help State and local governments finance what is now their fastest growing expenditure, and we remove one magnet that has already drawn too many persons to our congested cities.

In government operations, form should follow function. Just as revenue sharing decentralizes power to meet one need, welfare reform sets a basic national standard to meet a different need. The decision to centralize or decentralize should be based on which method best serves the larger purposes of 206 million Americans.

Revenue sharing and welfare reform are of a piece: the level of government best equipped to respond should respond in a way that raises standards and contributes to the sum of personal freedom and human dignity.

71-234—72——9

Restoring Confidence in Government

In seeking ways to reform the federal system, I have paid particular attention to the ability of the executive branch of the Federal Government to produce the results intended by the Congress and the President.

In 1971, the Federal Government will employ almost 2,900,000 civilians, operate thousands of separate programs, and spend $212.8 billion. Through its tax laws, credit activities, grant programs, and in other ways, the Government affects millions of people and influences the disposition of many more billions of dollars than it controls directly.

Toward the end of the sixties, there was mounting evidence that our Government was so complex, clumsy, and unresponsive, that it was becoming unable to meet the needs and priorities of the people or to use efficiently the funds entrusted to it.

This must not be permitted in America.

We have already taken actions to improve the organization and management of the Federal Government and, thereby, make it more efficient and responsive.

But we must do more. The Federal Government is not organized properly to deal with the Nation's most significant problems in the domestic area. Programs that should be joined together to achieve common goals are fragmented among different departments and agencies, impairing the capacity of government to respond effectively to urgent national needs. Modernization of that structure will restore vigor to our federal system, permitting a constructive partnership among Federal, State, and local governments.

In the next few months, I shall propose sweeping legislation to help achieve these goals by merging seven existing departments and several independent agencies into four departments:

—a Department of Natural Resources,

—a Department of Human Resources,

—a Department of Community Development, and

—a Department of Economic Development.

These new departments will match the domestic programs of the Federal Government with the objectives each is intended to fulfill:

—the balanced and constructive use and conservation of the land and other natural resources of the Nation;

—the development and well-being of individuals and families;

—the quality of urban and rural communities as places for people to work and live; and

—the maintenance and strengthening of the American economy.

To continue the modernization of the Federal Government, I will also ask an extension of the President's reorganization authority. We must seek to expand current efforts to shift operating responsibility for Federal programs out of Washington and closer to the people these programs are designed to serve.

To fulfill its responsibilities, the Federal Government must attract, develop, and retain capable career executives. We must have a more effective manpower planning and utilization system. I shall propose legislation to establish a Federal Executive Service which will permit:

—more effective career executive search;

—flexibility in the allocation and assignment of available talent; and

—strengthened executive development programs and policies.

By improving the organization and management of government, we will make it more responsive to the needs of the people and the new priorities of the Nation.

Reforming the Budget Process

Reform of the budget process is long overdue. Fifty years have passed since the Federal budget system currently in use was adopted. The system was a major step forward in 1921. Because of congressional inaction, it has become a travesty a half-century later.

Enactment of appropriations 6 months or more after the start of the fiscal year they are supposed to cover is evidence of a major weakness. I have sent two budgets to the Congress. In each, I have had to formulate budget proposals for the year ahead without knowing what the Congress would provide in its action on the prior year's budget, which was transmitted 11 months earlier. Even now, as this message is being written, action on last year's appropriations request for one department has not been completed.

I have, therefore, had to act on parts of the budget without knowing the totals that would result. This is an intolerable situation, but one that the Congress seems to accept as the normal way of doing business. It completes action on appropriation bills over a 10- to 12-month period without any goal or determination of the total expenditures that will result after the last bill is passed.

Excess in the number and detail of appropriations often diverts attention to minutiae. It also impairs the ability of agency heads to manage their agencies responsibly and economically.

The budget is our principal instrument for coordinated management of Federal programs and finances. Close cooperation between the executive and legislative branches is needed now to make the budget an efficient and effective instrument for this purpose. Therefore we must seek a more rational, orderly budget process. The people deserve one, and our Government, the largest fiscal unit in the free world, requires it.

Furthermore, Federal credit programs which the Congress has placed outside the budget—guaranteed and insured loans, or loans by federally sponsored enterprises—escape regular review by either the executive or the legislative branch. The evaluation of these extrabudgetary programs has not been fully consistent with budget items. Their effects on fiscal policy have not been rigorously included in the overall budget process. And their effects on overall debt management are not coordinated well with the overall public debt policy. For these reasons, I will propose legislation to enable these credit programs to be reviewed and coordinated along with other Federal programs.

Toward a Full Generation of Peace

Our goal is a full generation of peace in which all nations can focus their energies on improving the lives of their citizens.

To achieve this, we must continue to work in close cooperation with our allies, move from confrontation to negotiation with those with whom we differ, and—together with our allies—maintain enough military strength to deter aggression. Sufficient and effective programs of military and economic assistance to help our friends help themselves are an integral part of our program.

National security.—This Nation's

strategy for peace will—as it must—be based upon a position of military strength. The purpose of this strength is to prevent war; and, to this end, we will negotiate with those whose vital interests and policies conflict with our own.

We are pursuing negotiations on strategic arms limitations, on Vietnam, on Berlin, and on the Middle East. These negotiations are difficult and often slow, but we have the stamina and commitment necessary to proceed with patience and purpose.

As we carry on negotiations, we couple them with other efforts to achieve the same goal. The Vietnamization program is an example, and we are making good progress. By this spring, our authorized troop strength will have been cut approximately in half since the time I took office, and we will continue to bring American troops home.

Supporting these efforts, the military forces of this Nation and its allies will provide the armed might necessary to deter aggression or to deal with it effectively where necessary. We expect our allies to do more in their own behalf, and, in the spirit of the Nixon doctrine, many are taking steps in that direction. But we must also do our share. The kind of partnership we seek to forge works both ways. We have a vital interest in peace and stability abroad and we plan to maintain the capabilities necessary to protect that interest.

Our withdrawals from Vietnam and the change in our general purpose force planning and strategy permit a smaller force structure than in the past. At the same time, the preoccupation with Vietnam has limited our ability to meet some of our military needs elsewhere, particularly in NATO. We must be certain that our military forces are combat-ready and properly equipped to fulfill their role in our strategy for peace. In addition, we face formidable Soviet nuclear and conventional forces, including increased naval forces, and a further rise in the costs of our military equipment and personnel.

For these reasons, I am recommending an increase of $6 billion in budget authority for military and military assistance programs. This Nation has the will and the resources to meet its vital national security needs. At a time when we are urging our allies to do more and when our potential adversaries may seek military advantage, I cannot in good conscience recommend less.

We often think of military strength primarily in terms of equipment and massive organizations. While these are important, attracting and holding able citizens in the Armed Forces is the key to an effective and efficient military force. The service of Americans in uniform is worthy of respect, and I am dedicated to the goal of making all such service voluntary. This budget, and subsequent legislation which I will recommend to the Congress, will make significant progress toward ending reliance on the draft.

FOREIGN ASSISTANCE.—Our present foreign assistance programs were established for a world that has long since changed. I will propose legislation to adapt them to the conditions of the 1970's.

We must clearly distinguish the varied purposes of foreign aid—the security of the United States and friendly nations, the long-term development of lower income countries, and humanitarian needs—and make possible a realistic assessment of our progress toward each. In 1972, our assistance programs will:

—promote a strong partnership among

nations and a vigorous leadership role for multilateral development institutions;

—recognize that other nations have a growing ability and responsibility to determine their own development priorities;

—continue security assistance at a higher level than in recent years in order to help friendly nations meet the responsibility for their own defense; and

—improve coordination of our humanitarian assistance efforts.

These changes will carry out a major theme of U.S. foreign policy—less direct U.S. involvement in the affairs of other nations, less potential for friction and resentment, and a stable world order more conducive to lasting peace.

Meeting Human Needs

The proposals that I submit today are a major step forward in the reform of our Nation's efforts to meet the needs of its 206 million citizens. They will introduce a new fairness into American life by providing:

—a basic income floor under every family with children in this Nation;

—health care to help make needed services possible for all of our people when and where such services are required;

—better systems of support for education and manpower training; and

—continued progress in assuring the civil rights of all citizens, and in controlling crime.

Income strategy.—Last year was one of great promise for the long-term income security of American families. Some of that promise reached fruition in the reform of unemployment insurance and food stamp programs:

- Unemployment insurance was extended to 4.8 million additional Americans, including farmworkers and hospital workers, and special extended benefits were established to be triggered automatically by adverse economic conditions.
- Food stamp benefits were improved by establishing national eligibility standards, requiring family allotments large enough to purchase an adequate diet, providing free food stamps to the poorest recipients, and automatically raising benefits with increases in the cost of living.

However, much of that promise was left unrealized. As I have pointed out, in 1972 I will redouble my efforts to make essential and fundamental reforms in income maintenance programs. First, and foremost, I will seek:

- *Basic welfare reform.*—Last year I proposed that our archaic and demeaning welfare system be reformed. A landmark plan that would have accomplished this was approved by the House but did not come to a vote in the Senate.

  The urgency of the need for welfare reform grows with every passing day. I have already stressed the need for early enactment of the Welfare Reform Act of 1971 by the 92d Congress.

  This plan would remove the principal evils of the existing system by:

  —setting national eligibility standards;

  —balancing strong training and work requirements with equally strong training and work incentives;

—giving financial relief to the States; and

—establishing a Federal floor under benefit payments for *all* needy families with children, including those with working fathers, for the first time.

• *Social security improvements.*—I will propose a significant reform of the social security system, providing *automatic* adjustments for increases in the cost of living. Such an adjustment now calls for a 6% benefit, effective retroactively to January 1, 1971, to cover the cost of living increase since January 1, 1970. I will also propose increases in widows' pensions.

Beyond these basic reforms, I will seek to harmonize related income maintenance programs with the principles of our income strategy. This will include:

—reform of services provided to welfare recipients to encourage greater accountability and effectiveness in the use of funds, and to establish national standards for foster care, with new incentives for the adoption of handicapped children; and

—proposals to put railroad retirement funds on a financially sound basis.

IMPROVING HEALTH CARE.—During the current session, I will send a message to the Congress that will set out a national health strategy for the seventies and propose significant changes in the Federal role in the Nation's system of health care.

This strategy will seek to expand preventive care, to train more doctors and other health personnel, and to achieve greater equity and efficiency in the delivery of health services. It will include a new health insurance program for all low-income families with children.

The budget reflects in a preliminary way the emphasis that this administration will place on health in 1971, with:

—an increase of $100 million to accelerate greatly the search for a means of preventing and curing cancer;

—a vigorous effort to find a cure for sickle cell anemia;

—a $95 million increase in Federal support for schools that train our Nation's health manpower; and

—a rational policy of using Federal resources to help bring the rapid increase in medical care costs under control.

The budget also provides for:

—a substantial improvement in the quality of medical care provided to veterans with service-connected injuries;

—expansion of services for mothers and children, Indians and Alaska natives, and women who cannot afford family planning services;

—expanded programs to combat drug abuse and alcoholism;

—emphasis on assuring purity of foods and drugs; and

—encouraging greater use of less costly services and facilities in delivering medical care.

COMMUNITY SAFETY AND CRIME PREVENTION.—My commitment to the reform and revitalization of our system of criminal justice is supported by this budget. The budget proposes a 32% increase in outlays to improve law enforcement, to make our judicial system fairer and more efficient, and to raise the effectiveness of correction and rehabilitation. In this way, we will:

—step up the war on organized crime and the gambling operations that finance it;

—destroy major criminal systems that import and distribute narcotics and dangerous drugs;

—strengthen local law enforcement through the special revenue sharing fund for this purpose;

—continue the antihijacking campaign to protect the Nation's air travelers;

—expand our correctional improvement programs to develop more innovative correctional institutions, and improve probation, parole, and other community-based services; and

—develop, in cooperation with State and local governments, ways to provide more accurate information on law enforcement activities.

GUARANTEEING CIVIL RIGHTS.—The ideals of our Nation require that the civil rights of *all* citizens be respected, regardless of race, sex, religion, or national origin.

My budget for 1972 proposes to strengthen our efforts to eliminate discrimination in private as well as Federal employment, in activities supported by Federal assistance to State and local governments and other recipients, in education, in housing, and in other aspects of society.

We will take these specific steps to improve the lives of all our people:

—increase by more than 50% our efforts to prevent employment discrimination by Federal contractors and other private employers;

—increase nearly threefold the Federal assistance to school districts that are desegregating;

—reorganize the field operations of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to make more effective efforts to halt discrimination in private employment;

—focus the activities of the Civil Service Commission to assure equal Federal employment opportunities for all our citizens, with special emphasis on opportunity for Spanish-surnamed Americans;

—serve 46 localities with conciliation assistance through the Community Relations Service;

—expand administration of the fair housing and equal opportunity laws to increase residential housing choices for all Americans; and

—increase by 15% funds to agencies to assure nondiscrimination by recipients in their use of Federal assistance.

EDUCATION AND MANPOWER TRAINING.—The education and manpower training programs proposed in this budget reflect my determination to find better ways to carry out Federal programs. Special revenue sharing is proposed for both of these vital areas. I will also submit major reform proposals to:

—reform Federal aid programs for higher education to increase their effectiveness;

—direct more funds to students from lower income working families;

—establish a National Institute of Education for research and development; and

—provide additional training opportunities and strong incentives under the Welfare Reform Act of 1971 for employable welfare recipients to undertake suitable employment or job training.

RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT ON SOCIAL PROBLEMS.—The Office of Eco-

nomic Opportunity will emphasize its leadership role in research, development, and evaluation in social programs.

Improving Our Environment

The improvement and prudent use of our physical resources is vital to our Nation's prosperity and to the goal of helping all Americans enjoy a clean environment, adequate housing, and a better standard of living. In 1972, outlays to achieve these objectives will increase by $2.4 billion to $26.1 billion. The actions that I am proposing will:

—expand my administration's vigorous efforts to protect and enhance the quality of our environment and recreation resources;

—revitalize housing and community development programs; and

—increase Federal research and development efforts.

Environmental quality.—The primary responsibility for protecting and enhancing the environment lies with State and local governments, industry, and the public, but the Federal Government must—and will—provide vigorous leadership.

During the past year, this administration moved forcefully to exercise that leadership:

- Major Federal pollution control and abatement activities were consolidated in a new Environmental Protection Agency;
- The Council on Environmental Quality was given a major role within the Executive Office of the President to advise on environmental problems and on national policies to deal with them;
- New legislation to strengthen national efforts for reducing pollution was proposed to the Congress; and
- Funds for major environmental quality programs were increased significantly.

Pollution control and abatement programs will get even greater attention in the 1972 budget. Outlays will be increased by $764 million. Budget authority will rise even more, by $1.3 billion. The higher amounts will provide for:

—doubling grants for municipal waste treatment facilities;

—curbing pollution from Federal facilities;

—expanding EPA pollution control operations, including implementation of new air quality and solid waste legislation; and

—developing new pollution abatement techniques.

Legislation is again proposed to create the Environmental Financing Authority, which will assist communities that have difficulty in borrowing at reasonable rates to meet their share of the cost of water pollution control facilities.

I shall shortly propose, in a special message to the Congress, a series of further measures to control pollution and improve the quality of our environment.

Recreation.—Greater opportunity for leisure is valued highly in America and, as a result, the demand for recreation facilities is growing. The 1972 budget proposes a substantial increase in grants to help State and local governments provide some of these facilities.

I am recommending that the Land and Water Conservation Fund be fully funded to provide:

—grants of $280 million to help States and localities meet local recreation needs; and

—appropriations of $100 million for Federal acquisition to preserve nationally significant natural and historic areas.

I propose that the urban open space program be more than doubled, to $200 million, to provide more recreational areas in and near our cities.

CULTURAL ACTIVITIES.—I have again recommended that we double the appropriation for the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities, so that we can bring the benefits of these great cultural efforts to an increasing number of people throughout the country.

HOUSING.—The housing industry has already begun to lead our economic expansion. Fiscal and monetary actions taken in the past year have resulted in a significant easing of mortgage interest rates. Federal policy must help this industry meet the pent-up demand for housing.

The effectiveness of our housing programs will not be improved by merely continuing to increase Federal subsidies. The programs must be simplified and fitted into a rational framework. Inconsistencies must be removed, along with the obsolete rigidities in statutes that at times prevent programs from operating at all.

The administration will again propose legislation to carry out these badly needed reforms, which I urge the Congress to enact.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT.—I will also propose reform of the community development programs of the Department of Housing and Urban Development, and of certain economic development programs of the Departments of Agriculture and Commerce. Narrowly defined categorical grant programs in this field have frequently conflicted with local priorities and unnecessarily generated red tape.

With special urban and rural revenue sharing programs, we will permit localities to plan and carry out community development in accordance with their own needs.

Initial funding of the new urban program will begin at a level of $1 billion for the second half of 1972, upon enactment of the necessary legislation. An additional $2 billion appropriation is anticipated for 1973, when the program will be in effect for a full year. Rural development revenue sharing will be $1 billion in the first full year.

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY.—Science and technology can make major contributions to the public by developing creative solutions to a wide range of national problems that will help us all enjoy a better life. I am proposing in this budget a substantial expansion in outlays for federally supported research and development.

While a large portion of this increase is needed to strengthen our defense capabilities I am also recommending substantial increases in civilian areas to:

—make greater use of our scientific and engineering capabilities and resources to cope with major national problems such as pollution, crime, health, transportation, and other environmental and social problems;

—strengthen research essential to the advancement of our technology and economic productivity; and

—increase our investment in fundamental science which leads to the long-term progress of our society.

As an example of the concern of this administration for the use of science and technology in the public service, I am recommending that the budget for the

71-234—72——10

National Science Foundation be increased from $506 million in 1971 to $622 million in 1972. A significant portion of these added funds will be directed to research on pressing national problems.

The Longer View

Federal budget decisions must be made with an awareness of their influence on the economy and on resource allocation in the future as well as the present.

Too often in the past, consideration of objectives and priorities focused only on Federal spending. Only immediate issues, rather than longer term goals, were considered. And this fact was ignored: when we increase the priority of some programs, the relative priority assigned to others must be reduced. In short, the sum of the resources allocated to the various functions—such as health, education, defense—cannot exceed the total resources that we command.

Looking to the future, we find that resources likely to be available to the Nation grow more rapidly than the expenditures required by existing commitments. But our freedom to use these resources will shrink as we approach each future year and make financial or program commitments in the interim. Thus, the allocation of each year's resources is largely a reflection of our past priorities.

As we make choices this year, we will be determining the use of our available resources and expenditures in future years.

The resource allocation questions that the Nation will answer—either explicitly or by default—are:

- Shall we increase the available margin by ending some existing commitments?
- Who should use the margin—the Federal Government, State and local governments, or private citizens?
- To what objectives should the available margin be applied?

In answering these questions, the Nation will be setting its priorities for the future.

My preferences are clear. *One great objective of my administration is to increase the role of private citizens and State and local governments in allocating our national resources in accordance with individual and local needs. Another great objective is to set minimum standards to make certain that every American family in every locality is treated with a fairness that reflects the national conscience.*

Ours is not a regimented economy, nor will it be. Yet, we cannot ignore the influence of the budget on the economy and on the use of our national resources in the present and in the future. To do so is to take the chance that government spending will preempt resources that should be left to be used by private citizens or State and local governments.

In the last few decades, the Federal Government, disturbingly, has taken over the determination of how too many of the Nation's resources will be allocated. In spite of the Federal Government's domination, resources have not been appropriately allocated to overall national needs. Instead, they have been allocated by a process in which small additions were usually made in existing programs, and a few new categorical grant programs were created each year. These new grants were generally aimed at alleviating some narrow problem—without reference to the Nation's real need in that general problem area.

I have in this budget proposed the outlines of a new process for allocating funds according to national priorities.

Instead of continuing "more of the same" to more than a hundred narrow categorical grant programs, I have proposed replacing them with six *special* revenue sharing programs designed to deal with major national problems. These are problems that have different characteristics in different parts of the country. With these special revenue sharing funds, State and local governments can set their priorities within the national objective, design a solution fitted to their particular needs, and solve their problems locally.

The *general* revenue sharing program provides unrestricted funds to State and local governments to achieve our Nation's top domestic priority—the creation of a system of government that is effective and responsive to the needs of all of the American people. General revenue sharing will allow State and local governments to overcome their immediate fiscal crises and to come to grips with those problems that concern their citizens most.

The revenue sharing programs which I have proposed result from shared goals, provide federally shared revenues, and involve shared Federal-State-local responsibility for solving America's most important problems. Our system of government must be one of shared goals—shared revenues—shared responsibilities.

CONCLUSION

The 1972 budget befits a strong, free, compassionate, and enlightened Nation.

- It reverses the trend of the past decade toward Federal domination of the Nation's decisions, and begins to make government more responsive to the will of the people.
- It recognizes that a strong defense is vital to all our objectives, most of all to the attainment of peace.
- It provides the resources needed to meet the Nation's commitments at home, with a new standard of fairness to the poor and sick.
- It accepts the principle that budget policy, together with monetary policy and the active cooperation of the private sector, must be used to help achieve full employment in peacetime with relative price stability.

This budget expresses our fiscal program for the New American Revolution—a peaceful revolution in which power will be turned back to the people—in which government at all levels will be refreshed, renewed, and made truly responsive. This can be a revolution as profound, as far-reaching, as exciting, as that first revolution almost 200 years ago.

RICHARD NIXON

January 29, 1971

NOTE: The message as sent to the Congress included illustrative diagrams which have not been reproduced in this volume.

34 Message to the People of the Virgin Islands. *January* 29, 1971

To the people of the Virgin Islands:

It is with great pleasure that I add to the vivid memories I cherish of my visit with you as Vice President. My recollection of those sunny days, warmed further by your friendliness, made Governor

Evans' repeated invitations irresistible. Mrs. Nixon and I are delighted at the opportunity to be among you once again.

Your proud traditions and heritage are everywhere in evidence. And your impressive development and bold future programs reflect the spirit of an industrious and forward-looking people: the spirit of optimism and success.

It is the human as well as natural resources of your islands that make visitors so anxious to return. Mrs. Nixon and I are no exceptions. And we look forward to many happy returns.

RICHARD NIXON

NOTE: The message was made available to the press in the Virgin Islands.

35 Messages to the Apollo 14 Astronauts on the Eve of the Launch. *January* 31, 1971

CAPTAIN ALAN B. SHEPARD, JR.

On behalf of all your fellow Americans, let me wish you Godspeed and a safe return. The courage and determination you have displayed in coming back against such great odds to fly again have earned you unanimous admiration at home and abroad.

That this important mission should be entrusted to our nation's first man in space makes us especially proud and confident in its success.

RICHARD NIXON

COMMANDER EDGAR D. MITCHELL

As you undertake your intrepid journey on Apollo 14, the thoughts and best wishes of all Americans are with you. Our prayers will be with you for the success of your mission and for your safe return to earth.

RICHARD NIXON

MAJOR STUART A. ROOSA

Deep from the heart of America I send this wish for the success of the Apollo 14 mission and for your safe return to earth. We are tremendously proud of you, and confident in your abilities. Good luck and Godspeed.

RICHARD NIXON

NOTE: The messages, dated January 30, 1971, were released January 31 at Caneel Bay, St. John, Virgin Islands.

36 Statement Following the Successful Launch of Apollo 14. *January* 31, 1971

I AM GRATIFIED, as I know all Americans are, at the perfect launch of Apollo 14.

I must say I am always awestruck on these occasions. We look back to that span of centuries—the 1400's and 1500's—which we now call the Age of Discovery, and at that time virtually nobody was aware of the great events taking place then, and what their significance would be.

Today, we take the most amazing things almost for granted. It is difficult to imagine, but some day the discovery of the

New World will seem almost inconsequential alongside the explorations of our own time.

In a way, we are like the people who must have stood on the dock at Palos, Spain, and watched Columbus' ships disappear, believing they were watching the end of a great event, when they were watching the beginning. But where they watched the world being opened, and did not know it, we are watching the heavens being opened, and we do know it.

While those men went under the patronage of individual monarchs, our men go for the American people and, in a larger sense, for all mankind.

I wish them Godspeed, as do all Americans, and all of us here on earth.

NOTE: The statement was released at Caneel Bay, St. John, Virgin Islands.

37 Annual Message to the Congress: The Economic Report of the President. *February* 1, 1971

To the Congress of the United States:

1970 was the year in which we paid for the excesses of 1966, 1967, and 1968, when Federal spending went $40 billion beyond full employment revenues. But we are nearing the end of these payments, and 1971 will be a better year, leading to a good year in 1972—and to a new steadiness of expansion in the years beyond.

We are facing the greatest economic test of the postwar era. It is a test of our ability to root out inflation without consigning our free economy to the stagnation of unemployment. We will pass that test. But it is a real test and we shall pass it only by doing all we are capable of doing.

The key to economic policy in 1971 is orderly expansion. While continuing to reduce the rate of inflation, total spending and total output should rise as rapidly as possible to lift the economy to full employment and full production. Fiscal policy must play its full and responsible role, and the economy's course in the year ahead will also reflect the extent to which the monetary and credit needs of economic expansion are met. With the stimulus and discipline from the budget that I have put forward, and with the Federal Reserve System providing fully for the monetary needs of the economy, we can look forward confidently to vigorous and orderly expansion during 1971.

At the same time we must be relentless in our efforts toward the greater stability of costs and prices that is the foundation for an enduring and full prosperity. Much has already been accomplished. Prices in the market place have been rising less rapidly, and some that usually change early have actually declined, responding to changing pressures in the market.

In some cases the response of costs and prices has been slow, as the result of insulation from market forces. Often these market problems have been created by the Government itself. Accordingly, the Government has a responsibility to prevent misuses and imbalances of market power which impede orderly operation of our free economic system. This Administration intends to carry out that responsibility fully and fairly.

To get the economy rising at the right rate, neither too rapidly nor too slowly, is never an easy task. Economic policy does not operate with the precision needed to

keep the economy exactly on a narrow path. But fortunately absolute precision is not required. What is required is that we operate within a range where both unemployment and inflation are moving unmistakably downward toward our goal. The full resources of Government, with the understanding and cooperation of the citizens, can accomplish that.

The Dual Transition of 1970

Faced with one of the largest inflations in American history we have sought first to stop its rate from speeding up and then to get the rate down. This has been done. The annual rate of increase of the consumer price index, which was 6.0 percent from June 1969 to June 1970, dropped to 4.6 percent in the last half of 1970. Wholesale prices, which usually move before the prices consumers pay, have slowed down even more, from a 5.3 percent rate in the first half of 1969 to a 2.1 percent rate in the second half of 1970. Because productivity began to rise, after earlier sluggishness, labor costs per unit of output rose much less in 1970 than they did in 1969, and this contributed to slower price increases.

While the Nation was making the transition to a less inflationary economy it was also making the transition to a lower level of defense spending. Men released from the Armed Forces have been out of touch with the civilian labor market and need time to readjust. Workers laid off from defense production are likely to be concentrated in particular areas, which are often not the areas where nondefense activity is expanding. Their curtailed purchasing power further tends to lower employment of others in their area. During 1970, the number of persons in military and civilian employment for defense was reduced by about 1 million. Most of these people have found work, and others will soon do so. But during the transition many were unemployed, and their number added to the total unemployment rate.

These two simultaneous transitions, from a wartime to a peacetime economy and from a higher to a lower rate of inflation, would inevitably be accompanied by some decline in output and rise in unemployment. The aim of our policy was to keep the decline in output and the rise in unemployment as small as possible.

Fiscal and monetary policy both became more expansive early in 1970, in order to get output rising again while the cost of living slowed its rise. This result was achieved. Total output declined only 1 percent from its high reached in the third quarter of 1969 to the first quarter of 1970; it leveled out in the second quarter and rose in the third. Fourth-quarter output was held down by the auto strike; without it, another increase would have been shown.

The timely shift of policy limited the decline of output; it also helped counter the increase in unemployment caused by the dual transition. The average unemployment rate for the year was 4.9 percent. At the end of the year, partly as a result of the auto strike, the unemployment rate was about 6 percent. About half of the unemployed had been without work for less than 6 weeks. Most of the unemployed who had lost their most recent job were receiving unemployment compensation.

The Road to Orderly Expansion

Our first task now must be to assure more rapid expansion and so to reduce

the unemployment rate. We are now in a position to do that, while the progress against inflation continues. The restraint of 1969 and the slowdown of 1970 have set in motion strenuous efforts at cost reduction. These actions, as the pace of the economy quickens, will bear fruit in better productivity and costs. Prices have begun to rise less rapidly. There are the first faint signs of a retardation in wage increases in some sectors. Much of the anti-inflationary effect of the 1970 slowdown still has to be felt. And if the expansion is properly controlled in 1971 the conditions for further slackening of the inflation rate will remain. The expectation of continued rapid inflation has been weakened by the firm policies of the past 2 years and we must strengthen this growing confidence in the future value of money.

Forces now present in the economy, partly resulting from policies of 1970, make economic expansion in 1971 probable.

—The greater supply and lower cost of mortgage money has stimulated a 40-percent increase in the rate at which construction of new houses is started.

—Improved financial conditions are leading to a strong increase of State and local spending.

—Interest rates have dropped; the prime rate is down sharply from its peak of 8½ percent.

—Consumers' after-tax incomes have increased and their saving has been high.

—In the early part of 1971 the economy will get a boost as the production lost during last year's auto strike is made up.

—Exports have been strong, and in 1970 were 14 percent above those of a year earlier.

These are powerful upward pressures, but existing and foreseeable expansionary forces in the economy are not strong enough to assure that output will rise as much as is desired and feasible. These forces must, therefore, be supplemented by expansive fiscal and monetary policies.

The full employment budget that I have submitted will do its full share in stimulating a solid expansion. Outlays will rise by $16½ billion, or about 7½ percent, between the current fiscal year and the next—appropriate for orderly expansion, but far short of the inflationary 15 percent average annual increases from 1965 to 1968. In addition, receipts have been reduced $2.7 billion by the depreciation reform which I have initiated to stimulate investment, jobs, and growth.

In fiscal 1971, the Federal Government will spend $212.8 billion, which is equivalent to the revenues the economy would be generating at full capacity. The actual deficit is expected to be $18½ billion. In fiscal 1972, also, the planned expenditures are equivalent to the revenues we would get at full employment. How big the actual deficit will be next year, in fiscal 1972, will depend on economic conditions. If the economy follows the expected path of a vigorous noninflationary expansion, the deficit will decline to $11½ billion. This combination of deficits is appropriate to the situation through which the economy has been passing. The budget moved into deficit during calendar 1970 as the economy lagged below its potential. Accepting this deficit helped to keep the decline in the economy moderate. It was a policy of not subjecting individuals and businesses to higher tax rates, and of not cutting

back Federal spending, when the economy is weak because such actions would have weakened economic conditions further.

To say that deficits are appropriate in certain conditions is not to say that deficits are always appropriate or that the size of the deficit is ever a matter of indifference. Such a policy of free-for-all deficit financing would be an invitation to inflation and to wasteful spending.

As I stated last June, we need to abide by a principle of budget policy which permits flexibility in the budget and yet limits the inevitable tendency to wasteful and inflationary action. The useful and realistic principle of the full employment budget is that, except in emergencies, *expenditures should not exceed the revenues that the tax system would yield when the economy is operating at full employment.* The budget for fiscal 1972 follows this principle.

Balancing the budget at full employment does not deny or conceal the deficit that will exist this year and almost certainly next year. It does, however, avoid large deficits when they would be inflationary, like the swing to a big deficit in fiscal 1968. It means that even when the economy is low we must not allow our expenditures to outrun the revenue-producing capacity of the tax system, piling up the prospect of dangerous deficits in the future when the economy is operating at a high level. Moreover, to say that expenditures must not exceed the full employment revenues draws a clear line beyond which we must not raise the budget unless we are willing to pay more taxes. This is an irreplaceable test of the justification for spending. It keeps fiscal discipline at the center of budget decisions.

Fiscal policy should do its share in promoting economic expansion, and our proposed budget would do that. But fiscal policy cannot undertake the responsibility of doing by itself everything needed for economic expansion in the near future. To try to do that would drive taxes and expenditures off the course that is needed for the longer run. The task of economic stabilization must be accomplished by a concert of economic policies. The combined use of these policies, starting near the beginning of 1969, finally checked the accelerating inflation that had kept the economy overheated for years. A turn of fiscal and monetary policies in a more expansive direction at the beginning of 1970 limited the economic decline and initiated an upturn. Concerted policies of expansion are needed now to lift the economy fast enough to make rapid progress toward full employment, and these needs will be fully met.

Price Stability and Full Prosperity

In a fundamental sense, as I have always emphasized, the control of inflation and the achievement of full employment are mutually supporting, not conflicting, goals. Nothing would contribute more to the new expansion than confidence that the threat of inflation is fading. As part of my program of expansion I propose to justify that confidence.

The basic conditions to bring about a simultaneous reduction of unemployment and inflation are coming into being. We are going to continue to slow down the rate of inflation in the middle of an orderly expansion. And we are going to do it by relying upon free markets and strengthening them, not by suppressing them. Free prices and wages are the heart

of our economic system; we should not stop them from working even to cure an inflationary fever. I do not intend to impose wage and price controls which would substitute new, growing and more vexatious problems for the problems of inflation. Neither do I intend to rely upon an elaborate facade that seems to be wage and price control but is not. Instead, I intend to use all the effective and legitimate powers of Government to unleash and strengthen those forces of the free market that hold prices down. This is a policy of action, but not a policy of action for action's sake.

The process of reducing inflation is a process of learning. Business and labor must learn a pattern of behavior different from the one they have learned and practiced during the inflationary boom. Labor contracts and price lists cannot embody the expectation that prices will continue rising at the peak rates of recent years. Businesses cannot expect to pass all cost increases along in higher prices. The ritual of periodic increases in prices has no place in an economy moving toward greater stability.

These lessons are being learned. Most of all they are being taught by the facts of economic life today. Consumers are already imposing stern discipline in markets where sellers have not begun to adapt their pricing to the new, less-inflationary conditions of the economy.

But there are cases where these lessons are not being learned and actions have been taken or are under review. In those cases the Government will act to correct the conditions which give rise to excessive price and wage increases.

Actions were taken to augment the supply of lumber, and to deal with domestic copper prices that were out of line with world markets. To restrain increases in the price of crude oil, this Administration took steps to permit greater production on Federal offshore leases and to increase oil imports. Faced with inflationary price increases for some steel products, I have ordered a review of the conditions which permit or cause such increases, and threaten jobs in steel-using industries.

We have been particularly concerned with increases in the costs of construction. It is now more critical than ever to check inflationary wage and price increases in an industry where unemployment is high. The 1972 Budget provides for a large increase in construction expenditures. This should support increased employment in construction, but will do so only if the larger appropriations are not eaten up by higher wages and other costs. I have asked the leaders of labor unions and contractors in the industry to propose a plan for bringing the behavior of construction wages, costs, and prices into line with the requirements of national economic policy. A workable voluntary plan will avert the need for Government action.

Those of us who value the free market system most cannot disregard the cases where it is being kept from working well. In some of these cases it is Government which limits the free market's effectiveness and Government has the means to make it work better. We must constantly review our economic institutions to see where the competitive market mechanism that has served us so well can replace restrictive arrangements originally introduced in response to conditions that no longer exist. We must also devise efficient solutions to problems that have become more urgent recently, such as those of

pollution and adequate health care. Where inadequate market arrangements are delaying our advance toward full employment with price stability, we have a responsibility now to correct them.

In our market-oriented policy, our domestic goals and our international goals are interrelated. Success in our struggle against inflation will help to safeguard our international economic strength, and allow our highly productive enterprises and workers to compete in world markets. The liberal policy with respect to international trade to which this Administration is committed will help keep price increases in check here while giving our farms, factories, and banks a profitable market abroad. At the same time we have to make sure that the burden of adjustment to changing conditions in world markets does not fall entirely on a few exposed industries.

With the cooperation of the private sector, an expansionary public economic policy will achieve a goal we have not seen in the American economy in many years: full prosperity without war, full prosperity without inflation.

In the record of progress toward that new prosperity, I am convinced that economic historians of the future will regard 1970 as a necessarily difficult year of turnaround—but a year that set the stage for strong and orderly expansion.

RICHARD NIXON

February 1, 1971

NOTE: The President's message, together with the Annual Report of the Council of Economic Advisers, is printed in "Economic Report of the President, Transmitted to the Congress February 1971" (Government Printing Office, 1971, 306 pp.).

On January 30, 1971, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing on the Economic Report by Paul W. McCracken, Chairman, and Hendrik S. Houthakker and Herbert Stein, members, Council of Economic Advisers.

38 Remarks at the National Prayer Breakfast. *February* 2, 1971

Mr. Speaker, Mr. Chief Justice, Senator Jordan, all of the distinguished guests at the head table, and all of the distinguished guests in the audience:

Senator Jordan very, it seemed to me, efficiently introduced all of those at the head table, except one. The lady on my left is Mrs. Jordan.

When Senator Jordan indicated those who were present at this breakfast, I was reminded of a letter I received right after the State of the Union Message from a very disturbed listener who had viewed it on television. He did not comment upon the content of the speech, but he commented upon his fear as to what might have happened had some madman or somebody even deliberately come into the Chamber and detonated an explosive, because as he very properly pointed out, all of the power of government was there, as far as the National Government was concerned—the Congress, the Cabinet, the Supreme Court, with, of course, a few listeners in the very, very limited space provided in the galleries.

As I heard the list of those who were present at this breakfast this morning, I thought what would really happen if an explosive were detonated in this room,

because we have virtually all of those who were present at the State of the Union. This audience is four times as large, but not only four times as large, but a hundred countries are represented here, many cities, many States with their Governors, many representatives of great private institutions, of educational institutions, representatives of all segments of American life.

Perhaps it would be impossible to find any audience in America in which more power, in the best sense of the word, was gathered in one room than here at this prayer breakfast this morning.

This tells us something, it seems to me, about the strength of America. All of us are talking these days and thinking these days a great deal about what America will be like when we celebrate our 200th birthday just 5 years from now. We know, as one of the previous speakers indicated, that America will be the richest country in the world then; we know that America, if it wants to be, can be the strongest country in the world then; and we also know, if we have listened carefully to the theme that has run through the prayers and the remarks this morning, that wealth and strength alone do not measure the greatness of this country or of any country for that matter.

The question of whether America on its 200th birthday will be the hope of the world, as it was at the time of its birth, will depend not on our strength or on our wealth, because then we were very poor and we were very weak. But America was a good country. America stood for spiritual and moral values that far transcended the strength and the wealth of the nations of the Old World.

And that is what we all want America to be on its 200th anniversary, not just big, not just strong, and not just rich, but a good country in every sense of the word—good at home, good in our relations with other nations and the world.

That is why we are gathered here. That is why these prayer breakfasts here in the Nation's Capital and all over this Nation tell us something about America, that the cynical observers would overlook sometimes; and that is, there is a great deal of goodness in this country, a great deal of moral strength and fiber still left in this country and that, in the end, is what really matters.

I was trying to think, after the eloquent words of the Chief Justice, what prayer I could leave with this very distinguished audience and with those who are listening on television and on radio all over the world. And I was reminded of one of the favorite stories from the Old Testament. You will recall that when King David died and when Solomon ascended to the throne, God came before him in a dream and asked him what he wanted. And Solomon did not ask for power and he did not ask for wealth. He said, "Give Thy servant an understanding heart."

And so, let that be our prayer. Let us have an understanding heart in our relations with other nations, an understanding heart in our relations between races and religions and parties and generations, and in our relations with each other.

And if America can have an understanding heart in the very best sense of the word on that 200th birthday, we will be very rich and very strong, but more important, we will be truly a good country and the hope of the world still.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:20 a.m. in the International Ballroom at the Washington Hilton Hotel.

Senator B. Everett Jordan of North Carolina

presided at the 19th annual breakfast sponsored by the United States Senate and House Prayer Breakfast Groups.

More than 3,000 guests, including representatives from government, the diplomatic corps, industry, labor, and the academic community, attended the breakfast.

39 Special Message to the Congress Proposing the Establishment of a Federal Executive Service. *February* 2, 1971

To the Congress of the United States:

In my State of the Union message, one of the six great goals that I proposed to the Congress was a renewal of the Federal Government itself through a sweeping reorganization of the executive branch. The structural changes I outlined would enable us to bring greater coherence to the management of Federal programs, and to raise them to a new level of effectiveness. But even the best of structures requires the effective utilization of highly qualified people. The need for the best people and for making the best use of their talents, becomes more vital as we improve the structure and organization of the Federal Government.

It is on our Federal executives—both career and non-career—that the task of translating broad public policy into operational reality rests most heavily. These men and women are among the most valuable resources that we have as a government. We must not use them wastefully. We must not let their talents and their dedication be squandered. And we must constantly seek better ways of attracting into the executive ranks of the Federal service new people with the capacity and the drive to help us meet our national needs.

The time has come, therefore, to take a critical look at the existing Federal system for selecting, training, assigning and rewarding executive manpower, and to see whether it cannot be improved. We have carried out such an examination, and have concluded that it can be significantly improved by incorporating principles of modern personnel management.

For some time now, the Government's executive manpower systems have shown increasing evidence of weakness. The present arrangements have grown up over the years without any comprehensive plan. Disparate systems for the authorization, appointment and assignment of Government executives have prevented adequate planning and provision for constantly changing requirements. The resulting complexities and rigidities have reached a point at which it is now futile to try to patch the present structure further. Too often, the present system serves only to frustrate the conscientious agency head and the dedicated career executive alike.

At my request, the Civil Service Commission has completed a painstaking and systematic analysis of the existing manpower management programs for executives. The Commission has informed me that reforms are essential, reforms that cannot be made within existing law. I agree. Accordingly, I recommend legislative action to establish an entirely new personnel system for upper-level officials of the executive branch, to be called the Federal Executive Service.

This Service would apply to those per-

sons—now about 7,000 in all—serving in executive branch positions presently established at grades GS–16, 17, and 18, or within the same pay range under several other salary systems. It is designed to meet the special needs of managing the Federal establishment, and at the same time to preserve and strengthen merit principles.

In order to accomplish these purposes, the legislation I am proposing would:

—Abolish the present so-called supergrade system and establish the Federal Executive Service, to include both career and non-career officials. Preserving the present ratio, it would establish a minimum of 75 percent career appointments and a maximum of 25 percent non-career appointments.

—Establish a general salary range (from about $28,000 to the equivalent of level V, now $36,000), within which the agency head can set the salary of each individual member, provided that he maintains an average salary for all members of the Federal Executive Service employed by his agency as established annually by the Civil Service Commission after collaboration with the Office of Management and Budget.

—Require the appointment of Qualifications Boards to pass on the eligibility, under merit standards, of all persons selected for future entry into the Federal Executive Service as career members. Holders of present supergrade positions and persons chosen for non-career appointment to the Federal Executive Service would be exempt from this requirement.

—Provide that new entrants into the career system be employed under renewable three-year agreements, and give present holders of career type supergrade executive positions the choice of entering the new Service under the renewable three-year agreements or retaining their present positions and salaries.

—In the case of a career Federal executive whose employment agreement expires without being extended (whether because renewal was not offered by the agency, or because the executive chose not to accept the renewal offered), the legislation would provide for either severance pay, retirement, or reversion to the top grade of the Classification Act (GS–15) without reduction in pay from his previous level for a period of two years.

—Provide for the Civil Service Commission, after collaboration with the Office of Management and Budget, to establish annually maximum numbers and average salary for members of the Federal Executive Service in each agency, taking into account program priorities, level of work, work load, and budget allowances for the agency concerned.

To assure proper, periodic Congressional review of the operation of the Federal Executive Service the proposed legislation would also require the Civil Service Commission to make an annual report to the Congress on April 1, detailing the number of Federal Executive Service members it proposes to allow each agency for the coming year and the average salary level it proposes to set for each agency. At the same time, the Commission would report any variances it had allowed during the previous year under its statutory authority to meet emergency needs or

provide for needs occasioned by changes in existing programs. If the Congress did not make any changes within the 90-day period, the Commission's proposed authorizations would take effect.

By establishing eminent Qualifications Boards, composed of highly respected professionals, to review the qualifications of all persons proposed for entry into career positions, this legislation would ensure the continued high quality of Federal career executives and enhance the prestige associated with executive service in the Federal Government.

By differentiating clearly, for appointment and retention purposes, between executives who make the Federal service their career and those appointed for brief periods, it would preserve the integrity of the career service.

By providing for renewable, fixed-term agreements for career executives, it would give agency heads the flexibility needed to use their high-level personnel most effectively in meeting the changing demands made on the Federal Government.

By giving him access to positions of high responsibility without jeopardizing his career rights, it would enlarge the horizons of the individual career executive. One of the many faults of the present system is that it results too often in bunching non-career officials at the top, with career officials relegated to lower positions. This new proposal would strengthen executive development programs and reduce the present obstacles to executive mobility.

By providing for an annual assessment of executive manpower requirements in relation to program activity in each agency, it would make it possible to respond promptly to changing needs and to eliminate wasteful overstaffing of low-priority programs.

In addition, it would give the Congress annually a comprehensive overview of Federal executive manpower programs and policies, an indispensable measure for ensuring the exercise of Congressional responsibilities in monitoring the use of this manpower resource in partnership with the executive branch.

The Federal Executive Service proposal has been designed to ensure against an increase in the partisan political component of the executive group. It is to this end that I am recommending retention of the approximate present ratio of career to non-career executives—a ratio that has proved an effective one during several administrations of both political parties. I feel that it is imperative that we strengthen the career service and make Government careers more rewarding to individuals of high ability. This proposal will materially serve that end.

The proposed new Federal Executive Service would result in simplification of the existing fragmented system. But its most important result would be to improve the capacity of the executive branch to meet the challenges of our democratic system. Freed from unnecessary obstacles and from much red tape, the career executives of the Federal Government would be better able to realize their potential, both personally and in terms of program accomplishment. At the same time those responsible for agency performance would be given sufficient authority over the selection and use of their most able manpower to meet their agencies' goals more fully and more efficiently.

The demands upon Government today are great and pressing. I am convinced that the Government has attracted, and will continue to attract, men and women of the highest caliber. But too often we

have enmeshed them in a web of rigid and intricate personnel policies which have frustrated their efforts and arrested their professional growth.

We need both dedication and high performance from our Federal executives. Mere competence is not enough. Mere continuity is self-defeating. We must create an environment in the Government service in which excellence and ingenuity can flourish—and in which these qualities are both encouraged and rewarded.

It is to this end that I urge prompt and favorable consideration of this landmark legislation.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
February 2, 1971

NOTE: The proposed legislation was introduced as H.R. 3807 and S. 1682.

On the same day, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing on the proposed Federal Executive Service by Robert E. Hampton, Chairman, and Seymour S. Berlin, Director, Bureau of Executive Manpower, United States Civil Service Commission.

40 Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report on United States Aeronautics and Space Activities. *February* 2, 1971

To the Congress of the United States:

In this first year of the new decade, we have been working to establish a firm basis for a balanced national aeronautics and space program which is compatible with our national priorities, goals and resources and which insures continuing progress throughout the decade. 1970 has been a year of transition from past successes to new challenges.

The activities of our space program during the year are consistent with the recommendations I made in March for a balanced space program. Our goals are continued exploration, scientific knowledge and practical applications. The technology acquired through our space programs has many practical applications on earth ranging from communications, meteorology and navigation to agriculture, education and transportation.

Specific objectives guide our space endeavors. We should continue to explore the moon and increase the scientific return on the investment in the Apollo program. We should also continue to explore the planets of our solar system and the universe. We must strive to reduce the cost of space operations. We should try to expand our knowledge of man's ability to perform productively in the hostile environment of space and to relate this knowledge to uses here on earth. We must apply space-related technology to the critical assessment of our environment and to the effective use of our resources. We should also promote international cooperation in our space program by pursuing joint space ventures, exchanging scientific and technical knowledge, and assisting in the practical application of this knowledge. We are greatly encouraged by European interest in joining us in cooperative post-Apollo planning.

From our aeronautics activities have come substantial contributions to continued U.S. pre-eminence in civil aviation, major improvements in aeronautical services, and impressive developments in a sound SST program. This year has seen

the initiation of new military aeronautics programs that will enhance our national security. We must consider other new means to insure that our national aeronautics program is given the opportunity and encouragement to contribute to our national well-being.

I am pleased to transmit to Congress this report of our national aeronautics and space activities during 1970. I take this opportunity to express my admiration for the men and women whose devotion, courage and creativity have made our aeronautics and space progress a source of national pride.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
February 2, 1971

NOTE: The President's message is printed in the report entitled "Aeronautics and Space Report of the President, Transmitted to the Congress January 1971" (Government Printing Office, 115 pp.).

41 Special Message to the Congress on National Emergency Labor Disputes in the Transportation Industry. *February 3, 1971*

To the Congress of the United States:

Early in 1970, I proposed to the Congress a new approach for dealing with national emergency labor disputes in the transportation industry. The proposal was based upon my belief that existing law did not provide adequate remedies for settling such disputes, and thus failed to protect the national interest.

Today, I am again recommending that proposal, the Emergency Public Interest Protection Act. Events since the bill's first introduction have made its enactment even more urgent. I am hopeful that the Congress will give the proposal its prompt and favorable consideration—before there is another crisis in the transportation industry.

The bill I propose would give the President vital new authority to deal with national emergency disputes in the railroad, airline, maritime, longshore, and trucking industries.

First, the bill would abolish the emergency strike provisions of the Railway Labor Act—which now govern railroad and airline disputes—and make all transportation industries subject to the national emergency provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act.

Second, the bill would amend the Taft-Hartley Act to give the President three new options in the case of a national emergency dispute in a transportation industry, when that dispute is not settled within the eighty-day "cooling-off period" authorized by Taft-Hartley. Under those circumstances, if a strike or lockout should threaten or occur, and national health or safety continued to be endangered, the President could select any one of the following courses of action:

—He could extend the cooling-off period for as long as thirty days. This might be most useful if the President believed the dispute to be very close to settlement.

—He could empanel a special board to determine if partial operation of the industry were feasible and, if so, to set out the boundaries for such an operation. This alternative would

allow a partial strike or lockout without endangering the national health or safety. It could not extend beyond 180 days.

—He could invoke a "final offer selection" alternative. Under this procedure, the final offers of each party would be submitted to a neutral panel. This panel would select, without alteration, the most reasonable of these offers as the final and binding contract to settle the dispute. Unlike arbitration, which too often merely splits the difference between the parties, and thereby encourages them to persist in unreasonable positions, this procedure would reward reasonableness and thereby facilitate negotiation and settlement.

Third, the bill would establish a National Special Industries Commission to conduct a two-year study of labor relations in industries which are particularly vulnerable to national emergency disputes.

Fourth, the bill would amend the Railway Labor Act to conform the management of labor relations under that Act to the practices prevalent in most other industries, including the encouragement of voluntary settlement of grievances by overhauling the existing grievance procedures.

The urgency of this matter should require no new emphasis by anyone; the critical nature of it should be clear to all. But if emphasis is necessary, we need only remember that barely two months ago the nation was brought to the brink of a crippling railroad shutdown, the strike being averted only by legislation passed after a walkout had actually begun. That legislation, we should also remember, settled little; it merely postponed the strike deadline. A few weeks from now another railroad strike over the same issues which precipitated the last one is a distinct possibility.

I believe we must face up to this problem, and face up to it now, before events overtake us and while reasoned consideration is still possible.

Time and again, as the nation has suffered major disruptions from a transportation shutdown, voices have been raised on all sides declaring emphatically that this must not happen again—that better laws are needed to protect the public interest, and that the time to enact those laws is before, not after, the next crippling emergency. But with the same regularity, as each emergency in turn has passed the voices have subsided—until the next time. So nothing has been done, and emergency has followed emergency, at incalculable cost to millions of innocent bystanders and to the nation itself.

The legislation I propose today would establish a framework for settling emergency transportation disputes in a reasonable and orderly fashion, fair to the parties and without the shattering impact on the public of a transportation shutdown. I urge that this time we not wait for the next emergency, but rather join together in acting upon it now.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
February 3, 1971

NOTE: The proposed emergency public interest protection act was introduced as H.R. 3596 and S. 560.

On the same day, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing on the proposed legislation by Secretary of Labor James D. Hodgson.

42 Remarks at the Annual Scientific Session of the American College of Cardiology. *February 4, 1971*

Dr. Sodeman, all of the distinguished guests on the platform, and those attending this scientific conference, both from the United States and from abroad:

I have a very great privilege in addressing you this morning, in welcoming you to Washington and to wish you well on the occasion of this meeting, your 20th meeting of this type. And in doing so, I would like to emphasize briefly, if I might, from a personal vantage point, three subjects that I think are quite relevant to your proceedings.

I think of what the general public attitude has been over the years with regard to what we call heart attacks or heart disease. I had that brought very forcefully to my attention in 1955 when President Eisenhower suffered a heart attack and when the heart of all of America stopped for a moment, and for that matter, the heart of the world.

At that time, I think the people of America and perhaps people in the world learned more about what heart attacks were, and what they were not, than they ever learned before as they watched the patient recover and then also watched what he did afterwards.

Before that time, I think the general opinion was that a heart attack was either fatal in a completely physical way or, if the individual recovered, that he would have to live afterwards in a very slowed down way, somewhat like a vegetable, but not an active life.

And, of course, President Eisenhower disproved that by serving 6 years more in the most demanding task in the world, or at least one that is considered to be that.

And then, after that, President Johnson, who suffered a heart attack—and I recall going out to visit him when he was Majority Leader when I was Vice President in 1956—went on to be elected Vice President and then President of the United States and worked day and night in both capacities serving his country.

And then just 2 days ago, I presented the national heart award to the new Speaker of the House of Representatives, and in 1966 Carl Albert, a Congressman that I came to the Congress with just 24 years ago, suffered a heart attack. He was elected Speaker by his colleagues, the highest honor that anybody can receive in the House of Representatives.

And I can assure you that the Speaker, perhaps even more than the President, has a very, very long day and a very demanding one.

And so, we think of all of those incidents and what they mean, what they mean in giving hope to individuals who may suffer from heart disease, hope that they may go on to live an active life.

Also, we think of what it means in terms of what you have contributed, all of you in this great profession. At a time when the medical profession is under assault from various quarters due to the inability to spread medical care as adequately as some think it should be spread, it is well to pay tribute to the fact that there are hundreds of thousands of dedicated people in the medical profession who, working in the most effective way they can, are making such enormous progress against the great diseases that either kill or cripple men and women and have killed and crippled them through the years.

We also think of another fact. We realize that while these three striking examples of public men suffering heart attacks and then coming back to live even more active lives, while they indicate the progress that has been made in the treatment of this disease, we also realize that we have a very long way to go.

I noted, for example, that among deaths caused by illness, over half result from cardiovascular ailments. And I noted, for example, on the other side of the ledger a rather tragic story over the weekend. One of the most intelligent young men—he was a young man certainly by my standards, and most of us here—a columnist, Geoffrey Drummond, at 40 years of age, had a heart attack and died. And I think of that young man and all of the promise of his life gone, and I think of what you might do so that the number of those incidents might be reduced. They have been reduced over the past. They can be reduced more, as I understand from my friend John Lungren [1] and others who are expert in this field.

And so, this gives me an opportunity to pay tribute to this organization and your colleagues in America and around the world, who have worked in this field, have made such a contribution, and to wish you well in the future.

And second, to emphasize that while in the State of the Union Message I referred to a general health initiative and particularly in the field of research, that one of our major objectives would be a new effort with regard to cancer, $100 million initial effort and more, as is necessary, to provide the research that is needed in that area, that the fact that we are putting emphasis in that area does not mean reducing the emphasis in the area in which you are so vitally interested, because if you look at the figures, or the numbers as they are referred to usually, you will find that the amount of funds appropriated, or that we have asked the Congress to appropriate in the field of research for cardiovascular ailments, has increased by 16 percent over 1970.

And so we will continue to have government support, where government support is proper, for the research that is so important to the success of your life's work.

And then, finally, on a broader landscape, may I speak very briefly about a great debate that is now beginning in America. It will go on throughout this year and decisions will be made that will affect your lives, it will affect the lives and the health of all the American people, and I refer, of course, to the debate about what we should do with regard to health care programs generally.

Honest men in the House and the Senate disagree as to what is the best approach. All agree that we should find better methods to see that all individuals who need medical care have an opportunity to obtain it.

However, I think also those who look beyond the demand side of the ledger and look to the supply problem also realize that it really doesn't make much sense to provide the ability for every individual to go to a doctor when he is ill if the doctor isn't able or isn't there or is actually not really capable, in terms of medical proficiency, to deal with the problem.

What I am saying very simply is this: That as we look, as we do now, at how we do a better job with regard to the

[1] Dr. John C. Lungren, medical adviser to the President and member of the American College of Cardiology.

quantity of medical care, let's not destroy the quality of medical care in the United States of America.

For example, when I go into a doctor's office, I know that for an annual physical they have to fill out a form. And I know they go over the same questions they have gone over year after year. I get so tired of answering those same questions. They read it—last year's. But they say the answer might be different this year. So, I try to not give a different answer just to be sure. I am going to bring a mimeographed form next time.

But in any event, I also know this: that I don't want my doctor to spend so much time filling out forms that he doesn't spend enough time doing what is needed to be done as a doctor for the patient.

And that is why in the emphasis on the medical program that I will be submitting to the Congress of the United States, it will properly, as I think all of us would want it, try to provide more adequately for the needs of all Americans and of all incomes, the needs that they may have for acquiring medical care when they need it.

But on the other hand, let us be sure that in doing so that we remember that what is most important is not to be able to afford a doctor, but to be sure that it is a good doctor. Let us also remember that we do not want the doctors and those in the medical profession to be smothered under a whole, huge bureaucracy and under a great pile of government forms.

Let us do everything that we can, in other words, to keep the doctor, the professional man or the professional woman, free from the terrible crushing burden of bureaucracy which would otherwise not only take his time but destroy his initiative.

That is, in other words, the objective that we must try to achieve in this area as we deal with the problem of medical care in the United States.

Now, in order to achieve that objective, we need assistance. And that is why I say to my friends in the medical profession: I know how you are concerned, and you should be concerned, about what is the government going to do to us now. How many more forms are we going to have to fill out? Is the government going to adopt a program in this country that we think has failed in other countries and, therefore, should not be applied on us?

And the answer is there is no program for medical care in the United States or in any other [nation of the] world that will be good for the patient unless it is one that the doctors support, because we have to have the cooperation of the medical profession.

So we want your advice, we want your cooperation, we want to work together with you in developing a program that will do what is needed to be done and do the best for our patients, your patients, but also that will enable you to meet your responsibilities as unhampered as is possible by Federal bureaucracy, redtape, and the like.

That is our objective, and I will simply say in conclusion that as this debate goes on through the year that I know that we will have your cooperation.

I know the dedicated men and women that are in this profession. And I can assure you that we will listen. We want your advice because, as I said in the State of the Union, we have one great goal.

The United States is very fortunate that we are truly the wealthiest nation in the world, and, with your help, we will

make it the healthiest nation in the world.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:26 a.m. in the Sheraton Park Hotel.

Following the President's remarks, Dr. William A. Sodeman presented the College's 1971 Humanitarian Award to the President. The text of the citation read as follows:

Richard Milhous Nixon
First Citizen of The United States,
Dynamic Aggressive Leader of Our Country,

In appreciation of your successful role as defender of the civil and personal rights of man, at home and abroad,

As effector of programs to remove poverty, hunger, and environmental factors detrimental to the health of man,

As instigator of activities to better social welfare for those citizens deprived of such benefits,

As advocate of means and measures to expand and make more effective health and medical education in our country,

As champion of measures to elevate health and medical care for all in our Nation, and

As the moving spirit in bringing to our Nation peace, with honor,

The Board of Trustees of the American College of Cardiology has directed me, as its President, to present to you the

1971
Humanitarian Award
of the
American College of Cardiology

Given this Fourth Day of February, in the Year of our Lord, One Thousand Nine Hundred Seventy-One, in the One Hundred Ninety Fifth year of the founding of our Country and in the Twenty Second year of the College.

William A. Sodeman, M.D., F.A.C.C.
President of the College

43 Special Message to the Congress Proposing a General Revenue Sharing Program. *February 4, 1971*

To the Congress of the United States:

One of the best things about the American Constitution, George Washington suggested shortly after it was written, was that it left so much room for change. For this meant that future generations would have a chance to continue the work which began in Philadelphia.

Future generations took full advantage of that opportunity. For nearly two turbulent centuries, they continually reshaped their government to meet changing public needs. As a result, our political institutions have grown and developed with a changing, growing nation.

Today, the winds of change are blowing more vigorously than ever across our country and the responsiveness of government is being tested once again. Whether our institutions will rise again to this challenge now depends on the readiness of *our* generation to "think anew and act anew," on *our* ability to find better ways of governing.

Better Ways of Governing

Across America today, growing numbers of men and women are fed up with government as usual. For government as usual too often means government which has failed to keep pace with the times.

Government talks more and taxes more, but too often it fails to deliver. It grows bigger and costlier, but our problems only seem to get worse. A gap has opened in this country between the worlds of promise and performance—and the gap is becoming a gulf that separates hope from accomplishment. The result has been a

rising frustration in America, and a mounting fear that our institutions will never again be equal to our needs.

We must fight that fear by attacking its causes. We must restore the confidence of the people in the capacities of their government. I believe the way to begin this work is by taking bold measures to strengthen State and local governments—by providing them with new sources of revenue and a new sense of responsibility.

The Potential of State and Local Government

Part of the genius of our American system is that we have not just one unit of government but many, not just one Chief Executive and Congress in Washington, but many chief executives and legislators in statehouses and courthouses and city halls across our land. I know these men and women well. I know that they enter office with high hopes and with sweeping aspirations. I know they have the potential to be full and effective partners in our quest for public progress.

But once they have taken office, leaders at the State and local level often encounter bitter disappointment. For then they discover that while the need for leadership is pressing, and their potential for leadership is great, the power to provide *effective* leadership is often inadequate to their responsibilities. Their dollars are not sufficient to fulfill either their dreams or their most immediate and pressing needs.

And the situation is getting worse.

A Growing Fiscal Crisis

Consider how State and local expenditures have been growing. In the last quarter century, State and local expenses have increased twelvefold, from a mere $11 billion in 1946 to an estimated $132 billion in 1970. In that same time, our Gross National Product, our personal spending, and even spending by the Federal government have not climbed at even one third that rate.

How have the States and localities met these growing demands? They have not met them. State and local revenues have not kept pace with rising expenditures, and today they are falling even further behind. Some authorities estimate that normal revenue growth will fall $10 billion short of outlays in the next year alone.

The Heavy Burden of State and Local Taxes

The failure of State and local revenues to keep pace with demands is the inherent result of the way in which our tax system has developed. Ever since the 16th Amendment in 1913 made it possible for the Federal government to tax personal income, this source of revenue has been largely pre-empted and monopolized by Washington. Nine out of every ten personal income tax dollars are collected at the Federal level.

Income tax revenues are quick to reflect economic growth. Often, in fact, they grow much faster than the economy. As a result, budget increases at the Federal level can more readily be financed out of the "natural growth" in revenues, without raising tax rates and without levying new taxes.

State and local governments are not so fortunate. Nearly three-fourths of their tax revenues come from property and sales taxes, which are slow to reflect economic expansion. It is estimated, in fact, that the natural growth in revenues from

these sources lags some 40 to 50 percent behind the growth rate for State and local expenditures. This means that budget expansion at these levels must be financed primarily through new taxes and through frequent increases in existing tax rates.

As a result, the weight of State and local taxes has constantly been getting heavier. On a per capita basis, they have climbed almost 50 percent in the last fourteen years. Property tax receipts are six times as great as they were a quarter century ago. In the past dozen years alone, States have been forced to institute new taxes or raise old ones on 450 separate occasions. Consumer and service taxes have sprung up in bewildering variety in many cities.

These rising State and local levies are becoming an almost intolerable burden to many of our taxpayers. Moreover, they often fall hardest on those least able to pay. Poor and middle income consumers, for example, must pay the same sales taxes as the wealthy. The elderly—who often own their own homes—must pay the same property taxes as younger people who are earning a regular income. As further pressures are placed on State and local taxes, the impact is felt in every part of our society. The hard-pressed taxpayer—quite understandably—is calling for relief.

The result is a bitter dilemma for State and local leaders. On the one hand, they must cut services or raise taxes to avoid bankruptcy. On the other hand, the problems they face and the public they serve demand expanded programs and lower costs. Competition between taxing jurisdictions for industry and for residents adds further pressure to keep services up and taxes down.

While political pressures push State and local leaders in one direction, financial pressures drive them in another. The result has been a rapid and demoralizing turnover in State and local officeholders. The voters keep searching for men and women who will make more effective leaders. What the State and localities really need are the resources to make leaders more effective.

The Best of Both Worlds

The growing fiscal crisis in our States and communities is the result in large measure of a fiscal mismatch; needs grow fastest at one level while revenues grow fastest at another. This fiscal mismatch is accompanied, in turn, by an "efficiency mismatch"; taxes are collected most efficiently by the highly centralized Federal tax system while public funds are often spent most efficiently when decisions are made by State and local authorities.

What is needed, then, is a program under which we can enjoy the best of both worlds, a program which will apply fast growing Federal revenues to fast growing State and local requirements, a program that will combine the efficiencies of a centralized tax system with the efficiencies of decentralized expenditure. What is needed, in short, is a program for sharing Federal tax revenues with State and local governments.

A Word About Present Grants-in-Aid

There is a sense in which the Federal Government already shares its revenues with governments at the lower levels. In fact, Federal aid to the States and localities has grown from less than one billion dollars in 1946 to over 30 billion dollars this year. Unfortunately, most of this assistance comes in the form of highly restricted programs of categorical grants-in-

aid. These programs have not provided an effective answer to State and local problems; to the contrary, they provide strong additional evidence that a new program of unrestricted aid is badly needed.

The major difficulty is that States and localities are not free to spend these funds on their own needs as they see them. The money is spent instead for the things Washington wants and in the way Washington orders. Because the categories for which the money is given are often extremely narrow, it is difficult to adjust spending to local requirements. And because these categories are extremely resistant to change, large sums are often spent on outdated projects. Pressing needs often go unmet, therefore, while countless dollars are wasted on low priority expenditures.

This system of categorical grants has grown up over the years in a piecemeal fashion, with little concern for how each new program would fit in with existing old ones. The result has been a great deal of overlap and very little coordination. A dozen or more manpower programs, for example, may exist side by side in the same urban neighborhood—each one separately funded and separately managed.

All of these problems are compounded by the frequent requirement that Federal dollars must be matched by State and local money. This requirement often has a major distorting effect on State and local budgets. It guarantees that many Federal errors will be reproduced at the State and local level. And it leaves hard pressed governments at the lower levels with even less money to finance their *own* priorities.

The administrative burdens associated with Federal grants can also be prohibitive. The application process alone can involve volumes of paperwork and delays of many months. There are so many of these programs that they have to be listed in large catalogs and there are so many catalogs that a special catalog of catalogs had to be published. The guidelines which are attached to these grants are so complicated that the government has had to issue special guidelines on how the guidelines should be interpreted. The result of all this has been described by the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations as "managerial apoplexy" on the State and local level.

Meanwhile, the individual human being, that single person who ultimately is what government is all about, has gotten lost in the shuffle.

State and local governments need Federal help, but what they need most is not more help of the sort they have often been receiving. They need more money to spend, but they also need greater freedom in spending it.

A New Approach

In the dark days just after the Battle of Britain, Winston Churchill said to the American people: "Give us the tools and we will finish the job."

I now propose that we give our States and our cities, our towns and our counties the tools—so that they can get on with the job.

I propose that the Federal Government make a $16 billion investment in State and local government through two far-reaching revenue sharing programs: a $5 billion program of General Revenue Sharing which I am describing in detail in this message to the Congress, and an $11 billion program of Special Revenue Sharing grants which will be spelled out in a series of subsequent messages.

GENERAL REVENUE SHARING: HOW IT WORKS

The General Revenue Sharing program I offer is similar in many respects to the program I sent to the Congress almost eighteen months ago. But there are also some major differences.

For one thing, this year's program is much bigger. Expenditures during the first full year of operation would be ten times larger than under the old plan. Secondly, a greater proportion—roughly half—of the shared funds would go to local governments under the new proposal. In addition, the 1971 legislation contains a new feature designed to encourage States and localities to work out their own tailor-made formulas for distributing revenues at the State and local level.

The specific details of this program have been worked out in close consultation with city, county and State officials from all parts of the country and in discussions with members of the Congress. Its major provisions are as follows:

1. Determining the Size of the Overall Program.

The Congress would provide a permanent appropriation for General Revenue Sharing. The size of this appropriation each year would be a designated percentage of the nation's taxable personal income—the base on which individual Federal income taxes are levied. This arrangement would relieve the States and localities of the uncertainty which comes when a new level of support must be debated every year.

Since the fund would grow in a steady and predictable manner with our growing tax base, this arrangement would make it easier for State and local governments to plan intelligently for the future.

The specific appropriation level I am recommending is 1.3 percent of taxable personal income; this would mean a General Revenue Sharing program of approximately $5 billion during the first full year of operation, a sum which would rise automatically to almost $10 billion by 1980. All of this would be "new" money—taken from the increases in our revenues which result from a growing economy. It would not require new taxes nor would it be transferred from existing programs.

2. Dividing Total Revenues Among the States.

Two factors would be used in determining how much money should go to each State: the size of its population and the degree to which it has already mobilized its own tax resources. By using a distribution formula which takes their tax effort into account, this program would encourage the States to bear a fair share of responsibility. A State which makes a stronger effort to meet its own needs would receive more help from the Federal Government.

One other incentive has also been built into the new legislation: those States which negotiate with their local governments a mutually acceptable formula for passing money on to the local level, would receive more money than those States that rely on the Federal formula. This provision would encourage a State and its localities to work out a distribution plan which fits their particular requirements. States which develop such plans would receive a full 100 percent of the money allocated to them under the formula described above. Other States would receive only 90 percent of their allocation, with the remaining ten percent being carried over and added to the following year's overall allocation.

71-234—72——11

3. Distributing Revenues Within the States.

Those States which do *not* adopt their own plan for subdividing shared revenues would follow a formula prescribed in the Federal legislation. This formula would assign to the State government and to all units of local government combined a share of the new money equal to that portion of State and local revenues currently raised at each level. On the average, this "pass through" requirement would mean that about one-half of the revenue sharing funds would go to the States and half would go to the localities. Governmental units of all sizes would be eligible for aid—but only if they were set up for general purposes. This would exclude *special* purpose units such as sewer districts, school districts, and transit authorities. Each general purpose unit would then receive its proportionate share of revenues based on how much money it raises locally.

4. Other Procedures and Requirements.

General Revenue Sharing monies would come without program or project restrictions. The funds would be paid out at least quarterly through the Treasury Department; no massive new Federal agencies would be established. Each State would be required to pass on to local units their proper share of the Federal funds and to observe appropriate reporting and accounting procedures.

In my State of the Union message I emphasized that these revenue-sharing proposals would "include the safeguards against discrimination that accompany all other Federal funds allocated to the States." The legislation I am recommending provides these safeguards. It stipulates that: "No person in the United States shall on the ground of race, color or national origin be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity funded in whole or in part with general revenue sharing funds."

The Secretary of the Treasury would be empowered to enforce this provision. If he found a violation and was unable to gain voluntary compliance, he could then call on the Attorney General to seek appropriate relief in the Federal Courts, *or* he could institute administrative proceedings under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964—leading to a cut off of Federal funds. The Federal Government has a well defined moral and constitutional obligation to ensure fairness for every citizen whenever Federal tax dollars are spent. Under this legislation, the Federal Government would continue to meet that responsibility.

Enhancing Accountability

Ironically, the central advantage of revenue sharing—the fact that it combines the advantages of Federal taxation with the advantages of State and local decision-making—is the very point at which the plan is frequently criticized. When one level of government spends money that is raised at another level, it has been argued, it will spend that money less responsibly; when those who appropriate tax revenues are no longer the same people who levy the taxes, they will no longer be as sensitive to taxpayer pressures. The best way to hold government accountable to the people, some suggest, is to be certain that taxing authority and spending authority coincide.

If we look at the practice of government in modern America, however, we find that this is simply not the case. In

fact, giving States and localities the power to spend certain Federal tax monies will *increase* the influence of each citizen on how those monies are used. It will make government *more* responsive to taxpayer pressures. It will *enhance* accountability.

In the first place, there is no reason to think that the local taxpayer will be less *motivated* to exert pressure concerning the way shared revenues are spent. For one thing, the local taxpayer is usually a Federal taxpayer as well; he would know that it was his tax money that was being spent.

Even if local taxpayers were only concerned about local taxes, however, they would still have a direct stake in the spending of Federal revenues. For the way Federal money is used determines how much local money is needed. Each wise expenditure of Federal dollars would mean an equivalent release of local money for other purposes—including relief from the need to raise high local taxes even higher. And every wasted Federal dollar would represent a wasted opportunity for easing the pressure on local revenues.

Most voters seldom trace precisely which programs are supported by which levies. What they do ask is that each level of government use *all* its money—wherever it comes from—as wisely as possible.

The average taxpayer, then, will be no less *disposed* to hold public officials to account under revenue sharing. What is more, he will be *able* to hold them to account far more effectively.

The reason for this is that "accountability" really depends, in the end, on accessibility—on *how easily* a given official can be held responsible for his spending decisions. The crucial question is not where the money comes from but whether the official who spends it can be made to answer to those who are affected by the choices he makes. Can they get their views through to him? Is the prospect of their future support a significant incentive for him? Can they remove him from office if they are unhappy with his performance?

These questions are far more likely to receive an affirmative answer in a smaller jurisdiction than in a larger one.

For one thing, as the number of issues is limited, each issue becomes more important. Transportation policy, for example, is a crucial matter for millions of Americans—yet a national election is unlikely to turn on that issue when the great questions of war and peace are at stake.

In addition, each constituent has a greater influence on policy as the number of constituents declines. An angry group of commuters, for example, will have far less impact in a Senatorial or Congressional election than in an election for alderman or county executive. And it is also true that the alderman or county executive will often be able to change the local policy in question far more easily than a single Congressman or Senator can change policy at the Federal level.

Consider what happens with most Federal programs today. The Congress levies taxes and authorizes expenditures, but the crucial operating decisions are often made by anonymous bureaucrats who are directly accountable neither to elected officials nor to the public at large. When programs prove unresponsive to public needs, the fact that the same level of government both raises and spends the revenues is little comfort.

At the local level, however, the situation is often reversed. City councils, school boards and other local authorities are constantly spending revenues which are raised by State governments—in this sense, rev-

enue sharing has been with us for some time. But the separation of taxing and spending authority does not diminish the ability of local voters to hold local officials responsible for their stewardship of *all* public funds.

In short, revenue sharing will not shield State and local officials from taxpayer pressures. It will work in just the opposite direction. Under revenue sharing, it will be harder for State and local officials to excuse their errors by pointing to empty treasuries or to pass the buck by blaming Federal bureaucrats for misdirected spending. Only leaders who have the responsibility to decide and the means to implement their decisions can *really* be held accountable when they fail.

Other Advantages

The nation will realize a number of additional advantages if revenue sharing is put into effect. The need for heavier property and sales taxes will be reduced. New job opportunities will be created at the State and local level. Competition between domestic programs and defense needs will be reduced as the State and local share of domestic spending increases. As the States and localities are renewed and revitalized, we can expect that even more energy and talent will be attracted into government at this level. The best way to develop greater responsibility at the State and local level is to give greater responsibility to State and local government.

In the final analysis, the purpose of General Revenue Sharing is to set our States and localities free—free to set new priorities, free to meet unmet needs, free to make their own mistakes, yes, but also free to score splendid successes which otherwise would never be realized.

For State and local officials bring many unique strengths to the challenges of public leadership. Because they live day in and day out with the results of their decisions, they can often measure costs and benefits with greater sensitivity and weigh them against one another with greater precision. Because they are closer to the people they serve, State and local officials will often have a fuller sense of appreciation of local perspectives and values. Moreover, officials at these lower levels are often more likely to remember what Washington too often forgets: that the purpose of government is not budgets and programs and guidelines, but people.

This reform will also help produce better government at the Federal level.

There is too much to be done in America today for the Federal Government to try to do it all. When we divide up decision-making, then each decision can be made at the place where it has the best chance of being decided in the best way. When we give more people the power to decide, then each decision will receive greater time and attention. This also means that Federal officials will have a greater opportunity to focus on those matters which ought to be handled at the Federal level.

Laboratories for Modern Government

Strengthening the States and localities will make our system more diversified and more flexible. Once again these units will be able to serve—as they so often did in the 19th century and during the Progressive Era—as laboratories for modern government. Here ideas can be tested more easily than they can on a national scale.

Here the results can be assessed, the failures repaired, the successes proven and publicized. Revitalized State and local governments will be able to tap a variety of energies and express a variety of values. Learning from one another and even competing with one another, they will help us develop better ways of governing.

The ability of every individual to feel a sense of participation in government will also increase as State and local power increases. As more decisions are made at the scene of the action, more of our citizens can have a piece of the action. As we multiply the centers of effective power in this country, we will also multiply the opportunity for every individual to make his own mark on the events of his time.

Finally, let us remember this central point: the purpose of revenue sharing is not to *prevent* action but rather to *promote* action. It is not a means of *fighting* power but a means of *focusing* power. Our ultimate goal must always be to locate power at that place—public or private—Federal or local—where it can be used most responsibly and most responsively, with the greatest efficiency and with the greatest effectiveness.

"The Cardinal Question"

Throughout our history, at one critical turning point after another, the question on which the nation's future turned was the relationship between the States and the central government. Woodrow Wilson properly described it as "the cardinal question of our constitutional system."

In most cases—in the 1780's and in the 1860's and in the 1930's, for example—that question was resolved in favor of a stronger government at the Federal level. But as President Wilson went on to say, this question is one which "cannot . . . be settled by the opinion of any one generation, because it is a question of growth, and every successive stage of our political and economic development gives it a new aspect, makes it a new question."

Because America has now reached another new stage of development, we are asking that "cardinal question" again in the 1970's. As in the past, this is a matter beyond party and beyond faction. It is a matter that summons all of us to join together in a common quest, considering not our separate interests but our shared concerns and values.

To a remarkable degree, Americans are answering Wilson's cardinal question in our time by calling on the Federal Government to invest a portion of its tax revenues in stronger State and local governments. A true national consensus is emerging in support of revenue sharing. Most other nations with Federal systems already have it. Most Mayors and Governors have endorsed it. So have the campaign platforms of both major political parties. This is a truly bi-partisan effort.

Revenue sharing is an idea whose time has clearly come. It provides this Congress with an opportunity to be recorded as one that met its moment, and answered the call of history. So let us join together, and, by putting this idea into action, help revitalize our Federal system and renew our nation.

Richard Nixon

The White House
February 4, 1971

NOTE: The proposed general revenue sharing act of 1971 was introduced as H.R. 4187 and S. 680.

On the same day, the White House released a fact sheet and the transcript of a news briefing on the President's message by Murray L.

Weidenbaum, Assistant Secretary for Economic Policy, Department of the Treasury.

On January 25, 1971, the White House released a table on the estimated allocations to States under the general revenue sharing plan and the transcript of a news briefing on the plan by Mr. Weidenbaum.

On February 26, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing on revenue sharing by John D. Ehrlichman, Assistant to the President for Domestic Affairs, and Edwin L. Harper, Special Assistant to the President.

44 Statement Following Successful Landing of Apollo 14 Astronauts on the Moon. *February* 5, 1971

APOLLO 14's successful landing on the moon was a thrilling event for humanity. I congratulate the astronauts and also the thousands of other dedicated people who helped make this awesome achievement possible.

I join with all Americans in wishing the astronauts well as they carry out their mission on the moon and wish them Godspeed for a safe and successful return to earth.

NOTE: The statement was read by Press Secretary Ronald L. Ziegler during his regular news briefing at the White House on February 5, 1971.

Mr. Ziegler also reported that at 10:20 a.m. the President telephoned Donald "Deke" Slayton, Director of Flight Crew Operations, at the Houston Control Center and asked him to send the President's congratulations to the Apollo 14 astronauts and ground crew at the appropriate time.

45 Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report of the National Endowment for the Humanities. *February* 5, 1971

To the Congress of the United States:

In transmitting this Fifth Annual Report of the National Endowment for the Humanities, I commend to your attention the work supported by the Endowment during fiscal year 1970 in increasing the cultural resources of our nation and in providing insight into and understanding of the complexities of contemporary problems.

The National Endowment for the Humanities, which is one of the two Endowments comprising the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities, has been able in its short existence to implement a wide variety of programs designed to promote progress and scholarship in the humanities through studies in history, language, literature, jurisprudence, philosophy, and related fields. In addition a major emphasis has been a heightened concern with human values as they bear on social conditions underlying the most difficult and far-reaching of the nation's domestic problems, such as divisions between races and generations.

With its positive response to my proposal of last year to increase funding for the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities, the Congress enabled the Endowment to make a significantly greater contribution to the quality of life

for all Americans. The role of government in this area, as I emphasized last year, should be one of stimulating private giving and encouraging private initiative. I am therefore happy to report that the work of the National Endowment for the Humanities attracted 125 gifts from private sources totalling over $2 million during fiscal year 1970, more than matching Federal funds available for that purpose.

It is my hope that the 92nd Congress will recognize the innovative and vital role of the National Endowment for the Humanities as described in this Fifth Annual Report.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
February 5, 1971

NOTE: The 107-page report is entitled "National Endowment for the Humanities, Fifth Annual Report."

46 Statement About Memorandums Recommending Proposals for Executive Reorganization. *February* 6, 1971

IT IS my hope that as they are formally submitted to the Congress, the proposals I announced in this year's address on the State of the Union will generate a constructive and far-reaching discussion on the best way to organize many of the domestic activities of the Federal Government. As a contribution to such discussion, I have decided to make available to the Congress and to the American people these two memoranda that were prepared for me last year by the President's Advisory Council on Executive Organization (the Ash Council). One concerns the Department of Natural Resources, and the other concerns organization for social and economic programs.

The earlier memorandum reached me on May 12, 1970 and the latter on November 19, 1970. I withheld action on the earlier document until I had had a chance to see the full scope of the Council's proposals for the reorganization of related domestic departments and their functions.

These memoranda are basic to the proposed changes that I outlined in my address on the State of the Union, but they are not the only sources for my proposals. Consequently, there will be differences between the specific legislation which I will recommend to the Congress and the proposals made by the Ash Council. The differences will reflect conclusions I have reached as a result of my own experience in government, as well as proposals for executive reorganization made earlier in this Administration and in previous administrations.

For example, one department which was not touched by the Ash Council's proposals, the Department of Transportation, will be included in the reorganization legislation I will send to the Congress because I believe that the principles which underlie the Ash proposals justify this inclusion.

The Congress and the American people, in my view, should have the benefit of the relevant studies of the Advisory Council on Executive Organization in order that they may better evaluate the leg-

islation I will be proposing. It is particularly important that the rationale supporting the basic departmental structure I will recommend be well understood.

I am in basic agreement with the principles of government organization expressed in these memoranda. They reflect both the need to organize structures on the basis of purposes and the desirability of decentralizing decision-making at the operating level to the Federal regions and to States and localities wherever possible. With these thoughts, I commend the memoranda to your attention. I believe that you will find them a useful and informative guide as we prepare for the task of governmental reorganization which remains before us.

Sincerely,

RICHARD NIXON

NOTE: The statement, dated February 5, 1971, was made available to the press on February 6 as part of a 160-page pamphlet entitled "Memoranda for the President of the United States: Establishment of a Department of Natural Resources; Organization for Social and Economic Programs, Submitted by the President's Advisory Council on Executive Organization."

On February 5, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing on the two memorandums by John D. Ehrlichman, Assistant to the President for Domestic Affairs, and George P. Shultz, Director, Office of Management and Budget.

47 Statement About National Crime Prevention Week, 1971. *February* 6, 1971

THIS YEAR, National Crime Prevention Week has a solid ring. Our nationwide campaign against crime is far from won, but the tide is beginning to turn.

New laws have given the Department of Justice better weapons against organized crime and against the narcotics traffic that is a significant cause of crime. Cooperation with state and local agencies is the order of the day. A National Council on Organized Crime, comprising the heads of all appropriate Federal departments and agencies, is directing a major assault on racketeering. The Council has given new support to the interdepartmental strike forces against organized crime that have now been established in most major American cities. All the necessary Federal agencies are working together in a redoubled drive against illegal drugs—at home, at our borders, and at overseas sources.

In the past decade, Washington, D.C.—although the supposed model city for the nation—won shameful distinction as a leader in crime statistics. Today, new legislation and increases in manpower are fostering the reorganization of the whole structure of criminal justice in our Nation's Capital. Large increases have been made in Federal grants to state, city and county police forces for improvements in standards, training and methods. The results of these efforts have begun to show. A positive decline in the number of serious crimes has occurred in twenty-three cities of more than 100,000 population. And our Nation's Capital also has shown a significant downward trend in crime.

I applaud the sponsors of National Crime Prevention Week, and urge all Americans to respond to the challenges it offers. For only the widest civic participation and support can translate the pub-

lic programs we have launched into the kind of justice under law that is a prerequisite of creativity, abundance and true social progress.

RICHARD NIXON

NOTE: The statement was made available to the press in connection with the observance of National Crime Prevention Week, February 7–13, 1971.

48 Special Message to the Congress Proposing the 1971 Environmental Program. *February* 8, 1971

To the Congress of the United States:

Last August I sent to the Congress the first annual report on the state of the nation's environment. In my message of transmittal, I declared that the report "describes the principal problems we face now and can expect to face in the future, and it provides us with perceptive guidelines for meeting them. . . . They point the directions in which we must move as rapidly as circumstances permit."

The comprehensive and wide-ranging action program I propose today builds upon the 37-point program I submitted to the Congress a year ago. It builds upon the progress made in the past year, and draws upon the experience gained in the past year. It gives us the means to ensure that, as a nation, we maintain the initiative so vigorously begun in our shared campaign to save and enhance our surroundings. This program includes:

Measures to strengthen pollution control programs

—Charges on sulfur oxides and a tax on lead in gasoline to supplement regulatory controls on air pollution

—More effective control of water pollution through a $12 billion national program and strengthened standard-setting and enforcement authorities

—Comprehensive improvement in pesticide control authority

—A Federal procurement program to encourage recycling of paper

Measures to control emerging problems

—Regulation of toxic substances

—Regulation of noise pollution

—Controls on ocean dumping

Measures to promote environmental quality in land use decisions

—A national land use policy

—A new and greatly expanded open space and recreation program, bringing parks to the people in urban areas

—Preservation of historic buildings through tax policy and other incentives

—Substantial expansion of the wilderness areas preservation system

—Advance public agency approval of power plant sites and transmission line routes

—Regulation of environmental effects of surface and underground mining

Further institutional improvement

—Establishment of an Environmental Institute to conduct studies and recommend policy alternatives

Toward a better world environment

—Expanded international cooperation

71-234—72——12

—A World Heritage Trust to preserve parks and areas of unique cultural value throughout the world

1970—A Year of Progress

The course of events in 1970 has intensified awareness of and concern about environmental problems. The news of more widespread mercury pollution, late summer smog alerts over much of the East Coast, repeated episodes of ocean dumping and oil spills, and unresolved controversy about important land use questions have dramatized with disturbing regularity the reality and extent of these problems. No part of the United States has been free from them, and all levels of government—Federal, State and local—have joined in the search for solutions. Indeed, there is a growing trend in other countries to view the severity and complexity of environmental problems much as we do.

There can be no doubt about our growing national commitment to find solutions. Last November voters approved several billion dollars in State and local bond issues for environmental purposes, and Federal funds for these purposes are at an all time high.

The program I am proposing today will require some adjustments by governments at all levels, by our industrial and business community, and by the public in order to meet this national commitment. But as we strive to expand our national effort, we must also keep in mind the greater cost of *not* pressing ahead. The battle for a better environment can be won, and we are winning it. With the program I am outlining in this message we can obtain new victories and prevent problems from reaching the crisis stage.

During 1970, two new organizations were established to provide Federal leadership for the Nation's campaign to improve the environment. The Council on Environmental Quality in the Executive Office of the President has provided essential policy analysis and advice on a broad range of environmental problems, developing many of our environmental initiatives and furnishing guidance in carrying out the National Environmental Policy Act, which requires all Federal agencies to devote specific attention to the environmental impact of their actions and proposals. Federal pollution control programs have been consolidated in the new Environmental Protection Agency. This new agency is already taking strong action to combat pollution in air and water and on land.

—I have requested in my 1972 budget $2.45 billion for the programs of the Environmental Protection Agency—nearly double the funds appropriated for these programs in 1971. These funds will provide for the expansion of air and water pollution, solid waste, radiation and pesticide control programs and for carrying out new programs.

In my special message on the Environment last February, I set forth a comprehensive program to improve existing laws on air and water pollution, to encourage recycling of materials and to provide greater recreational opportunities for our people. We have been able to institute some of these measures by executive branch action. While unfortunately there was no action on my water quality proposals, we moved ahead to make effective use of existing authorities through the Refuse Act water quality permit program announced in December. New air pollu-

tion control legislation, which I signed on the last day of 1970, embodies all of my recommendations and reflects strong bipartisan teamwork between the administration and the Congress—teamwork which will be needed again this year to permit action on the urgent environmental problems discussed in this message.

We must have action to meet the needs of today if we would have the kind of environment the nation demands for tomorrow.

I. Strengthening Pollution Control Programs

The Clean Air Amendments of 1970 have greatly strengthened the Federal-State air quality program. We shall vigorously administer the new program, but propose to supplement it with measures designed to provide a strong economic stimulus to achieve the pollution reduction sought by the program.

AIR POLLUTION

Sulfur Oxides Emissions Charge

Sulfur oxides are among the most damaging air pollutants. High levels of sulfur oxides have been linked to increased incidence of diseases such as bronchitis and lung cancer. In terms of damage to human health, vegetation and property, sulfur oxide emissions cost society billions of dollars annually.

Last year in my State of the Union message I urged that the price of goods "should be made to include the cost of producing and disposing of them without damage to the environment." A charge on sulfur emitted into the atmosphere would be a major step in applying the principle that the costs of pollution should be included in the price of the product. A staff study underway indicates the feasibility of such a charge system.

—Accordingly, I have asked the Chairman of the Council on Environmental Quality and the Secretary of the Treasury to develop a Clean Air Emissions Charge on emissions of sulfur oxides. Legislation will be submitted to the Congress upon completion of the studies currently underway.

The funds generated by this charge would enable the Federal Government to expand programs to improve the quality of the environment. Special emphasis would be given to developing and demonstrating technology to reduce sulfur oxides emissions and programs to develop adequate clean energy supplies. My 1972 budget provides increased funds for these activities. They will continue to be emphasized in subsequent years.

These two measures—the sulfur oxides emissions charge and expanded environmental programs—provide both the incentive for improving the quality of our environment and the means of doing so.

Leaded Gasoline

Leaded gasolines interfere with effective emission control. Moreover, the lead particles are, themselves, a source of potentially harmful lead concentrations in the environment. The new air quality legislation provides authority, which I requested, to regulate fuel additives, and I have recently initiated a policy of using unleaded or low-lead gasoline in Federal vehicles whenever possible. But further incentives are needed. In 1970, I recommended a tax on lead used in gasoline to bring about a gradual transition to the use of unleaded gasoline. This transition

is essential if the automobile emission control standards scheduled to come into effect for the 1975 model automobiles are to be met at reasonable cost.

—I shall again propose a special tax to make the price of unleaded gasoline lower than the price of leaded gasoline. Legislation will be submitted to the Congress upon completion of studies currently underway.

WATER QUALITY

We have the technology now to deal with most forms of water pollution. We must make sure that it is used.

In my February 1970 special message to the Congress on the Environment, I discussed our most important needs in the effort to control water pollution: adequate funds to ensure construction of municipal waste treatment facilities needed to meet water quality standards; more explicit standards, applicable to all navigable waters; more effective Federal enforcement authority to back up State efforts; and funds to help States build the necessary capability to participate in this joint endeavor.

Municipal Wastes

Adequate treatment of the large volume of commercial, industrial and domestic wastes that are discharged through municipal systems requires a great expenditure of funds for construction of necessary facilities. A thorough study by the Environmental Protection Agency completed in December 1970 revealed that $12 billion will be required by 1974 to correct the national waste treatment backlog. The urgency of this need, and the severe financial problems that face many communities, require that construction of waste treatment facilities be jointly funded by Federal, State, and local governments. We must also assure that adequate Federal funds are available to reimburse States that advanced the Federal share of project costs.

—I propose that $6 billion in Federal funds be authorized and appropriated over the next three years to provide the full Federal share of a $12 billion program of waste treatment facilities.

Some municipalities need help in overcoming the difficulties they face in selling bonds on reasonable terms to finance their share of construction costs. The availability of funds to finance a community's pollution control facilities should depend not on its credit rating or the vagaries of the municipal bond market, but on its waste disposal needs.

—I again propose the creation of an Environmental Financing Authority so that every municipality has an opportunity to sell its waste treatment plant construction bonds.

A number of administrative reforms which I announced last year to ensure that Federal construction grant funds are well invested have been initiated. To further this objective:

—I again propose that the present, rigid allocation formula be revised, so that special emphasis can be given to those areas where facilities are most needed and where the greatest improvements in water quality would result.

—I propose that provisions be added to the present law to induce communities to provide for expansion and replacement of treatment facilities on a reasonably self-sufficient basis.

—I propose that municipalities receiving Federal assistance in constructing treatment facilities be required to recover from industrial users the portion of project costs allocable to treatment of their wastes.

Standards and Enforcement

While no action was taken in the 91st Congress on my proposals to strengthen water pollution standard setting and enforcement, I initiated a program under the Refuse Act of 1899 to require permits for all industrial discharges into navigable waters, making maximum use of present authorities to secure compliance with water quality standards. However, the reforms I proposed in our water quality laws last year are still urgently needed.

Water quality standards now are often imprecise and unrelated to specific water quality needs. Even more important, they provide a poor basis for enforcement: without a precise effluent standard, it is often difficult to prove violations in court. Also, Federal-State water quality standards presently do not apply to many important waters.

—I again proposed that the Federal-State water quality program be extended to cover all navigable waters and their tributaries, ground waters and waters of the contiguous zone.

—I again propose that Federal-State water quality standards be revised to impose precise effluent limitations on both industrial and municipal sources.

—I also propose Federal standards to regulate the discharge of hazardous substances similar to those which I proposed and the Congress adopted in the Clean Air Amendments of 1970.

—I propose that standards require that the best practicable technology be used in new industrial facilities to ensure that water quality is preserved or enhanced.

—I propose that the Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency be empowered to require prompt revision of standards when necessary.

We should strengthen and streamline Federal enforcement authority, to permit swift action against municipal as well as industrial and other violators of water quality standards. Existing authority under the Refuse Act generally does not apply to municipalities.

—I propose that the Administrator of EPA be authorized to issue abatement orders swiftly and to impose administrative fines of up to $25,000 per day for violation of water quality standards.

—I propose that violations of standards and abatement orders be made subject to court-imposed fines of up to $25,000 per day and up to $50,000 per day for repeated violations.

—I again propose that the Administrator be authorized to seek immediate injunctive relief in emergency situations in which severe water pollution constitutes an imminent danger to health, or threatens irreversible damage to water quality.

—I propose that the cumbersome and time-consuming enforcement conference and hearing mechanism in the current law be replaced by a provision for swift public hearings as a prelude to issuance of abatement orders or requiring a revision of standards.

—I propose an authorization for legal

actions against violations of standards by private citizens, as in the new air quality legislation, in order to bolster State and Federal enforcement efforts.

—I propose that the Administrator be empowered to require reports by any person responsible for discharging effluents covered by water quality standards.

—I again propose that Federal grants to State pollution control enforcement agencies be tripled over the next four years—from $10 million to $30 million—to assist these agencies in meeting their expanded pollution control responsibilities.

Control of Oil Spills

Last May I outlined to the Congress a number of measures that should be taken to reduce the risks of pollution from oil spills. Recent events have underlined the urgency of action on these proposals. At the outset of this present Congress I resubmitted the Ports and Waterways Safety Act and the legislation requiring the use of bridge-to-bridge radiotelephones for safety of navigation. Such legislation would have decreased the chances of the oil spill which occurred as a result of a tanker collision in San Francisco Bay.

—I have provided $25 million in next year's budget for development of better techniques to prevent and clean up oil spills and to provide more effective surveillance. I am asking the Council on Environmental Quality in conjunction with the Department of Transportation and the Environmental Protection Agency to review what further measures can be developed to deal with the problem.

—I also am renewing my request that the Senate give its advice and consent on the two new international conventions on oil spills and the pending amendments to the 1954 Oil Spills Convention for the Prevention of Pollution of the Sea by Oil.

The Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization (IMCO) is presently preparing a convention to establish an International Compensation Fund to supplement the 1969 Civil Liability Convention. Our ratification of the 1969 convention will be withheld until this supplementary convention can also be brought into force because both conventions are part of a comprehensive plan to provide compensation for damages caused by oil spills. In addition, we have taken the initiative in NATO's Committee on the Challenges of Modern Society and achieved wide international support for terminating all intentional discharges of oil and oily wastes from ships into the oceans by 1975, if possible, and no later than the end of this decade. We will continue to work on this matter to establish through IMCO an international convention on this subject.

PESTICIDES

Pesticides have provided important benefits by protecting man from disease and increasing his ability to produce food and fiber. However, the use and misuse of pesticides has become one of the major concerns of all who are interested in a better environment. The decline in numbers of several of our bird species is a

signal of the potential hazards of pesticides to the environment. We are continuing a major research effort to develop non-chemical methods of pest control, but we must continue to rely on pesticides for the foreseeable future. The challenge is to institute the necessary mechanisms to prevent pesticides from harming human health and the environment.

Currently, Federal controls over pesticides consist of the registration and labeling requirements in the Federal Insecticide, Fungicide, and Rodenticide Act. The administrative processes contained in the law are inordinately cumbersome and time-consuming, and there is no authority to deal with the actual *use* of pesticides. The labels approved under the Act specify the uses to which a pesticide may be put, but there is no way to insure that the label will be read or obeyed. A comprehensive strengthening of our pesticide control laws is needed.

—*I propose that the use of pesticides be subject to control in appropriate circumstances, through a registration procedure which provides for designation of a pesticide for "general use," "restricted use," or "use by permit only." Pesticides designated for restricted use would be applied only by an approved pest control applicator. Pesticides designated for "use by permit only" would be made available only with the approval of an approved pest control consultant. This will help to ensure that pesticides which are safe when properly used will not be misused or applied in excessive quantities.*

—*I propose that the Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency be authorized to permit the experimental use of pesticides under strict controls, when he needs additional information concerning a pesticide before deciding whether it should be registered.*

—*I propose that the procedures for cancellation of a registration be streamlined to permit more expeditious action.*

—*I propose that the Administrator be authorized to stop the sale or use of, and to seize, pesticides being distributed or held in violation of Federal law.*

RECYCLING OF WASTES

The Nation's solid waste problem is both costly and damaging to the environment. Paper, which accounts for about one-half of all municipal solid waste, can be reprocessed to produce a high quality product. Yet the percentage the Nation recycles has been declining steadily.

To reverse this trend, the General Services Administration, working with the Council on Environmental Quality, has reviewed the Federal Government's purchasing policies. It found a substantial number of prohibitions against using paper with recycled content. Such prohibitions are no longer reasonable in light of the need to encourage recycling.

As a result of this review, the GSA has already changed its specifications to require a minimum of 3 to 50 percent recycled content, depending on the product, in over $35 million per year of paper purchases. GSA is currently revising other specifications to require recycled content in an additional $25 million of annual paper purchases. In total, this will amount to more than one-half of GSA's total paper products purchases. All remaining specifications will be reviewed to require

recycled content in as many other paper products as possible. The regulations will be reviewed continually to increase the percentage of recycled paper required in each.

I have directed that the Chairman of the Council on Environmental Quality suggest to the Governors that they review State purchasing policies and where possible revise them to require recycled paper. To assist them, I have directed the Administrator of GSA to set up a technical liaison to provide States with the federally revised specifications as well as other important information on this new Federal program, which represents a significant first step toward a much broader use of Federal procurement policies to encourage recycling.

II. Controlling Emerging Problems

Environmental control efforts too often have been limited to cleaning up problems that have accumulated in the past. We must concentrate more on preventing the creation of new environmental problems and on dealing with emerging problems. We must, for example, prevent the harmful dumping of wastes into the ocean and the buildup of toxic materials throughout our environment. We must roll back increasingly annoying and hazardous levels of noise in our environment, particularly in the urban environment. Our goal in dealing with emerging environmental problems must be to ward them off before they become acute, not merely to undo the damage after it is done.

TOXIC SUBSTANCES

As we have become increasingly dependent on many chemicals and metals, we have become acutely aware of the potential toxicity of the materials entering our environment. Each year hundreds of new chemicals are commercially marketed and some of these chemicals may pose serious potential threats. Many existing chemicals and metals, such as PCB's (polychlorinated biphenyls) and mercury, also represent a hazard.

It is essential that we take steps to prevent chemical substances from becoming environmental hazards. Unless we develop better methods to assure adequate testing of chemicals, we will be inviting the environmental crises of the future.

—*I propose that the Administrator of EPA be empowered to restrict the use or distribution of any substance which he finds is a hazard to human health or the environment.*

—*I propose that the Administrator be authorized to stop the sale or use of any substance that violates the provisions of the legislation and to seek immediate injunctive relief when use or distribution of a substance presents an imminent hazard to health or the environment.*

—*I propose that the Administrator be authorized to prescribe minimum standard tests to be performed on substances.*

This legislation, coupled with the proposal on pesticides and other existing laws, will provide greater protection to humans and wildlife from introduction of toxic substances into the environment. What I propose is not to ban beneficial uses of chemicals, but rather to control the use of those that may be harmful.

OCEAN DUMPING

Last year, at my direction, the Coun-

cil on Environmental Quality extensively examined the problem of ocean dumping. Its study indicated that ocean dumping is not a critical problem now, but it predicted that as municipalities and industries increasingly turned to the oceans as a convenient dumping ground, a vast new influx of wastes would occur. Once this happened, it would be difficult and costly to shift to land-based disposal.

Wastes dumped in the oceans have a number of harmful effects. Many are toxic to marine life, reduce populations of fish and other economic resources, jeopardize marine ecosystems, and impair aesthetic values. In most cases, feasible, economic, and more beneficial methods of disposal are available. Our national policy should be to ban unregulated ocean dumping of all wastes and to place strict limits on ocean disposal of harmful materials. Legislation is needed to assure that our oceans do not suffer the fate of so many of our inland waters, and to provide the authority needed to protect our coastal waters, beaches, and estuaries.

—I recommend a national policy banning unregulated ocean dumping of all materials and placing strict limits on ocean disposal of any materials harmful to the environment.

—I recommend legislation that will require a permit from the Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency for any materials to be dumped into the oceans, estuaries, or Great Lakes and that will authorize the Administrator to ban dumping of wastes which are dangerous to the marine ecosystem.

The legislation would permit the Administrator to begin phasing out ocean dumping of harmful materials. It would provide the controls necessary to prevent further degradation of the oceans.

This would go far toward remedying this problem off our own shores. However, protection of the total marine environment from such pollution can only be assured if other nations adopt similar measures and enforce them.

—I am instructing the Secretary of State, in coordination with the Council on Environmental Quality, to develop and pursue international initiatives directed toward this objective.

NOISE

The American people have rightly become increasingly annoyed by the growing level of noise that assails them. Airplanes, trucks, construction equipment, and many other sources of noise interrupt sleep, disturb communication, create stress, and can produce deafness and other adverse health effects. The urban environment in particular is being degraded by steadily rising noise levels. The Federal Government has set and enforces standards for noise from aircraft, but it is now time that our efforts to deal with many other sources of noise be strengthened and expanded.

The primary responsibility for dealing with levels of noise in the general environment rests upon local governments. However, the products which produce the noise are usually marketed nationally, and it is by regulating the noise-generating characteristics of such products that the Federal Government can best assist the State and local governments in achieving a quieter environment.

—I propose comprehensive noise pollution control legislation that will

authorize the Administrator of EPA to set noise standards on transportation, construction and other equipment and require labeling of noise characteristics of certain products.

Before establishing standards, the Administrator would be required to publish a report on the effects of noise on man, the major sources, and the control techniques available. The legislation would provide a method for measurably reducing major noise sources, while preserving to State and local governments the authority to deal with their particular noise problems.

III. Promoting Environmental Quality in Our Land Use Decisions

The use of our land not only affects the natural environment but shapes the pattern of our daily lives. Unfortunately, the sensible use of our land is often thwarted by the inability of the many competing and overlapping local units of government to control land use decisions which have regional significance.

While most land use decisions will continue to be made at the local level, we must draw upon the basic authority of State government to deal with land use issues which spill over local jurisdictional boundaries. The States are uniquely qualified to effect the institutional reform that is so badly needed, for they are closer to the local problems than is the Federal Government and yet removed enough from local tax and other pressures to represent the broader regional interests of the public. Federal programs which influence major land use decisions can thereby fit into a coherent pattern. In addition, we must begin to restructure economic incentives bearing upon land use to encourage wise and orderly decisions for preservation and development of the land.

I am calling upon the Congress to adopt a national land use policy. In addition, I am proposing other major initiatives on land use to bring "parks to the people", to expand our wilderness system, to restore and preserve historic and older buildings, to provide an orderly system for power plant siting, and to prevent environmental degradation from mining.

A NATIONAL LAND USE POLICY

We must reform the institutional framework in which land use decisions are made.

—*I propose legislation to establish a National Land Use Policy which will encourage the States, in cooperation with local government, to plan for and regulate major developments affecting growth and the use of critical land areas. This should be done by establishing methods for protecting lands of critical environmental concern, methods for controlling large-scale development, and improving use of lands around key facilities and new communities.*

One hundred million dollars in new funds would be authorized to assist the States in this effort—$20 million in each of the next five years—with priority given to the States of the coastal zone. Accordingly, this proposal will replace and expand my proposal submitted to the last Congress for coastal zone management, while still giving priority attention to this area of the country which is especially sensitive to development pressures. Steps will be taken to assure that federally-assisted programs are consistent with the approved State land use programs.

Public Lands Management

The Federal public lands comprise approximately one-third of the Nation's land area. This vast domain contains land with spectacular scenery, mineral and timber resources, major wildlife habitat, ecological significance, and tremendous recreational importance. In a sense, it is the "breathing space" of the Nation.

The public lands belong to all Americans. They are part of the heritage and the birthright of every citizen. It is important, therefore, that these lands be managed wisely, that their environmental values be carefully safeguarded, and that we deal with these lands as trustees for the future. They have an important place in national land use considerations.

The Public Land Law Review Commission recently completed a study and report on Federal public land policy. This Administration will work closely with the Congress in evaluating the Commission's recommendations and in developing legislative and administrative programs to improve public land management.

The largest single block of Federal public land lies in the State of Alaska. Recent major oil discoveries suggest that the State is on the threshold of a major economic development. Such development can bring great benefits both to the State and to the Nation. It could also—if unplanned and unguided—despoil the last and greatest American wilderness.

We should act now, in close cooperation with the State of Alaska, to develop a comprehensive land use plan for the Federal lands in Alaska, giving priority to those north of the Yukon River. Such a plan should take account of the needs and aspirations of the native peoples, the importance of balanced economic development, and the special need for maintaining and protecting the unique natural heritage of Alaska. This can be accomplished through a system of parks, wilderness, recreation, and wildlife areas and through wise management of the Federal lands generally. I am asking the Secretary of the Interior to take the lead in this task, calling upon other Federal agencies as appropriate.

Preserving Our Natural Environment

The demand for urban open space, recreation, wilderness and other natural areas continues to accelerate. In the face of rapid urban development, the acquisition and development of open space, recreation lands and natural areas accessible to urban centers is often thwarted by escalating land values and development pressures. I am submitting to the Congress several bills that will be part of a comprehensive effort to preserve our natural environment and to provide more open spaces and parks in urban areas where today they are often so scarce. In addition, I will be taking steps within the executive branch to assure that all agencies are using fully their existing legislative authority to these ends.

"Legacy of Parks"

Merely acquiring land for open space and recreation is not enough. We must bring parks to where the people are so that everyone has access to nearby recreational areas. In my budget for 1972, I have proposed a new "Legacy of Parks" program which will help States and local governments provide parks and recreation areas, not just for today's Americans but for tomorrow's as well. Only if we set aside and develop such recreation areas now can we ensure that they will be available for future generations.

As part of this legacy, I have requested a $200 million appropriation to begin a new program for the acquisition and development of additional park lands in urban areas. To be administered by the Department of Housing and Urban Development, this would include provision for facilities such as swimming pools to add to the use and enjoyment of these parks.

Also, I have recommended in my 1972 budget that the appropriation for the Land and Water Conservation Fund be increased to $380 million, permitting the continued acquisition of Federal parks and recreation areas as well as an expanded State grant program. However, because of the way in which these State grant funds were allocated over the past five years, a relatively small percentage has been used for the purchase and development of recreational facilities in and near urban areas. The allocation formula should be changed to ensure that more parks will be developed in and near our urban areas.

—*I am submitting legislation to reform the State grant program so that Federal grants for the purchase and development of recreation lands bear a closer relationship to the population distribution.*

—*I am also proposing amendments to the Internal Revenue Code which should greatly expand the use of charitable land transfers for conservation purposes and thereby enlarge the role of private citizens in preserving the best of America's landscape.*

Additional public parks will be created as a result of my program for examining the need for retention of real property owned by the Government. The Property Review Board, which I established last year, is continuing its review of individual properties as well as its evaluation of the Government's overall Federal real property program. Properties identified as suitable for park use and determined to be surplus can be conveyed to States and political subdivisions for park purposes without cost. The State or other political subdivision must prepare an acceptable park use plan and must agree to use the property as a park in perpetuity. More than 40 properties with high potential for park use have already been identified.

Five such properties are now available for conversion to public park use. One, Border Field, California, will be developed as a recreation area with the assistance of the Department of the Interior. The other four will be conveyed to States or local units of government as soon as adequate guarantees can be obtained for their proper maintenance and operation. These four are: (1) part of the former Naval Training Devices Center on Long Island Sound, New York; (2) land at a Clinical Research Center in Fort Worth, Texas; (3) about ten miles of sand dunes and beach along the Atlantic Coast and Sandy Hook Bay, a part of Fort Hancock, New Jersey; and (4) a portion of Fort Lawton, Washington, a wooded, hilly area near the heart of Seattle. In addition, efforts are underway to open a significant stretch of Pacific Ocean Beach Front and Coastal Bluffs at Camp Pendleton, California.

Many parcels of federal real property are currently under-utilized because of the budgetary and procedural difficulties that are involved in transferring a Federal operation from the current site to a more suitable location.

—*I am again proposing legislation to*

simplify relocation of federal installations that occupy properties that could better be used for other purposes.

This will allow conversion of many additional Federal real properties to a more beneficial public use. Lands now used for Federal operations but more suited to park and recreational uses will be given priority consideration for relocation procedures. The program will be self-financing and will provide new opportunities for improving the utilization of Federal lands.

Wilderness Areas

While there is clearly a need for greater efforts to provide neighborhood parks and other public recreation areas, there must still be places where nature thrives and man enters only as a visitor. These wilderness areas are an important part of a comprehensive open space system. We must continue to expand our wilderness preservation system, in order to save for all time those magnificent areas of America where nature still predominates. Accordingly, in August last year I expressed my intention to improve our performance in the study and presentation of recommendations for new wilderness areas.

—*I will soon be recommending to the Congress a number of specific proposals for a major enlargement of our wilderness preservation system by the addition of a wide spectrum of natural areas spread across the entire continent.*

National Parks

While placing much greater emphasis on parks in urban areas and the designation of new wilderness areas, we must continue to expand our national park system. We are currently obligating substantial sums to acquire the privately owned lands in units of the National Park System which have already been authorized by the Congress.

Last year, joint efforts of the administration and the Congress resulted in authorization of ten areas in the National Park System, including such outstanding sites as Voyageurs National Park in Minnesota, Apostle Islands National Lakeshore in Wisconsin, Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore in Michigan, Gulf Islands National Seashore in Mississippi and Florida, and the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Historical Park in the District of Columbia, Maryland and West Virginia.

However, the job of filling out the National Park System is not complete. Other unique areas must still be preserved. Despite all our wealth and scientific knowledge, we cannot recreate these unspoiled areas once they are lost to the onrush of development. I am directing the Secretary of the Interior to review the outstanding opportunities for setting aside nationally significant natural and historic areas, and to develop priorities for their possible addition to the National Park System.

Power Plant Siting

The power shortage last summer and continuing disputes across the country over the siting of power plants and the routing of transmission lines highlight the need for longer-range planning by the producers of electric power to project their future needs and identify environmental concerns well in advance of construction deadlines. The growing number of confrontations also suggest the need for the

establishment of public agencies to assure public discussion of plans, proper resolution of environmental issues, and timely construction of facilities. Last fall, the Office of Science and Technology sponsored a study entitled "Electric Power and the Environment," which identified many of these issues. Only through involving the environmental protection agencies early in the planning of future power facilities can we avoid disputes which delay construction timetables. I believe that these two goals of adequacy of power supply and environmental protection are compatible if the proper framework is available.

—I propose a power plant siting law to provide for establishment within each State or region of a single agency with responsibility for assuring that environmental concerns are properly considered in the certification of specific power plant sites and transmission line routes.

Under this law, utilities would be required to identify needed power supply facilities ten years prior to construction of the required facilities. They would be required to identify the power plant sites and general transmission routes under consideration five years before construction and apply for certification for specific sites, facilities, and routes two years in advance of construction. Public hearings at which all interested parties could be heard without delaying construction timetables would be required.

Mined Area Protection

Surface and underground mining have scarred millions of acres of land and have caused environmental damages such as air and water pollution. Burning coal fires, subsidence, acid mine drainage which pollutes our streams and rivers and the destruction of aesthetic and recreational values frequently but unnecessarily accompany mining activities. These problems will worsen as the demand for fossil fuels and other raw materials continues to grow, unless such mining is subject to regulation requiring both preventive and restorative measures.

—I propose a Mined Area Protection Act to establish Federal requirements and guidelines for State programs to regulate the environmental consequences of surface and underground mining. In any State which does not enact the necessary regulations or enforce them properly, the Federal Government would be authorized to do so.

PRESERVING OUR ARCHITECTURAL AND HISTORIC HERITAGE

Too often we think of environment only as our natural surroundings. But for most of us, the urban environment is the one in which we spend our daily lives. America's cities, from Boston and Washington to Charleston, New Orleans, San Antonio, Denver, and San Francisco, reflect in the architecture of their buildings a uniqueness and character that is too rapidly disappearing under the bulldozer. Unfortunately, present Federal income tax policies provide much stronger incentives for demolition of older buildings than for their rehabilitation.

Particularly acute is the continued loss of many buildings of historic value. Since 1933 an estimated one-quarter of the buildings recorded by the Historic American Building Survey has been destroyed. Most lending institutions are unwilling to

loan funds for the restoration and rehabilitation of historic buildings because of the age and often the location of such buildings. Finally, there are many historic buildings under Federal ownership for which inadequate provision has been made for restoration and preservation.

—I shall propose tax measures designed to overcome these present distortions and particularly to encourage the restoration of historic buildings.

—I shall propose new legislation to permit Federal insurance of home improvement loans for historic residential properties to a maximum of $15,000 per dwelling unit.

—I am recommending legislation to permit State and local governments more easily to maintain transferred Federal historic sites by allowing their use for revenue purposes and I am taking action to insure that no federally-owned property is demolished until its historic significance has first been reviewed.

IV. Toward a Better World Environment

Environmental problems have a unique global dimension, for they afflict every nation, irrespective of its political institutions, economic system, or state of development. The United States stands ready to work and cooperate with all nations, individually or through international institutions, in the great task of building a better environment for man. A number of the proposals which I am submitting to Congress today have important international aspects, as in the case of ocean dumping. I hope that other nations will see the merit of the environmental goals which we have set for ourselves and will choose to share them with us.

At the same time, we need to develop more effective environmental efforts through appropriate regional and global organizations. The United States is participating closely in the initiatives of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), with its emphasis on the complex economic aspects of environmental controls, and of the Economic Commission for Europe (ECE), a U.N. regional organization which is the major forum for East-West cooperation on environmental problems.

Following a United States initiative in 1969, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization has added a new dimension to its cooperative activities through its Committee on the Challenges of Modern Society.[1] CCMS has served to stimulate national and international action on many problems common to a modern technological society. For example, an important agreement was reached in Brussels recently to eliminate intentional discharges of oil and oily wastes by ships into the oceans by 1975 if possible or, at the latest, by the end of the decade. CCMS is functioning as an effective forum for reaching agreements on the development of pollution-free and safe automobiles. Work on mitigating the effects of floods and earthquakes is in progress. These innovative and specific actions are

[1] A White House announcement of the designation of Russell E. Train, Chairman, Council on Environmental Quality, as United States Representative to the Committee on the Challenges of Modern Society was released on January 13, 1971, and is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 7, p. 59).

good examples of how efforts of many nations can be focused and coordinated in addressing serious environmental problems facing all nations.

The United Nations, whose specialized agencies have long done valuable work on many aspects of the environment, is sponsoring a landmark Conference on the Human Environment to be held in Stockholm in June 1972. This will, for the first time, bring together all member nations of the world community to discuss those environmental issues of most pressing common concern and to agree on a world-wide strategy and the basis for a cooperative program to reverse the fearful trend toward environmental degradation. I have pledged full support for this Conference, and the United States is actively participating in the preparatory work.

Direct bilateral consultations in this field are also most useful in jointly meeting the challenges of environmental problems. Thus, the United States and Canada have been working closely together preparing plans for action directed to the urgent task of cleaning up the Great Lakes, that priceless resource our two nations share. Over the past few months, ministerial level discussions with Japan have laid the basis for an expanded program of cooperation and technological exchange from which both nations will benefit.

It is my intention that we will develop a firm and effective fabric of cooperation among the nations of the world on these environmental issues.

WORLD HERITAGE TRUST

As the United States approaches the centennial celebration in 1972 of the establishment of Yellowstone National Park, it would be appropriate to mark this historic event by a new international initiative in the general field of parks. Yellowstone is the first national park to have been created in the modern world, and the national park concept has represented a major contribution to world culture. Similar systems have now been established throughout the world. The United Nations lists over 1,200 parks in 93 nations.

The national park concept is based upon the recognition that certain areas of natural, historical, or cultural significance have such unique and outstanding characteristics that they must be treated as belonging to the nation as a whole, as part of the nation's heritage.

It would be fitting by 1972 for the nations of the world to agree to the principle that there are certain areas of such unique worldwide value that they should be treated as part of the heritage of all mankind and accorded special recognition as part of a World Heritage Trust. Such an arrangement would impose no limitations on the sovereignty of those nations which choose to participate, but would extend special international recognition to the areas which qualify and would make available technical and other assistance where appropriate to assist in their protection and management. I believe that such an initiative can add a new dimension to international cooperation.

—*I am directing the Secretary of the Interior, in coordination with the Council on Environmental Quality, and under the foreign policy guidance of the Secretary of State, to develop initiatives for presentation in appropriate international forums to further the objective of a World Heritage Trust.*

Confronted with the pressures of population and development, and with the world's tremendously increased capacity for environmental modification, we must act together now to save for future generations the most outstanding natural areas as well as places of unique historical, archeological, architectural, and cultural value to mankind.

V. Further Institutional Improvement

The solutions to environmental and ecological problems are often complex and costly. If we are to develop sound policies and programs in the future and receive early warning on problems, we need to refine our analytical techniques and use the best intellectual talent that is available.

After thorough discussions with a number of private foundations, the Federal Government through the National Science Foundation and the Council on Environmental Quality will support the establishment of an Environmental Institute. I hope that this nonprofit institute will be supported not only by the Federal Government but also by private foundations. The Institute would conduct policy studies and analyses drawing upon the capabilities of our universities and experts in other sectors. It would provide new and alternative strategies for dealing with the whole spectrum of environmental problems.

VI. Toward a Better Life

Adoption of the proposals in this message will help us to clean up the problems of the past, to reduce the amount of waste which is disposed, and to deal creatively with problems of the future before they become critical. But action by government alone can never achieve the high quality environment we are seeking.

We must better understand how economic forces induce some forms of environmental degradation, and how we can create and change economic incentives to improve rather than degrade environmental quality. Economic incentives, such as the sulfur oxides charge and the lead tax, can create a strong impetus to reduce pollution levels. We must experiment with other economic incentives as a supplement to our regulatory efforts. Our goal must be to harness the powerful mechanisms of the marketplace, with its automatic incentives and restraints, to encourage improvement in the quality of life.

We must also recognize that the technological, regulatory, and economic measures we adopt to solve our environmental problems cannot succeed unless we enlist the active participation of the American people. Far beyond any legislative or administrative programs that may be suggested, the direct involvement of our citizens will be the critical test of whether we can indeed have the kind of environment we want for ourselves and for our children.

All across the country, our people are concerned about the environment—the quality of the air, of the water, of the open spaces that their children need. The question I hear everywhere is "What can *I* do?"

Fortunately, there is a great deal that each of us can do. The businessman in his every day decisions can take into account the effects on the environment of his alternatives and act in an environmentally responsible way. The housewife

can make choices in the marketplace that will help discourage pollution. Young people can undertake projects in their schools and through other organizations to help build a better environment for their communities. Parents can work with the schools to help develop sound environmental teaching throughout our education system. Every community in the nation can encourage and promote concerned and responsible citizen involvement in environmental issues, an involvement which should be broadly representative of the life-styles and leadership of the community. Each of us can resolve to help keep his own neighborhood clean and attractive and to avoid careless, needless littering and polluting of his surroundings. These are examples of effective citizen participation; there are many others.

The building of a better environment will require in the long term a citizenry that is both deeply concerned and fully informed. Thus, I believe that our educational system, at all levels, has a critical role to play.

As our nation comes to grips with our environmental problems, we will find that difficult choices have to be made, that substantial costs have to be met, and that sacrifices have to be made. Environmental quality cannot be achieved cheaply or easily. But, I believe the American people are ready to do what is necessary.

This nation has met great challenges before. I believe we shall meet this challenge. I call upon all Americans to dedicate themselves during the decade of the seventies to the goal of restoring the environment and reclaiming the earth for ourselves and our posterity. And I invite all peoples everywhere to join us in this great endeavor. Together, we hold this good earth in trust. We must—and together we can—prove ourselves worthy of that trust.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
February 8, 1971

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released a fact sheet and the transcript of a news briefing on the program by Rogers C. B. Morton, Secretary of the Interior, Russell E. Train, Chairman, Council on Environmental Quality, and William D. Ruckelshaus, Administrator, Environmental Protection Agency.

The White House also distributed releases from the General Services Administration on the President's announcement that five Federal properties had been made available for public parks and recreation use.

49 Statement About the Special Message to the Congress Proposing the 1971 Environmental Program. *February* 8, 1971

IN HIS tragedy, "Murder in the Cathedral," T. S. Eliot wrote, "Clear the air! Clean the sky! Wash the wind!"

I have proposed to the Congress a sweeping and comprehensive program to do just that, and more—to end the plunder of America's natural heritage.

A nation's history is written in the book of its words, the book of its deeds, the book of its art. A people's history is also written in what they do with the natural beauty providence bestowed upon them.

With your support, and with the help of the Congress, we can reclaim and

preserve the natural beauty of America unto all the generations that come after us.

NOTE: The President read the statement for sound and film recording at 3:06 p.m. in the Family Theater at the White House.

50 Letter to the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House Transmitting a General Revenue Sharing Bill. *February* 9, 1971

I AM transmitting herewith a draft bill to carry out the program of general revenue sharing as explained in my message to the Congress of February 4, 1971.

This general revenue sharing bill is one of the twin pillars of the total $16 billion revenue sharing proposal, representing a new and dramatic reorientation of our Federal system by strengthening State and local governments. It would provide to those governments $5 billion during its first full year of operation and would be based each year on a designated percentage of the Nation's taxable personal income—thus representing new funds without requiring new taxes or transfers of funds from existing Federal programs. No program or project restrictions would be placed on general revenue sharing funds.

The details of this proposal have been developed in close consultation with city, county, and State officials from across the country and in discussions with members of Congress. They are explained in the enclosed description and section-by-section analysis of the bill.

As I said in my recent State of the Union message:

> "The time has come for a new partnership between the Federal Government and the States and localities—a partnership in which we entrust States and localities with a larger share of the Nation's responsibilities and in which we share our Federal revenues with them so they can meet those responsibilities."

I strongly urge prompt and favorable action by the Congress on the General Revenue Sharing Act of 1971.

Sincerely,

RICHARD NIXON

NOTE: This is the text of identical letters addressed to the Honorable Spiro T. Agnew, President of the Senate, and the Honorable Carl Albert, Speaker of the House of Representatives.

51 Statement Following Splashdown of Apollo 14. *February* 9, 1971

ONCE again earth has welcomed back its own, and I join people everywhere in rejoicing both at the safe return of Astronauts Shepard, Mitchell, and Roosa and at the successful completion of their mission.

It was on May 5, 1961, that Alan Shepard made America's historic first suborbital flight aboard Freedom 7. Now, a decade later, he returns from the moon as commander of the three-man crew of Apollo 14. The difference between that

first flight and this latest is a measure of how far we have progressed in space in the short span of 10 years. But two things have not changed: the courage and determination of the men who fly these missions, and the skill and dedication of the thousands here on earth who make their flights possible.

To each and every one of the many people who contributed to the success of Apollo 14, a grateful nation says: "Well done." And to the astronauts themselves—to Captain Shepard, Commander Mitchell, and Major Roosa—we all will add an equally hearty: "Welcome home."

NOTE: Shortly after splashdown, President Nixon telephoned the Apollo 14 astronauts aboard the U.S.S. *New Orleans* in the South Pacific to express his personal congratulations on the completion of their mission.

52 Remarks at a Reception for the Freedoms Foundation. *February* 9, 1971

I WANT to express my apologies to all of you for delaying this appearance for just a few minutes, but I had a telephone call, a very important one. I didn't make a telephone call to the moon, but I was talking to the astronauts out in the Pacific. They are back and back safely. I talked to all three of them.

And I just want you to know that after talking to them I think it is most appropriate to come to meet with the trustees of the Freedoms Foundation, because they stand for what is very best in freedom and for America, our three astronauts.

I pointed out to all of them that at the diplomatic reception last night where the ambassadors, the chiefs of mission, from 116 countries were here, that all of them spoke of the astronauts and how much they admired what they had done because bravery, that kind of technical ability, is something that transcends political differences or geographical differences or national differences.

And I was certainly very proud, as the President of the United States, to receive the congratulations of these heads of foreign governments.

I think all of you should know, and I am sure you do know, that when these men do return home they not only come here, at the White House where we have a dinner for them; that this year we are having them and their wives and their children go to spend a night or a weekend at Camp David, which would be interesting. And then—I hope it is still there when we get back.

But anyway, I told Captain Shepard that Arnie Palmer wants him to go on the tour now. And I also will replace the golf ball that he hit off into outer space with one of the Presidential golf balls.

But I think that what I particularly want to leave with this group here is that Freedoms Foundation, an organization that all of you have supported and do support so loyally, is one that I have known for many, many years. I knew it from the time that I was Vice President of the United States and I remember Mrs. Nixon and I went up to Valley Forge for a presentation in the barn.

I also know that through the years that I have been Vice President, so many of the award winners have come to my office then, and then as President I have been honored to receive them in the Cab-

inet Room and in the President's office.

I realize that this organization could not exist except for the contributions and for the work, all volunteer work, of just thousands of people across the country.

I am deeply grateful for all that you have done. I speak in personal terms only because representing, as I do, the Government of this country, which is a government with many billions of dollars at its disposal and many, many programs, the result of those expenditures of money, I realize that what people do in their individual capacity is what makes America great.

What we have done for almost 200 years—and we have done much in the world, many good things for America at home, we have become the richest country, the strongest country in the world, with more freedom, more opportunity than any people in the world—and what we have been able to do in the world where, in the wars that we have had to fight and one that we are now bringing to an end as far as we are concerned, everything that we have done in the world, that all of this has been possible because of what the American people have created here in this country.

But when we look at the progress of America, how we got where we are, we, of course, got there in great part because of what we did as a government. But we must never forget that the greatness of America, and this is what really distinguishes this country, is primarily because of what we have done as a people in our individual and private capacity.

Freedoms Foundation stands for that principle. You recognize the necessity of strengthening freedom, strengthening it at all levels in America. You work for that. You reward it. You encourage it.

And because you do that, I am very delighted to receive you, along with Mrs. Nixon, here in the White House, to tell you to enjoy your stay here. And even though it has been delayed a little, I understand the coffee and the tea will be warmed up when you get over to the State Dining Room. I can urge you also to try the pastries. I don't use them. That is how I keep my figure.

But nevertheless, I hope you brought your bowser bags because there is plenty for those who may not use them all. And I know that you will enjoy it.

Now I understand Bo Callaway has something that he wants to say. And so, Bo, you are recognized under the one minute rule of the House.

[At this point, after making brief remarks, Howard H. Callaway, chairman of the board of trustees of the Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge, presented the President with a gavel and sounding board. The President then resumed speaking.]

Thank you very much, Bo.

It is, of course, a very great honor to have this in the collection of gavels that I have acquired through the years because I have acquired them because I presided over the Senate for 8 years and every time anybody came to visit me, of course, as a head of state or something, he always gave me a gavel.

So I have another one now. And I was thinking how this would do a little better than the others. Do you think it would work in the Senate today?

I, too, appreciate the fact, the historic significance of the wood from which the gavel is made and also the base is made. And in this room in which one of the few original paintings, a painting that is older than this house, the painting of George Washington appears—this one, I under-

stand, is not that old—but to have it in this room, the East Room, which is really the room which I would say would be known as the Washington Room, if we were to pick a man's name for it, and to have this from Valley Forge, is indeed a very great honor.

I again want to say we thank you for what you have done and what you are going to do. It is a good work. It is for the best interests of America and I want to be just as helpful as I can, in an honorary or any other way.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 5:37 p.m. in the East Room at the White House to members of the Foundation's "Committee of One Thousand."

The gavel and sounding board, made from an oak beam taken from beneath the floor of the camp hospital at Valley Forge where Colonials were treated during the winter encampment of 1777 and 1778, was inscribed: "The President of the United States, Richard Milhous Nixon, installed as Honorary Chairman, Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge, February 9, 1971."

Mr. Callaway's remarks are printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 7, p. 207).

53 Remarks to the National Industrial Pollution Control Council and Subcouncils. *February* 10, 1971

I WANT to welcome all of you to the White House and particularly to the State Dining Room.

And I understand that the first order of business after we have just watched two TWA planes—only commercial of the day [*laughter*]—take off, the first order of business will be the Secretary of Commerce. I understand he has a presentation to make. So we will put him on right now.

Mr. Secretary.

[At this point, Secretary Maurice H. Stans presented to the President a series of reports and recommendations by the Council and Subcouncils. The President then resumed speaking.]

Thank you.

Mr. Secretary and gentlemen, as you know, we have just witnessed outside the White House an example of what industry is doing in cooperation with all of the goals that we have set forth in our environmental message, what industry is doing on the pollution problem.

I learned in talking to Charley Tillinghast of TWA that the cost to TWA to change their whole fleet to the new kind of device which will reduce the amount of pollution caused by the expenditure of jet fuel as the plane takes off from airports will be approximately $2 million.

He also pointed out, incidentally, that the pilot or the captain of the pollution-free plane came from Smoke Rise, New Jersey.

Now, I make this point for this reason: I want to speak quite candidly to the industrial leaders of this Nation who have been working, as the Secretary has indicated, so diligently in this cause.

I do not see the problem of cleaning up the environment as being one of the people versus business, of Government versus business. I am not among those who believe that the United States would be just a wonderful place in which to live if we could just get rid of all of this industrial progress that has made us the richest and strongest nation in the world.

I have been to nations that are not developed industrially. They have pollution, too. I have been to the primitive places of the world, and they have problems of the environment. And anyone who suggests that the answer to the fact that we do have pollution—some of it caused by industry, some for other reasons—that the answer to that is to destroy the system or to weaken the system that produced the greatest progress that the world has ever seen; those who suggest that simply are missing the point.

What we have to understand is that in correcting what is wrong about America in all fields we must not destroy what is right. That is why I welcome the opportunity—having sent a pollution message to the Congress of the United States, which has generally received very strong support from all segments of our society, indicating what government will do—it is why I welcome the opportunity to say to the American people through this meeting that American industry is also against pollution, that American industry is bearing a great share of the cost, not only in time and in effort but in money, to wage the battle for clean water, clean air, more open space.

That is the case now. And without your cooperation, all that government can do will not be effective.

I am one who is very appreciative of the fact that over these past few months when this Council has been meeting that on your own, on your own initiative across this country, you are developing programs even in advance of what the Government is doing to deal with the problem of pollution.

I am also aware of the fact—from one who doesn't see much television, but now and then I catch a few of the football contests over the end of the year—I am also aware of the fact that a number of companies are making very effective use in their advertising of what they are doing with regard to the environment.

And this, of course, has an enormously good effect on the country, to see that American industry is not the enemy of the good life. But actually because of what American industry does, because of what it is doing, it not only provides jobs and better incomes and better housing, better clothing for the American people, but also that American industry is concerned, just as concerned as the man in government is, about a better life for our children, a cleaner America, an America in which we can have the clean air, the clean water, and the quality of life that we believe is the American heritage.

And so it is to that commitment that I know we are all gathered today to serve, and for that commitment I express appreciation.

The Government, this Administration, I can assure you, is not here to beat industry over the head. We are not here to make the industrial leaders of this country, the leaders in this room, make you the scapegoats for this problem.

We realize this is a problem we must all work together to solve. We want to work with you. We appreciate your cooperation. And, working together, we are going to do the job.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:20 a.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House.

Before the presentation of the reports, the President went to the South Lawn to observe two planes, one equipped with pollution control devices and one without, following their take-off from nearby National Airport in a demon-

stration of the effectiveness of the devices.

Secretary Stans' remarks were as follows:

Mr. President, before you are approximately 200 heads of major corporations of the United States. Here is a very large part of the industrial might of the country.

These gentlemen are members of the Council and subcouncils of the National Industrial Pollution Control Council. And they have been working diligently since last June in studying matters of pollution.

There are 30 subcouncils, each representing one industry that has problems of pollution. They have produced a series of reports on a number of individual pollution problems and have made a number of commitments, have completed a number of actions which I want to report to you today.

First is a report of the Council as a whole on its activities, with some recommendations to you and some conclusions as to what might be done in the field of industrial pollution.

Second is a series of 13 individual reports on various subjects involved in pollution: sulfur oxides, acid mine drainage, animal slaughtering, animal wastes, exhaust emissions, glass containers, a number of subjects which represent the work of the subcouncils and their conclusions. And these I am delivering to you as they will be delivered to the public today.

Next is a casebook. This is a report of 150 actions that have been taken voluntarily by business corporations of the country in dealing with problems of pollution in connection with their activities.

Next, Mr. President, is a book entitled "Commitments." This is a report of 160 corporate commitments to proceed to clean up the environment in one essential respect or another.

Mr. President, as I said, these gentlemen have been working very diligently. They have attended more than 100 subcouncil meetings since last June; several meetings of the entire Council.

Bert Cross, as their Chairman, Al Rockwell, as their Vice Chairman, have done a remarkable job of whipping together a process of action that I think is of great credit to the industrial community. What they have done is perfect evidence that business, on its own and largely through voluntary action, can achieve the objectives that you have set out for the cleaning up of the air, the water, and the land from the problems of pollution.

Gentlemen, the President of the United States.

54 Statement on Releasing a Report on Selected Independent Regulatory Agencies by the President's Advisory Council on Executive Organization. *February* 11, 1971

TODAY, I am releasing an extensive study on the organization and structure of seven major independent regulatory commissions. Prepared by my Advisory Council on Executive Organization (the Ash Council [1]), the study contains far-reaching recommendations for change.

Of varying ages, the regulatory agencies were established for a variety of purposes.

Following the near collapse of the railroads after the Civil War, and the ensuing era of monopolistic and discriminatory practices, the Interstate Commerce Commission was established in 1887.

The desire to improve competitive markets and protect consumers and shareholders from fraudulent practices were the central goals of the Federal Trade Commission, created in 1914, and the Securities and Exchange Commission, created in 1934.

On the other hand, the development of Federal regulation of radio communi-

[1] Roy L. Ash was Chairman of the Council.

cation and the radio industry, culminating in the establishment of the Federal Communications Commission in 1934, was in response to an industry seeking regulation of the spectrum for its own protection.

However, there was a thread common to all—the effort of the Federal Government to protect the members of the consuming public against market abuses over which they had little or no control.

Since their establishment, all of these agencies have grown in haphazard fashion—and despite repeated criticism and calls for reform very little change has been undertaken beyond some modest internal reorganization.

As the agencies deal in areas of great sensitivity, in which major economic interests are affected and in which interrelationships exist between the Executive, the Congress, and the courts, the reluctance to reform can be readily explained.

The Ash Council found considerable merit in the following criticisms that some have leveled against the commissions:

1. That, lacking in direct accountability to anyone, their structures frozen into a cast set years ago, the commissions have at times been unresponsive to changing circumstances, and to new needs.

2. That they have at times failed to carry out their statutory responsibilities with either effectiveness or efficiency.

3. That the very constituency they were established to serve—the consuming public—is now the source of increasing and legitimate complaints.

4. That their collegial decisionmaking is inefficient and permits avoidance of responsibility.

5. That the regulatory process has in some areas become so obscure and complex that it has effectively insulated vital issues of policy from public scrutiny and correction.

6. That the activities of the commissions are largely uncoordinated either with each other or with national policy goals.

However, it should be noted that the deficiencies of the independent agencies may not be entirely attributable to faulty organization and procedure.

The failure to review and reform outdated social and economic policies embedded in the regulatory fabric may also be partially responsible. In addition, the substantive goals of regulation often seem confused, unclear, or even contradictory. Regulation may have been extended to some fields in which market forces would better serve.

Too often, out of habit or inertia, governments maintain organization structures and agencies that are either no longer necessary, no longer relevant, or no longer truly responsive to the problems of the modern era.

The Ash Council's report persuades me that, despite the best efforts and intentions of the commissions' members, there is room for substantial improvement both in the way in which these organizations are structured, and in the way in which they carry out their functions.

At this point, I have made no final decisions on the merits of the Council's recommendations. But to stimulate a vigorous public discussion and to receive the benefit of the views of the agencies themselves, the regulated industries, the interested bar groups, consumer protection organizations, and others, I am releasing today this full report of the Advisory Council.

I have asked the Ash Council staff to solicit comments from the broadest possible range of groups and individuals con-

71-234—72——13

cerned and affected, including consumer and user groups familiar with the industries involved.

I urge all concerned to respond with their comments or criticisms by no later than April 20 in order to help us restructure the regulatory process to make it realize the expectations of the American public. Following an evaluation of these views, I will recommend to the Congress, as may be appropriate, those reforms that appear desirable and in the public interest.

NOTE: The report is entitled "A New Regulatory Framework: Report on Selected Independent Regulatory Agencies—The President's Advisory Council on Executive Organization, January 1971" (Government Printing Office, 198 pp.).

On the same day, the White House released a fact sheet on the Council's report.

55 Remarks at the Signing Ceremony of the Seabed Arms Control Treaty. *February* 11, 1971

Mr. Secretary, Your Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen:

It has been very properly pointed out that the seabed is man's last frontier on earth, and that frontier can either be a source of peril or promise.

By the signing of this treaty, we have pledged to seek its promise and to remove its peril. And as has been pointed out by the Ambassador from the United Kingdom and the Ambassador from the U.S.S.R., while this is a modest step among many in the field of control of armaments, it is an indication of progress that has been made and continues to be made toward the goal that we all seek: the control of instruments of mass destruction, so that we can reduce the danger of war.

Certainly, speaking for the United States of America, I pledge that as we sign this treaty in an era of negotiation, that we consider it only one step toward a greater goal: the control of nuclear weapons on earth and the reduction of that danger that hangs over all the nations of the world as long as those weapons are not controlled.

And as our representatives go back to Vienna in just a few weeks, we certainly hope that they will make progress. I can assure all of those gathered here that we seek, as does the Soviet Union and other nations, we seek an agreement there which will reduce the danger of nuclear war which hangs over the world and reduce it by controlling the nuclear arms, both as far as the Soviet Union is concerned and the United States.

So on this occasion I reiterate that while the Ambassador from Great Britain quite properly said this was a modest step, it is an important step when we consider it in all of the aspects of the progress that has been made beginning in the sixties, now continuing in this decade.

We hope that we will be meeting, perhaps in the future, perhaps in this room, perhaps in some other room in some other capital, for the final great step in the control of nuclear arms: the control of nuclear arms on earth.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:50 a.m. in the International Conference Room at the Department of State.

Secretary of State William P. Rogers and Ambassador James F. Leonard, head of the U.S. Delegation to the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, formerly the Eighteen-

Nation Disarmament Committee, signed the treaty for the United States in Washington, D.C. Representatives of 61 nations participated in the ceremony. Similar ceremonies were held in London and Moscow.

56 Remarks at the Swearing In of David M. Kennedy as Ambassador at Large for Foreign Economic Policy Development. *February* 11, 1971

Ladies and gentlemen:

We are here today for the swearing in of Secretary Kennedy as Ambassador at Large. We look forward to this ceremony, and after that I will have a brief statement with regard to his immediate assignment, and the Secretary of State, also.

[At this point, Associate Justice Harry A. Blackmun of the Supreme Court administered the oath of office. The President then resumed speaking.]

I want to say that the new Ambassador at Large will have an assignment immediately. He will be going to Mexico within the next few days for meetings there. And, Mrs. Kennedy, we ask you to prepare yourself to take a brief vacation there.

Then immediately after that the Ambassador will make his first major trip in behalf of the State Department and, of course, the President, to Asia. He will be visiting Indonesia, and then will have an extended visit to Vietnam.

The next primary problem in South Vietnam which everyone there agrees to in their government is the development of the economy. We think of no one in our Government who is better qualified to go to South Vietnam and consult with their officials with regard to the economic development of South Vietnam, the stability of their system, than Secretary Kennedy.

He met with Ambassador Bunker while he was here just a few days ago, and he has made arrangements for the trip to South Vietnam. He will report when he returns to, of course, the Secretary of State and to me on the recommendations that he may have.

The fact that you are leaving the Treasury does not mean you are going to have a long vacation. Just 1 week.

Secretary Rogers, would you like to say a word?

SECRETARY ROGERS. *Mr. President, Secretary Kennedy, Mrs. Kennedy:*

I would merely like to express the pleasure of all of us in the State Department that you are going to be Ambassador at Large. As you know, that is one of the most prestigious positions that we have in the diplomatic field. You follow a long line of very able and distinguished men. I don't know of anyone that we would prefer to have in that post than you.

As the President said, you will not only have some immediate assignments, but, as I was telling you a moment ago, we have worked out some other plans for you, very important assignments that we think you can do with great distinction for your country. When you return we will talk about them.

I am sure that even though you would like to do a little fishing, you are going to find out that you will not be able to do much fishing.

THE PRESIDENT. We would like to

point out that as a member of the Cabinet we would want you to report to the Cabinet, too, on your trips abroad.

With our new office we have set up in the field of international economic policy, it will be very important to have that consultation.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:20 a.m. in the Oval Office at the White House.

57 Remarks at the Swearing In of John B. Connally as Secretary of the Treasury. *February* 11, 1971

Ladies and gentlemen:

We are all gathered here today for the purpose of swearing in John Connally as the 61st Secretary of the Treasury of the United States.

This is an occasion which has a great deal of meaning, of course, to the Treasury Department, to the Administration, and to the American people.

I have already expressed, at the time that he was designated as the nominee for Secretary of the Treasury, my own confidence in the new Secretary. He is a man who is qualified because of his years of experience in State government, in National Government, and also in private enterprise.

Another significant point to note is that in a Republican administration, he is a Democrat. I think that has significance, not simply because there should be a Democrat in a Republican administration, or a Republican in a Democrat administration. It has significance at this time for this post because we have presented to the Nation proposals in the field of government reorganization and revenue sharing which will make greater changes in the structure of American Government than have been made since this Government was founded 190 years ago, and proposals that will have the effect of making government more effective; of making government, we trust, less costly; of giving the people of the United States of America, all of the people, a bigger voice in determining how much government they want, what kind of government they want, in determining how their tax dollars will be spent. Proposals of this magnitude and of this scope should not be approached as Republican proposals or Democratic proposals. They are proposals that involve the whole Nation and should be approached in a bipartisan way.

The new Secretary of the Treasury, in addition to all of his other responsibilities in that office, will have a major responsibility in presenting those proposals to the Congress and to the Nation in the spirit in which I have attempted to present them to Democrats and Republicans alike in this room, on television, and in other forums.

So, with that introduction, we will now go forward with the swearing-in ceremony. And Mr. Justice Blackmun, from Minnesota, will swear in Governor John Connally from Texas.

Incidentally, I found that while Texas has had representation in high levels of government in the long history of this country, Governor Connally is the first Texan ever to be named Secretary of the Treasury.

[At this point, the oath of office was administered by Associate Justice Harry A. Blackmun of the Supreme Court.]

SECRETARY CONNALLY. *Mr. President, Mrs. Nixon, distinguished members of the Cabinet, Members of Congress, members of my family, and friends:*

Mr. President, will you permit me one big sigh? [*Laughter*]

THE PRESIDENT. This is a lot easier forum than the Senate of the United States, I can assure you.

SECRETARY CONNALLY. I finally made it. Today I go on the payroll. [*Laughter*]

If there is justification for this levity, it is to keep me from being too serious.

Mr. President, to serve one's country under any circumstances to me is a rare privilege indeed. To serve one's country in a position of such responsibility is truly more than a challenge. It is a rare and a great opportunity. To be able to do so in the Administration of a President who is so dedicated and so committed, so sincerely doing all within his power to bring about basic changes in the structure of this Government and the delivery of services to its citizens, is an opportunity that any man would be grateful to have.

I assure you, Mr. President, in the pursuit of my duties, in the assignments which by law and by delegation are already those of the Secretary of the Treasury, and in the pursuit of those assignments which you shall give me in the future, I assure you I shall approach them with the deepest humility, and with a sense of hope that I can live up to your appointment, to your expectations, and that I might prove worthy of the trust that has been placed in me by you, by the Members of the Senate who confirmed me, by my friends who, right or wrong, have always believed in me, and, most of all, for the benefit of the people of this Nation. Thank you very much.

THE PRESIDENT. Ladies and gentlemen, that concludes the ceremony. And at this time, the new Secretary of the Treasury and Mrs. Connally and I will walk to the entrance to the State Dining Room. We would like to have all of you who have the time to join us there for coffee. And I understand there are some nice rolls and other things which I never try but they tell me they are very good.

Mrs. Nixon cannot join us because she has a luncheon to attend, but we will be glad to welcome all of you there.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:40 a.m. in the East Room at the White House.

58 Statement on the Anniversary of the Birth of Abraham Lincoln. *February* 11, 1971

ONE of the first things most Americans learn about the Republican Party is that it is the party of Abraham Lincoln. As we observe the anniversary of his birth, it is appropriate that we think again about the principles he observed and how they can be implemented in our time.

Lincoln knew that free people and open opportunities were the driving force of America; today we must protect individual freedom and expand individual opportunity. Lincoln knew that our State and local governments were vital to our people and should work with, not against our Federal government; we must enhance the innovativeness, responsiveness

and efficiency of State and local government with creative Federal support. Lincoln knew that freedom and progress could only flourish under the orderly rule of law; we must restore our laws and enforcement systems to their rightful place of honor and respect. Lincoln knew that our power among nations grew out of our freedoms at home; today, our ability to support freedom around the world can only be built on the freedom and self-confidence of our own people.

At Gettysburg, Lincoln resolved that "this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom. . . ." Today, as we honor this great President, let us rededicate ourselves to that eternal goal.

RICHARD NIXON

NOTE: The statement was made available to the press.

59 Remarks on Receiving the American Legion's Distinguished Service Medal for 1969. *February* 16, 1971

Commander Chamie, my colleagues in the Congress, my comrades in the American Legion, and ladies and gentlemen, all of your guests:

I am very honored to receive this Distinguished Service award of the American Legion. And in checking the records, I found that in the past 40 years, every President of the United States has received this award from the American Legion. [*Laughter*]

That proves it is bipartisan. [*Laughter*]

But as I considered the fact that every President of the United States has had the high honor of receiving the Distinguished Service award of the American Legion, I thought that the time had come for a President of the United States to, in effect, give a distinguished service commendation to the American Legion. And I welcome that opportunity to do so tonight.

As my longtime friend from California, Al Chamie, has already indicated, I am this year finishing my 25th year as a member of the American Legion. I am proud of that association.

I also am aware of the fact that in the past 2 years I think I have learned more deeply than I had ever understood before what the Legion means to America and what it can also mean to the Commander in Chief of our armed services in times of great difficulty.

I recall, for example, that when a great debate was raging in our country, a debate between honest men of differing views, as to what our defense forces should be and whether we should go forward on an anti-ballistic missile system for defense purposes, that the American Legion took the side of a strong national defense, as it always has. It was of assistance to the Commander in Chief who had made that difficult decision.

I recall on November 3, 1969, when I spoke to the Nation at a time when thousands of very honest people who disagreed with our national policy, who called for an immediate, precipitate withdrawal from Vietnam in a way that would have resulted in defeat for America and of all of our purposes in that part of the world—that at that time when I called for a just peace, for ending the war in a way

that we would win the peace and not lose the peace, the American Legion stood firmly by the President of the United States.

And then I recall one of the more, shall I say, lonely times, and the office of the Presidency is not a lonely office—I can assure you that there is always somebody there ready to come in if you will just open the door—but I remember it was lonely from the standpoint of public support, and I understood why. On April 30 of last year, I had to make a difficult decision, a decision to move on the Communist outposts in Cambodia that were being used for the purpose of killing American men in Vietnam.

When I made that decision, there were those who honestly opposed it, and I respected them for that opposition. There were others who waited on the fence to see how it would come out. There were a few—a few who came in and said, "We support you."

I remember the commander of the American Legion—4 days after the decision was made, he came to Washington, and that was as soon as he could get here. He came in to see me. He said to me very simply—Commander Milton Patrick did—as I recall, something like this: He said, "Members of the American Legion, Mr. President, know what it means to look down the barrel of a gun, and we support the Commander in Chief in his efforts to see to it that the barrels of those guns in Cambodia are spiked so that they will not be killing our men in Vietnam."

That kind of support at that time, which could have been delayed, which could have even been withheld, support that was given at a time when many were not sure as to how the operation would come out, was support that was most welcome to the President of the United States, I can assure you, clearly apart from the personalities involved, and support that I will always remember.

The fact that the operation did succeed; the fact that, as you know, our casualties since Cambodia have been reduced by two-thirds; that 100,000 Americans have come home since that time and are continuing to come home; the fact that as a result of that operation the South Vietnamese have developed the confidence and the ability that they now can undertake on the ground by themselves, as far as the ground action is concerned in operation, to cut the Communist supply line coming down the Ho Chi Minh Trail—all of this, it seems to me, indicates how the American Legion, in the person of its commander, at a time when it would have been easy not to stand up, did stand up.

I am grateful for that, and I express my appreciation to all the members of the American Legion for that support in that period.

Now we are fortunate as we meet here tonight to be at a time when we can look at this very difficult war in Vietnam, when we can see that Americans are continuing to come home, when we can see the end of the American involvement in Vietnam; but an end of that involvement in a way that it will discourage that kind of war in the future and that it will allow the South Vietnamese to have the strength which they need to defend themselves and to give their people a chance to make their own choice with regard to the kind of government they want rather than to have that imposed upon them by force from the Communists in the North.

And as we look at that situation—the end of the longest war in America's history—and as we look at the time after

that, I want to say to the members of the American Legion, to those representing, as you do, the leadership of this great organization throughout the country, that when we come into a period when, we trust, America will be at peace with all nations in the world, at peace not just for the next few years but perhaps for a whole generation, this is a time when it will be vitally important for the American Legion to continue to stand for the strong national defense for which it has always stood.

Let's look at the record: There are a few here who are veterans of World War I. All of you will remember that after World War I the United States became too weak and, as a result, the United States was unable to play the role, the peace-keeping role, which it could and should have played in that period between the two great wars.

We remember that after World War II the same thing happened, and the United States was unable to have the strength that it should have had at the time that the Korean war began.

And now we come to another period, a period when we will end a war, when we will be at peace with the rest of the world, and when the decision will have to be made by the American people as to whether we maintain the adequate national defense that we need.

I will simply say this: That until the United States obtains an arms control limitation between the two great super powers, one that we can rely upon and that they can rely upon, it is essential that the United States maintain an adequate armed force. We maintain that [*applause*]——

And we must maintain that force not because we want war, but because in the truest sense of the word in peacetime the Armed Forces of the United States all over this world are truly peace forces.

Let us remember: Whether it was World War I, whether it was World War II, whether it was Korea, or whether it was Vietnam, the United States has not started a war anyplace.

The United States has fought in defense of freedom, and we must maintain those defense and free forces.

So, Commander Chamie, all of our distinguished guests this evening, I simply want you to know that having received this award as President of the United States, as a member of the American Legion and proud of that membership, I urge you to continue to support whoever is the President of the United States, whatever his party, in the cause of the United States maintaining the strength that we must maintain to play the role that must be played by the strongest free world nation if we are to have peace for the balance of this century. I believe we can do it and with your help we will do it.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:52 p.m. at the American Legion National Commander's dinner honoring the Congress of the United States in the Sheraton Park Hotel.

60 Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report on the Foreign Assistance Program. *February* 17, 1971

To the Congress of the United States:

Since my March 1970 Report on Foreign Assistance, I have proposed to the Congress a major transformation in the

policy directions and organizational structure of this important program.

The proposals are made necessary by the dramatic changes which have taken place over recent years in the conditions that surround and influence development assistance:

—The lower income countries themselves have made impressive progress and gained experience which makes it possible for them to stand at the center of the development process;

—The other industrialized nations can now afford to provide major assistance to the poorer nations, and most of them now have substantial and expanding programs in this field;

—A number of international development institutions now possess a capability to help match the efforts of the recipient countries themselves with the most effective possible blend of assistance from donor nations;

—The private sector has become increasingly active and effective in channeling investments in a fashion to stimulate growth in the lower income countries.

The Annual Report on the Foreign Assistance Program for Fiscal Year 1970, which I transmit herewith, covers a period in which we undertook to formulate and present to Congress a more effective foreign assistance program tailored to the needs of the 70's. But it was also a period in which our present foreign assistance program helped lower income nations to achieve a number of gratifying successes:

—India harvested the largest food grain crop in its history and was able to reduce food grain imports 50 percent below the previous year's level;

—Thailand approved voluntary family planning as a national policy, and Ghana adopted a major population program;

—West Pakistan produced enough wheat not only to meet its own needs but to allow shipments of wheat to East Pakistan;

—Domestic savings in Turkey, encouraged by an effective fiscal policy, rose to 18 percent of that country's gross national product and financed 91 percent of its fixed investment;

—Ten million school-age children in Brazil each day received nutritious lunches which included U.S. foodstuffs.

In the important field of technical assistance, the Agency for International Development focused its efforts increasingly on a limited number of key problems. Among these were the "second-generation" problems resulting from the "Green Revolution." Dramatically increased agricultural yields and new technology have in some instances contributed to shortages of facilities for storage, shipment and marketing and to rural unemployment. AID sought to assist in solving these problems in order to insure the ongoing success of this significant "Revolution." It also sponsored new research in important areas such as food production and family planning. A total of $75 million was provided for the conduct of population programs, a rise of 64 percent over the previous year.

I am proud that our present foreign assistance program has achieved important successes in a field in which quick and dramatic successes are few. Development assistance, however slow its results, is an important means of cooperating with the lower income nations to help them solve their most critical problems—those

71-234—72——14

of improving the quality of life of their citizens. By creating a community of nations working together to solve the problems of humanity rather than adding to them, through war and civil strife, it clearly serves a major national interest. Our new program will be designed to meet the new needs of a new decade and thereby permit us to pursue that interest more effectively, in a way which insures our being increasingly responsive to the needs of the peoples of the developing world. It will, I believe, be recognized by our people as a proud American investment in the future of all mankind, and therefore in a better world for future generations of Americans.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
February 1971

NOTE: The report is entitled "The Foreign Assistance Program, Annual Report to the Congress, Fiscal Year 1970" (Government Printing Office, 82 pp.).

61 The President's News Conference of *February* 17, 1971

THE PRESIDENT. We will make this on the record today.

The mike is for the purpose of a transcription which will be available, I think, rather soon after we complete the conference because it will be run simultaneously by the stenographers.

Any questions which you want to ask?

QUESTIONS

U.S. POLICY IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

[1.] Q. Mr. President, the next logical step in Southeast Asia would seem to be South Vietnamese forces moving into the southern part of North Vietnam for the same reasons that they moved into the Laotian panhandle.

Would our policy rule out support for this type of move, air support for it?

THE PRESIDENT. I won't speculate on what South Vietnam may decide to do with regard to a possible incursion into North Vietnam in order to defend their national security. However, I will restate our policy. I stated that policy on November 3 [1969] and have restated it at least nine different times publicly since that time.

I stated then that at a time we are withdrawing our forces, that if I found that the enemy was stepping up its activity through infiltration in a way that would threaten our remaining forces that I would take strong action to deal with the new situation.

On December 10 [1970], as you recall, I reiterated that statement and said that this action would include the use of airpower against the infiltration routes, military complex supply depots.

That is our policy, the policy of the President taking action if he finds that the North Vietnamese are undertaking actions which threaten our remaining forces in South Vietnam.

Q. Mr. President, under that guide, is there any limit to what we might do to protect our forces in South Vietnam?

THE PRESIDENT. We have indicated several limits. For example, we are not

going to use ground forces in Laos. We are not going to use advisers in Laos with the South Vietnamese forces. We are not going to use ground forces in Cambodia or advisers in Cambodia as we have previously indicated, and we have no intention, of course, of using ground forces in North Vietnam. Those are limitations.

Q. I had reference to our use of airpower.

THE PRESIDENT. I am not going to place any limitation upon the use of airpower except, of course, to rule out a rather ridiculous suggestion that is made from time to time—I think the latest by Hans Morgenthau [1]—that our airpower might include the use of tactical nuclear weapons.

As you know, Mr. Lisagor [Peter Lisagor, Chicago Daily News], this has been speculated on for a period of 5 years, and I have said for a period of 5 years that this is not an area where the use of nuclear weapons, in any form, is either needed or would be wise.

As far as our airpower is concerned, it will be directed against—and I ought to be as precise as I was on December 10—against those military activities which I determine are directed against, and thereby threaten, our remaining forces in South Vietnam.

INCURSION INTO LAOS

[2.] Q. Can you tell us, sir—the idea of an incursion into Laos has been under consideration in Saigon on the military level for some years. Why did you decide that now is the time to do it? And second, can you give us some kind of a status report on how it is going and what the prognosis is in terms of the possible enemy resistance, what is it the intelligence suggests?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes. In looking at this situation, I recall, as probably some of you who were there, in 1965, that some of our military people, and civilians for that matter, were then saying that the way to stop the North Vietnamese infiltration into South Vietnam was to cut the Ho Chi Minh Trail.

It was not undertaken during the previous Administration, as I underestand, and—I can speak for this Administration—was not undertaken until now for a reason that the South Vietnamese and, for that matter, the United States had enough on our plate in South Vietnam.

Laos would not have been possible had it not been for Cambodia. Cambodia cutting off one vital supply line and thereby practically bringing enemy activity in the southern half of South Vietnam to an end released the South Vietnamese forces—who, by this time, had not only gained confidence in Cambodia but also had additional strength—released them for undertaking what they could not have undertaken even 8 months ago: an incursion on their own into Laos with only U.S. air support.

The decision to do it now or, I think, perhaps, put it this way, the decision not to do it before, is that, one, neither the United States nor the South Vietnamese felt that they apparently had the capability to do it; the second, the decision to do it now was that based on the fact that the South Vietnamese, because of the confidence, the training they gained as a result of their actions in Cambodia, the

[1] Hans J. Morgenthau, educator and author in the field of political science.

South Vietnamese felt that they were able to undertake it. Our commanders agreed and, therefore, it was undertaken.

INVOLVEMENT OF MAINLAND CHINA

[3.] Q. Mr. President, could you discuss with us your evaluation of the possibility of Communist China entering this situation now that it is expanded into Laos, or if the South Vietnamese go into North Vietnam?

THE PRESIDENT. Let me refer to the situation as it presently exists rather than the hypothesis of whether the South Vietnamese might go into North Vietnam.

As far as the actions in southern Laos are concerned, they present no threat to Communist China and should not be interpreted by the Communist Chinese as being a threat against them.

As you know, the Communist Chinese have been operating in northern Laos for some time. But this action is not directed against Communist China. It is directed against the North Vietnamese who are pointed toward South Vietnam and toward Cambodia.

Consequently, I do not believe that the Communist Chinese have any reason to interpret this as a threat against them or any reason therefore to react to it.

EVALUATION OF LAOTIAN OPERATION

[4.] Q. Mr. President, if I could follow up, could you give us your evaluation of how the Laotian operation is really going militarily and otherwise?

THE PRESIDENT. And incidentally, don't hesitate in this smaller forum to ask for follow-up. To the extent I can cover all the questions, I will be glad to take them.

As far as the Laotian operation is concerned, the reports that have come from the field I think generally give an accurate picture, except, of course, for the day-to-day tendency to hypo this or that incident into a crisis.

The operation—and I read a complete report from General Abrams this morning—the operation has gone according to plan. The South Vietnamese have already cut three major roads—and we call them "roads," let's say trails—which lead from Tchepone down into Cambodia and, of course, into South Vietnam.

The South Vietnamese have run into very heavy resistance on the road going into Tchepone. We expected that resistance.

Putting it in the context of the earlier reply, the Cambodian action in May and June cut one lifeline, the lifeline from Sihanoukville into the southern half of South Vietnam.

This action would either cut or seriously disrupt the other pipeline or lifeline, the lifeline coming from—down through Laos, the Ho Chi Minh Trail, into the northern half of South Vietnam.

Therefore, we expected the North Vietnamese to fight here. They have to fight here or give up the struggle to conquer South Vietnam, Cambodia, and their influence extending through other parts of Southeast Asia.

Finally, I think it is quite important to note General Abrams' evaluation, which I specifically asked him to give me by cable just a few days ago, his evaluation of how the South Vietnamese are conducting themselves. They are fighting, he said, in a superior way. I use the word that he used. They are proceeding in a way that he believes is in accordance with the plan and holding their own against enemy attack.

And he also pointed up another fact that, of course, has been overridden by the Laotian activity: that the operation in the Chup Plantation led by General Tri is going along in a fashion much better than was expected, with a great number of enemy casualties and, as General Abrams put it, excellent performance on the part of those groups.

Q. Mr. President, it is reported in both the South Vietnamese and, I think, in our statement the operation will be limited in time and scope. Can you define those terms?

THE PRESIDENT. By time, the operation will be limited to the time that is necessary to accomplish the objective. The objective is not to occupy any part of Laos. The South Vietnamese are not there to stay. They are there to disrupt the enemy's lines of communication, their supply lines, their infiltration routes, and then to get out.

Once that is accomplished, if it is accomplished early, they will get out. If it takes a longer time, they will stay in.

There is also another limitation in terms of time. And that is the weather. In the latter part of April or the early part of May, the rains come. And they would have to get out then because then the North Vietnamese also would pose no threat.

In terms of area, space, it is limited to the specific area that you see on the maps here, in terms of cutting across the trails—and it is more than one trail, there are three or four trails—the trails that are the supply lines on which the North Vietnamese operate.

TROOP WITHDRAWALS

[5.] Q. Would you have any further word on troop withdrawals for us at this time or when can you tell us about further troop withdrawals?

THE PRESIDENT. I will make a further announcement on troop withdrawals, as I have indicated, before the May 1st period when the last troop withdrawal period will have expired.

By that time, as you know, 265,000 Americans will have been withdrawn, and the further withdrawal announcement will be made then.

I can say today that as a result partially of our success in Cambodia, and based on also the present success of the Laotian operation, that the troop withdrawal program will go forward on schedule.

I should also point out, however, that as far as this year is concerned, even if the Laotian operation had not been undertaken by the South Vietnamese with our air support, the troop withdrawal program could have gone ahead on schedule.

What this relates to, insofar as American troop withdrawals are concerned, is not this year but next year. Next year will be a year when the Vietnamization program's very success creates the point of greatest danger, because then the number of ground combat troops that we will have in South Vietnam will be lower.

Q. If this is a great success, it could go next year much faster—is that a right inference?

THE PRESIDENT. When I made the announcement about moving into Cambodia, I said that its purpose was to insure our troop withdrawal, to reduce our casualties, and, we hope, to shorten the war. It has had those effects. Our casualties, even in this past week in which we have moved in with air support in support of the South Vietnamese and have suffered some air losses, were only half of what they were in the same week before Cambodia.

So casualties are down and I should point out that casualties in the first month that we came into office were five times as great as they were in the month of January. One is too many. But that, at least, is progress, in terms of casualties.

In terms of troop withdrawals, the Cambodian incursion insured it and allowed us, as a matter of fact, to set our sights somewhat higher.

The success of this operation guarantees the continued program and gives the prospect of a greater troop withdrawal during the months ahead.

I am not going to speculate, however, as to what the troop withdrawal announcement will be on April 15. That will deal with the situation at that time and, at that time, we will not yet see the end of the Laotian operation.

Q. Mr. President, if I could follow that up, is it possible to say now, without talking about numbers of troops to be withdrawn, when the United States might be able to forgo a ground combat role in South Vietnam?

THE PRESIDENT. There will be an announcement on that score at some point. I am not going to indicate it now.

At this time, when the negotiations are going on at Paris still—when I say negotiations, with no progress—we are not going to remove any incentive for a possible negotiation by announcing what our plans are further down the road.

Q. Mr. President, my question does follow his somewhat. How far can you go in withdrawing U.S. troops without a resolution of the prisoner-of-war issue?

THE PRESIDENT. As I have indicated, and as everyone I am sure would agree, as long as the North Vietnamese have any Americans as prisoners of war, there will be Americans in South Vietnam and enough Americans to give them an incentive to release the prisoners.

Q. Mr. President, could I follow that up. Would you be willing to join with Congress, as Senator Javits has suggested, in a resolution saying that it is our intention to withdraw all troops from South Vietnam?

THE PRESIDENT. Not needed, because you see, in my October [7, 1970] speech, as you will recall, I called for a cease-fire, I called for a political settlement, and I also called for a total withdrawal of all forces if it was mutual. So, the policy of this Government is for a total withdrawal, provided there is a withdrawal by the other side.

MEETING WITH BLACK CONGRESSMEN

[6.] Q. Would you explain, Mr. President, why you have not found time to see these 12 black Congressmen who have been asking to see you for about a year?

THE PRESIDENT. I talked to Senator Brooke about that just a few days ago and asked him to speak to some of those who had made this request.

As you know, I have seen a great number of Congressmen. And, of course, not only these 12 but all the Members of Congress, by the time I finish the breakfast tomorrow, will have been invited to the White House since the new Congress came here. Some have not accepted.

But Senator Brooke now has been talking with, I understand, Congressman Diggs, whom I know—and I know several of them, several of the older ones at least, from previously serving with them—and I think that a meeting is going to be

worked out. I hope it is, because I will be glad to talk to them, of course.

THE SUPREME COURT

[7.] Q. Mr. President, are you happier with the performance of the Supreme Court this year than you were in '68 while you were campaigning and do you anticipate any appointments this term?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, the second part of the question, of course, would be presumptuous for me to comment upon, because there are no——

Q. There are no resignations on your desk obviously.

THE PRESIDENT. No. No, I think I would know about it if there were. But I have no indication of any intention to resign.

With regard to the Supreme Court's decisions, I don't believe that I should comment upon the wisdom of their decisions. I have great confidence in those that I have appointed to the Court and I have great respect for others who are on the Court, with whom I happen to disagree. But I won't comment on that.

SOVIET SUBMARINE IN CUBAN WATERS

[8.] Q. How concerned are you about the presence of a Soviet nuclear submarine in Cuban waters?

THE PRESIDENT. On December 10,[2] you may recall, I said that if a nuclear submarine were serviced from Cuba or in Cuba, that this would be a violation of our understanding with regard to the Soviet Union's activities in putting offensive weapons or a base in Cuba.

Now, as far as this submarine is concerned, the question is a rather technical one, whether it is there for a port call or whether it is there for servicing. We are watching it very closely. The Soviet Union is aware of the fact that we consider that there is an understanding and we will, of course, bring the matter to their attention if we find that the understanding is violated.

SUBURBAN INTEGRATION

[9.] Q. Mr. President, may I ask you about racial integration in suburban housing, a subject that you have treated twice this year and you have expressed your opposition to forced integration and you have said you will do what the law requires.

In the meantime, the Third Circuit has handed down a decision which would seem to put an increased burden on HUD to move public housing into the suburbs and a major case has been instituted in Black Jack, Missouri.

The Federal Government has yet to announce its intention in regard to either of those cases. Will you appeal, will you enter the Black Jack case, and what do you see as the overall role of the national Administration in this area?

THE PRESIDENT. To try to answer all of the questions, let me come first to the attitude of the Administration with regard to the Black Jack case.

The Attorney General and HUD jointly are considering the Black Jack case, and I understand within approximately 30 days will have a recommendation to me as to what action should be taken with regard to compliance with that case.

[2] The President was referring to remarks he made during a television interview on January 4, 1971. See Item 6 [16.].

I will not indicate anything further than that. I will have something more to say when I get the recommendations from the Attorney General and from HUD.

With regard to what you call, and what I have called—I think you did not say this—but what I have called forced integration, let me just spend a moment indicating what I believe is the law in this country and where I think the law's limits are.

First, this Administration will enforce the law of the land which provides for open housing. Open cities, open suburbs, open neighborhoods are now a right for every American.

Second, however, this Administration will not go beyond the law or in violation of the law by going beyond it by using Federal power, Federal coercion, or Federal money to force economic integration of neighborhoods.

Now what we will do, however, and what we are doing, is to try to give every American, and particularly Americans in minority groups, black Americans for example, a greater opportunity to exercise a right. A right, for example, to live in any neighborhood means nothing unless you have got a job or a position which pays you enough to afford the house.

That is the position that we have.

FURTHER QUESTIONS ON SOUTHEAST ASIA

[10.] Q. Mr. President, if the Army of South Vietnam sought to cross the DMZ in force, would you be of a mind to restrain such action?

THE PRESIDENT. If the—excuse me, the Army of South or North Vietnam?

Q. South Vietnam.

THE PRESIDENT. Oh, South Vietnam.

Q. If the ARVN sought to cross the DMZ in violation——

THE PRESIDENT. I will not speculate on what South Vietnam may do in defense of its national security. South Vietnam now, as we withdraw, has an ever increasing responsibility to defend itself.

South Vietnam will have to make decisions with regard to its ability to defend itself. I will only speak with regard to what the American action will be.

The American action will be, according to the guideline I laid down a moment ago, the use of airpower where I believe that North Vietnam's action may threaten our forces.

Q. Mr. President, if the Laos operation goes according to your expectations and is as much a success as you hope, is it likely to be followed by any new diplomatic initiative in an effort to get the Paris talks going?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, Mr. Potter [Philip Potter, Baltimore Sun], the matter of diplomatic initiatives is something that we have been discussing constantly within the Administration. As a matter of fact, I have been talking to the Secretary of State, and the Secretary of Defense, Dr. Kissinger, and others, both informally and in formal meetings.

I have nothing to report today, but I do want to say this: that we will continue to pursue the diplomacy for a primary reason, the primary reason being to negotiate some settlement of the POW issue.

We have to realize that as far as a negotiation affecting a political settlement for South Vietnam is concerned, time is running out for the North Vietnamese if they expect to negotiate with the United States. Because as our forces come out of

South Vietnam, it means that the responsibility for the negotiation, increasingly, then becomes that of South Vietnam.

But I can only say that looking to the future, we constantly are reexamining the possibility of any diplomatic initiatives. However, I believe that what I stated in October is a very far-reaching, it is very comprehensive, it is a very fair proposal, and we stand on that at this time.

I do not want to suggest that there are any more concessions coming from our side to North Vietnam. We are not going to make any more concessions. The time is for them to negotiate on the principles that we have laid down.

CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY

[11.] Q. Mr. President, I have a question on the economy. Sir, the construction unions and the industry apparently are not going to be able to come up with a voluntary plan to hold down wage and price increases. What actions will you take?

THE PRESIDENT. Secretary Hodgson is going to report to me Monday when he returns from Miami, where, as you know, he has been meeting with the leaders of the construction industry.

I will not indicate now what action we will take until I get his report. But there will be action. The reason there has to be action in this field, in addition to the reasons that all of you have—in your various columns and reports—have indicated, I would put it very simply as this: The construction industry is a sick industry. It is a sick industry not because of the quality of construction in the United States— it is the highest quality construction in the world—but because it has had too rich a diet.

When you find that wage increases—wage increases have been high in a number of industries—but when they are on an average of 16 percent, what has happened is that that has not helped the workers in the construction industry except those that are employed.

We find that unemployment in the construction industry is double the national average and we also find that the Federal Government has a major stake in this, because, looking at this budget, I have found that $14 billion of our budget in the next fiscal year will go into construction.

Now, with that kind of financial interest in construction, it is essential that the Federal Government use its power to the extent that it can to bring about more reasonable settlements within that industry, wage and price stability.

Having stated that goal, you are all aware of some of the actions that have been discussed. I will consider them all and then make a decision, and we will announce it when it is made.

NORTH VIETNAM AND THE DEMILITARIZED ZONE

[12.] Q. Mr. President, may I ask a question, if I could get back to Vietnam for just one moment? There has been quite a bit of speculation about the possibility of the North Vietnamese coming down through the DMZ.

Would this scrap any obligations that you may have under the bombing ban in the North and would you be in a position then of having to retaliate for any crossing of the DMZ?

THE PRESIDENT. My action in case that happened—and I do not believe it will happen—but my action will be guided by the same principles that I have laid down before. I would use the power of the United States, and particularly its power in the air, to the extent that I consider it necessary to protect our remaining forces in South Vietnam.

We have a considerable number of forces, as you know, on the DMZ. The blocking forces along Route 9, before you get to the border of Laos, are primarily American. I will not allow those forces to be endangered by a massive North Vietnamese incursion, if one should be undertaken. I think the very fact that the North Vietnamese know that I intend to take strong action to deal with that incursion means that they are not going to take it. If they do, I can assure you that—I don't want to assure you, I simply want to have the record clear that I would not be bound, of course, by any so-called understandings, which they have already violated, at the time of the bombing halt.

INTEGRATION POLICY

[13.] Q. Mr. President, a few minutes ago in response to Mr. O'Rourke's [Lawrence M. O'Rourke, Philadelphia Bulletin] question, you referred to your views on forced integration, a word which you said you have used before.

I am a little puzzled by the distinction between forced integration and enforcement of the laws which are on the books which you, as you properly said, were pledged to enforce, those laws against discrimination.

Where does this line come between those two concepts in your mind?

THE PRESIDENT. In the one case, the laws on the books deal, as they properly should, with human rights, the rights of an individual to buy a house or an apartment, or rent a house or an apartment and not be barred because of his racial or religious or other background.

In the other case, what we are talking about is an economic consideration having to do primarily with the zoning.

Now, where this is involved, it seems to me a clear distinction. The law does not require, and if it does not require, in my opinion, does not allow the Federal Government to use its monetary and other power, coercive power, for the purpose of changing the economic pattern of a neighborhood.

I think what the law does require is that there be open neighborhoods. The law does not require that the Federal Government step in and provide in a neighborhood the type of housing that an individual could afford to move into. That is the difference, as I see it.

CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY DISCUSSIONS

[14.] Q. Mr. President, when Secretary Hodgson went back down to Florida, did he carry any message from you, harsh, gentle, or otherwise?

THE PRESIDENT. Secretary Hodgson had a long discussion with me and with other leaders in the Administration prior to his going down. We developed a plan and we also gave him several options which he could discuss with the leaders of the labor unions. He is a very persuasive man.

I am not going to concede that he struck out until he tells me so himself. But if he has, then we will be up to bat.

REVENUE SHARING

[15.] Q. Mr. President, have you been disappointed with the reaction in Congress to your revenue sharing plan, and what do you feel about the prospects of that right now?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I am not disappointed. All reforms have rough sledding. When we consider reforms, we must remember that they are always opposed by the establishment. And by the establishment, I don't refer to what we used to talk about in 1964, some used to talk about—the eastern establishment—I am referring to the establishment of Congress, the establishment of the Federal bureaucracy, and also great organizations, labor organizations, farm organizations, business organizations have all gotten used to dealing with government as it is and they are always afraid of change.

As far as the Congress is concerned and the bureaucracy is concerned, as I pointed out in the State of the Union, they are very, very reluctant to give up power. We expected a difficult time in getting revenue sharing through.

But let me put it, if I can, in other terms. We have been talking about foreign policy. We in Washington, in Government, live at the very summit of government. And here we do find opposition, dug-in establishmentarians fighting for the status quo or for just a little change or for putting more money into existing programs rather than really reforming them.

That is the case here. But that is what is happening at the summit. Down in the valleys, where the people live, you will find there that the people in the frontlines, the leaders in the frontlines, the Governors, the mayors, the county officials, an overwhelming majority of them, are for revenue sharing—both general revenue sharing and the other—an overwhelming majority, and also an overwhelming majority of the people of this country are for revenue sharing.

Eventually, then, it will be approved. I am not suggesting exactly in the form we have submitted it, but it will be approved because those of us who are in Washington have to reflect eventually what the majority of the people of this country feel.

And as I look at the situation now, I would say I expected that we would have this kind of opposition. However, I must say that the favorable reaction that we have had at the grassroots and among Governors and mayors and county officials has been greater than I expected, and that will be the decisive factor in getting it through.

Q. What do you visualize with regard to accounting procedures on this—what the GAO role would be—for the States and the county and city governments?

THE PRESIDENT. First, let's distinguish the procedures with regard to civil rights guarantees. Those procedures, of course, will be set up in our revenue sharing programs, and the civil rights laws and requirements will be enforced.

We cannot have programs that are paid for by the tax money of all the people and benefit only some of the people.

Second, however, with regard to accounting procedures, I can assure you that despite some speculation on this score we don't intend to set up a huge network of bureaucrats to go down and examine the cities and the counties and the States with regard to whether or not they are properly expending funds.

What we are going to do there is to

try to handle each case on an individual basis; naturally, take action where there is a failure to use the funds properly, but not to set up simply more government guidelines.

THE MIDDLE EAST

[16.] Q. Could you take a couple of seconds on the Middle East, because it has not been brought up and I think it should be?

THE PRESIDENT. Sure.

Q. Israel seems to be balking on the Jarring proposal. If they continue to balk, would you use your powers of persuasion to get them to accept something along that line?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't think it would be helpful, Mr. Warren [Lucian C. Warren, Buffalo Evening News], to speculate here that we would use powers of persuasion with Israel or, for that matter, with Egypt or Jordan, on the Middle East.

Let me say this: that I have been encouraged—I am not overly optimistic and not Pollyannaish because this is a terribly difficult area of the world, as I have pointed out in previous press conferences, with hatreds that go back over centuries and they are not going to be removed very easily, the hatreds, maybe never. But a live-and-let-live relationship may develop. But I have been encouraged by the developments that have occurred so far.

Egypt has been more forthcoming than we had expected, and I believe that Israel has been somewhat more forthcoming. I have hopes that when the present cease-fire expires that it will be extended.

I will say that neither side will gain anything by starting the fighting again. It is a war in which either side will be a loser.

So as far as the Mideast is concerned—and I answered it in more detail simply to give you the tone of it—as far as the Mideast is concerned it is a difficult area. There are going to be day-to-day blasts by one side or the other or concessions by one side or the other before an eventual settlement is reached.

But for the United States publicly to move in and indicate what we think ought to be done while these delicate negotiations go on would not help.

DECISIONS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

[17.] Q. Could I clear up what I think is an important point on Laos? You suggested that the Saigon regime is making the decisions as to what it will do in its own interest, particularly in reference to crossing the DMZ.

Most Americans believe that the decision to go into Laos was made in Washington, and decisions like crossing the DMZ would have, necessarily, to be made here as well because of the use of American airpower.

Could you straighten out for us where the line is between the decisions that the Saigon regime will make and that this Government will make?

THE PRESIDENT. Any decision, Mr. Lisagor, that called for American participation would have to be approved in Washington. The decision with regard to Laos was one that was approved in Washington.

I approved the operation and I approved the decision to use American airpower. The operation itself was jointly developed, primarily by the South Vietnamese, but with, of course, very close cooperation and consultation with General Abrams and his staff.

But wherever American participation to any extent is required, you can be sure that that decision will be made here.

When you put it in terms of what would happen in the event the South Vietnamese went into North Vietnam, I am not going to speculate on what they will or will not do. I will only say that any American participation has to be approved here.

If South Vietnam's decision with regard to what they do would depend upon American cooperation, then, of course, it could not be undertaken without our approval.

HELEN THOMAS (United Press International). Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: President Nixon's thirteenth news conference was held at 4:03 p.m. in the Oval Office at the White House on Wednesday, February 17, 1971.

62 Remarks of Welcome to Prime Minister Emilio Colombo of Italy. *February* 18, 1971

Mr. Prime Minister, and all of our distinguished guests today:

It is a very great honor, Mr. Prime Minister, to welcome you, both as the representative of a nation with which the United States has such close and friendly ties, but also to welcome you as a personal friend.

And on this magnificent—I would describe it Roman—day, we think of those ties that bind our two countries together. There are nine million Americans who proudly claim their Italian background.

In fact, Mr. Prime Minister, I understand there are more Italians living in the United States than there are in Rome. And they have contributed enormously to the vitality and the strength and the vision of this country.

We think also of what your country through the ages has contributed to all nations and particularly to ours: the heritage of law, of culture, the arts, of all the areas with which we are familiar.

But on this day, we think of the present and of what we can do in the future. We think of the fact that Italy and the United States are part of a great, peaceful partnership, a partnership which exists not just for defense, but exists for the kind of progress for our people, all of our people, a better life, the people of Italy, the people of the United States, the people of Europe, and, for that matter, the people of the world.

This is a great goal. In our conversations that we had in your country just a few months ago, we talked about that goal and how our two countries could work together to achieve it.

And I know that as we meet today with you and with the other members of your party, we will develop further programs where Italy and the United States will work together in the cause of peace and friendship and progress for all the nations of the world.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:47 a.m. on the South Lawn at the White House where Prime Minister Colombo was given a formal welcome with full military honors.

See also Item 66.

The Prime Minister responded in Italian. A translation of his remarks follows:

Mr. President:

I wish to express to you my very sincerest thanks for the very kind and cordial way and

cordial words which you have used to welcome me here as an individual and as representative of my country, as well as the welcome you extend to the members of my party, particularly Foreign Minister Moro.

When one comes to the United States, Mr. President, one cannot help but recall the great epic adventure which saw the birth of this great Nation, and one must, of course, recall all the millions of men and women who came from Europe as some of the great protagonists who have taken part in this epic adventure of building your great country.

There are so many persons, people who have come here from other shores to help build the institutions of freedom and individual dignity of this great civilization which has found birth in this country.

And, of course, among these Europeans, as you have recalled, there are many, many Italians in this great land who have brought the very definite characteristics of their own, characteristics of personal sacrifice and self-denial, industriousness and intelligence.

And, of course, Italians are among the most numerous of the nationality groups that have come to form your great country and are profoundly identified with your great land.

And they are also identified in a great faith in the future in that their future is closely linked with the future of the United States.

And, of course, in this respect, they are extremely proud to be U.S. citizens with the memories that they preserve of the old country.

Of course, the United States and Italy are bound together by links of solid friendship. We very much recall, we are always mindful of the help that you extended to us when there was a time in which we had to rebuild our country and also to set about the work of constructing democratic and free institutions in our country.

We have come a long way, Mr. President. And, of course, now we range among the most advanced industrialized countries of the world.

But we are aware that there is still much work to do in order to continue to progress and build the great civilization and the values which we represent.

In fact, today in Italy we are engaged in the work of improving our society, of bringing about necessary reforms. In doing this we face many great obstacles, but our ideals are so great and our values so firm that we have complete trust that we will be able to overcome these obstacles.

But as you know, and we know also, we cannot undertake this task alone, Mr. President. And, therefore, we have a very profound sense of friendship and alliance. We are members of the Atlantic Alliance, a defensive alliance which serves as an instrument of security, stability, and equilibrium, but which we believe must also serve as an instrument for relaxation of tensions throughout the world because our ideal is the ideal of a peaceful world, toward which we work as partners with the other countries of Europe, with the intention of building a Europe which will be open, which will be outward looking to the rest of the world.

And we know that also in this great work of ours that we can rely on the friendship of the United States, so that this alliance will become more and more solid and that we will be able to go forward in the great work of cooperation between our countries on either side of the Atlantic.

So that once again, Mr. President, I would like to express my gratefulness for the invitation that you have extended to us to visit your country in the certainty that our contacts here will contribute even greater elements to the firmness and happiness of the links which bind our two countries together.

Thank you.

63 Special Message to the Congress Proposing a National Health Strategy. *February* 18, 1971

To the Congress of the United States:

In the last twelve months alone, America's medical bill went up eleven percent, from $63 to $70 billion. In the last *ten* years, it has climbed 170 percent, from the $26 billion level in 1960. Then we were spending 5.3 percent of our Gross National Product on health; today

we devote almost 7% of our GNP to health expenditures.

This growing investment in health has been led by the Federal Government. In 1960, Washington spent $3.5 billion on medical needs—13 percent of the total. This year it will spend $21 billion—or about 30 percent of the nation's spending in this area.

But what are we getting for all this money?

For most Americans, the result of our expanded investment has been more medical care and care of higher quality. A profusion of impressive new techniques, powerful new drugs, and splendid new facilities has developed over the past decade. During that same time, there has been a six percent drop in the number of days each year that Americans are disabled. Clearly there is much that is *right* with American medicine.

But there is also much that is wrong.

One of the biggest problems is that fully 60 percent of the growth in medical expenditures in the last ten years has gone not for additional services but merely to meet price inflation. Since 1960, medical costs have gone up twice as fast as the cost of living. Hospital costs have risen five times as fast as other prices. For growing numbers of Americans, the cost of care is becoming prohibitive. And even those who can afford most care may find themselves impoverished by a catastrophic medical expenditure.

The shortcomings of our health care system are manifested in other ways as well. For some Americans—especially those who live in remote rural areas or in the inner city—care is simply not available. The quality of medicine varies widely with geography and income. Primary care physicians and outpatient facilities are in short supply in many areas, and most of our people have trouble obtaining medical attention on short notice. Because we pay so little attention to preventing disease and treating it early, too many people get sick and need intensive treatment.

Our record, then, is not as good as it should be. Costs have skyrocketed but values have not kept pace. We are investing more of our nation's resources in the health of our people but we are *not* getting a full return on our investment.

Building a National Health Strategy

Things do not have to be this way. We can change these conditions—indeed, we must change them if we are to fulfill our promise as a nation. Good health care should be readily available to all of our citizens.

It will not be easy for our nation to achieve this goal. It will be impossible to achieve it without a new sense of purpose and a new spirit of discipline. That is why I am calling today not only for new programs and not merely for more money but for something more—for a *new approach* which is equal to the complexity of our challenges. I am calling today for a new National Health Strategy that will marshall a variety of forces in a coordinated assault on a variety of problems.

This new strategy should be built on four basic principles.

1. *Assuring Equal Access.* Although the Federal Government should be viewed as only one of several partners in this reforming effort, it does bear a special responsibility to help all citizens achieve equal access to our health care system. Just as our National Government has moved to

provide equal opportunity in areas such as education, employment and voting, so we must now work to expand the opportunity for all citizens to obtain a decent standard of medical care. We must do all we can to remove any racial, economic, social or geographic barriers which now prevent any of our citizens from obtaining adequate health protection. For without good health, no man can fully utilize his other opportunities.

2. *Balancing Supply and Demand.* It does little good, however, to increase the demand for care unless we also increase the supply. Helping more people pay for more care does little good unless more care is available. This axiom was ignored when Medicaid and Medicare were created—and the nation paid a high price for that error. The expectations of many beneficiaries were not met and a severe inflation in medical costs was compounded.

Rising demand should not be a source of anxiety in our country. It is, after all, a sign of our success in achieving equal opportunity, a measure of our effectiveness in reducing the barriers to care. But since the Federal Government is helping to remove those barriers, it also has a responsibility for what happens after they are reduced. We must see to it that our approach to health problems is a balanced approach. We must be sure that our health care system is ready and able to welcome its new clients.

3. *Organizing for Efficiency.* As we move toward these goals, we must recognize that we *cannot* simply *buy* our way to better medicine. We have already been trying that too long. We have been persuaded, too often, that the plan that *costs* the most will *help* the most—and too often we have been disappointed.

We cannot be accused of having underfinanced our medical system—not by a long shot. We have, however, spent this money poorly—re-enforcing inequities and rewarding inefficiencies and placing the burden of greater new demands on the same old system which could not meet the old ones.

The toughest question we face then is not *how much* we should spend but *how* we should spend it. It must be our goal not merely to finance a more expensive medical system but to organize a more efficient one.

There are two particularly useful ways of doing this:

A. *Emphasizing Health Maintenance.* In most cases our present medical system operates episodically—people come to it in moments of distress—when they require its most expensive services. Yet both the system, and those it serves would be better off if less expensive services could be delivered on a more regular basis.

If more of our resources were invested in preventing sickness and accidents, fewer would have to be spent on costly cures. If we gave more attention to treating illness in its early stages, then we would be less troubled by acute disease. In short, we should build a true "health" system—and not a "sickness" system alone. We should work to maintain health and not merely to restore it.

B. *Preserving Cost Consciousness.* As we determine just who should bear the various costs of health care, we should remember that only as people are aware of those costs will they be motivated to reduce them. When consumers pay virtually nothing for services and when, at the same time, those who provide services know that all *their* costs will also be met, then

neither the consumer nor the provider has an incentive to use the system efficiently. When that happens, unnecessary demand can multiply, scarce resources can be squandered and the shortage of services can become even more acute.

Those who are hurt the most by such developments are often those whose medical needs are most pressing. While costs should never be a barrier to providing needed care, it is important that we preserve some element of cost consciousness within our medical system.

4. *Building on Strengths.* We should also avoid holding the whole of our health care system responsible for failures in some of its parts. There is a natural temptation in dealing with any complex problem to say: "Let us wipe the slate clean and start from scratch." But to do this—to dismantle our entire health insurance system, for example—would be to ignore those important parts of the system which have provided useful service. While it would be wrong to ignore any weaknesses in our present system, it would be equally wrong to sacrifice its strengths.

One of those strengths is the diversity of our system—and the range of choice it therefore provides to doctors and patients alike. I believe the public will always be better served by a pluralistic system than by a monolithic one, by a system which creates many effective centers of responsibility—both public and private—rather than one that concentrates authority in a single governmental source.

This does not mean that we must allow each part of the system to go its own independent way, with no sense of common purpose. We must encourage greater cooperation and build better coordination—but not by fostering uniformity and eliminating choice. One effective way of influencing the system is by structuring *incentives* which reward people for helping to achieve national goals without forcing their decisions or dictating the way they are carried out. The American people have always shown a unique capacity to move toward common goals in varied ways. Our efforts to reform health care in America will be more effective if they build on this strength.

These, then, are certain cardinal principles on which our National Health Strategy should be built. To implement this strategy, I now propose for the consideration of the Congress the following six point program. It begins with measures designed to increase and improve the supply of medical care and concludes with a program which will help people pay for the care they require.

A. REORGANIZING THE DELIVERY OF SERVICE

In recent years, a new method for delivering health services has achieved growing respect. This new approach has two essential attributes. It brings together a comprehensive range of medical services in a single organization so that a patient is assured of convenient access to all of them. And it provides needed services for a fixed contract fee which is paid in advance by all subscribers.

Such an organization can have a variety of forms and names and sponsors. One of the strengths of this new concept, in fact, is its great flexibility. The general term which has been applied to all of these units is "HMO"—"Health Maintenance Organization."

The most important advantage of Health Maintenance Organizations is that they increase the value of the services a consumer receives for each health dollar. This happens, first, because such organizations provide a strong financial incentive for better preventive care and for greater efficiency.

Under traditional systems, doctors and hospitals are paid, in effect, on a piece work basis. The more illnesses they treat—and the more service they render—the more their income rises. This does not mean, of course, that they do any less than their very best to *make* people well. But it does mean that there is no economic incentive for them to concentrate on *keeping* people healthy.

A fixed-price contract for comprehensive care reverses this illogical incentive. Under this arrangement, income grows not with the number of days a person is sick but with the number of days he is well. HMO's therefore have a strong financial interest in preventing illness, or, failing that, in treating it in its early stages, promoting a thorough recovery, and preventing any reoccurrence. Like doctors in ancient China, they are paid to keep their clients healthy. For them, economic interests work to re-enforce their professional interests.

At the same time, HMO's are motivated to function more efficiently. When providers are paid retroactively for each of their services, inefficiencies can often be subsidized. Sometimes, in fact, inefficiency is rewarded—as when a patient who does not need to be hospitalized is treated in a hospital so that he can collect on his insurance. On the other hand, if an HMO is wasteful of time or talent or facilities, it cannot pass those extra costs on to the consumer or to an insurance company. Its budget for the year is determined in advance by the number of its subscribers. From that point on it is penalized for going over its budget and rewarded for staying under it.

In an HMO, in other words, cost consciousness is fostered. Such an organization cannot afford to waste resources—that costs more money in the short run. But neither can it afford to economize in ways which hurt patients—for that increases long-run expenses.

The HMO also organizes medical resources in a way that is more convenient for patients and more responsive to their needs. There was a time when every housewife had to go to a variety of shops and markets and pushcarts to buy her family's groceries. Then along came the supermarket — making her shopping chores much easier and also giving her a wider range of choice and lower prices. The HMO provides similar advantages in the medical field. Rather than forcing the consumer to thread his way through a complex maze of separate services and specialists, it makes a full range of resources available through a single organization—often at a single stop—and makes it more likely that the right combination of resources will be utilized.

Because a team can often work more efficiently than isolated individuals, each doctor's energies go further in a Health Maintenance Organization—twice as far according to some studies. At the same time, each patient retains the freedom to choose his own personal doctor. In addition, services can more easily be made available at night and on weekends in an HMO. Because many doctors often use the same facilities and equipment and can share the expense of medical assistants and business personnel, overhead

costs can be sharply curtailed. Physicians benefit from the stimulation that comes from working with fellow professionals who can share their problems, appreciate their accomplishments and readily offer their counsel and assistance. HMO's offer doctors other advantages as well, including a more regular work schedule, better opportunities for continuing education, lesser financial risks upon first entering practice, and generally lower rates for malpractice insurance.

Some seven million Americans are now enrolled in HMO's—and the number is growing. Studies show that they are receiving high quality care at a significantly lower cost—as much as one-fourth to one-third lower than traditional care in some areas. They go to hospitals less often and they spend less time there when they go. Days spent in the hospital each year for those who belong to HMO's are only three-fourths of the national average.

Patients and practitioners alike are enthusiastic about this organizational concept. So is this administration. That is why we proposed legislation last March to enable Medicare recipients to join such programs. That is why I am now making the following additional recommendations:

1. We should require public and private health insurance plans to allow beneficiaries to use their plan to purchase membership in a Health Maintenance Organization when one is available. When, for example, a union and an employer negotiate a contract which includes health insurance for all workers, each worker should have the right to apply the actuarial value of his coverage toward the purchase of a fixed-price, health maintenance program. Similarly, both Medicare and the new Family Health Insurance Plan for the poor which I will set out later in this message should provide an HMO option.

2. To help new HMO's get started—an expensive and complicated task—we should establish a new $23 million program of planning grants to aid potential sponsors—in both the private and public sector.

3. At the same time, we should provide additional support to help sponsors raise the necessary capital, construct needed facilities, and sustain initial operating deficits until they achieve an enrollment which allows them to pay their own way. For this purpose, I propose a program of Federal loan guarantees which will enable private sponsors to raise some $300 million in private loans during the first year of the program.

4. Other barriers to the development of HMO's include archaic laws in 22 States which prohibit or limit the group practice of medicine and laws in most States which prevent doctors from delegating certain responsibilities (like giving injections) to their assistants. To help remove such barriers, I am instructing the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to develop a model statute which the States themselves can adopt to correct these anomalies. In addition, the Federal Government will facilitate the development of HMO's in all States by entering into contracts with them to provide service to Medicare recipients and other Federal beneficiaries who elect such programs. Under the supremacy clause of the Constitution, these contracts will operate to preempt any inconsistent State statutes.

Our program to promote the use of HMO's is only one of the efforts we will be making to encourage a more efficient

organization of our health care system. We will take other steps in this direction, including stronger efforts to capitalize on new technological developments.

In recent years medical scientists, engineers, industrialists, and management experts have developed many new techniques for improving the efficiency and effectiveness of health care. These advances include automated devices for measuring and recording body functions such as blood flow and the electrical activity of the heart, for performing laboratory tests and making the results readily available to the doctor, and for reducing the time required to obtain a patient's medical history. Methods have also been devised for using computers in diagnosing diseases, for monitoring and diagnosing patients from remote locations, for keeping medical records and generally for restructuring the layout and administration of hospitals and other care centers. The results of early tests for such techniques have been most promising. If new developments can be widely implemented, they can help us deliver more effective, more efficient care at lower prices.

The hospital and outpatient clinic of tomorrow may well bear little resemblance to today's facility. We must make every effort to see that its full promise is realized. I am therefore directing the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to focus research in the field of health care services on new techniques for improving the productivity of our medical system. The Department will establish pilot experiments and demonstration projects in this area, disseminate the results of this work, and encourage the health industry and the medical profession to bring such techniques into full and effective use in the health care centers of the nation.

B. MEETING THE SPECIAL NEEDS OF SCARCITY AREAS

Americans who live in remote rural areas or in urban poverty neighborhoods often have special difficulty obtaining adequate medical care. On the average, there is now one doctor for every 630 persons in America. But in over one-third of our counties the number of doctors per capita is less than one-third that high. In over 130 counties, comprising over eight percent of our land area, there are no private doctors at all—and the number of such counties is growing.

A similar problem exists in our center cities. In some areas of New York for example, there is one private doctor for every 200 persons but in other areas the ratio is one to 12,000. Chicago's inner city neighborhoods have some 1,700 fewer physicians today than they had ten years ago.

How can we attract more doctors—and better facilities—into these scarcity areas? I propose the following actions:

1. We should encourage Health Maintenance Organizations to locate in scarcity areas. To this end, I propose a $22 million program of direct Federal grants and loans to help offset the special risks and special costs which such projects would entail.

2. When necessary, the Federal Government should supplement these efforts by supporting out-patient clinics in areas which still are underserved. These units can build on the experience of the Neighborhood Health Centers experiment which has now been operating for several years. These facilities would serve as a base on which full HMO's—operating under other public or private direction—could later be established.

I have also asked the Administrator of Veterans Affairs and the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to develop ways in which the Veterans Administration medical system can be used to supplement local medical resources in scarcity areas.

3. A series of new area Health Education Centers should also be established in places which are medically underserved—as the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education has recommended. These centers would be satellites of existing medical and other health science schools; typically, they could be built around a community hospital, a clinic or an HMO which is already in existence. Each would provide a valuable teaching center for new health professionals, a focal point for the continuing education of experienced personnel, and a base for providing sophisticated medical services which would not otherwise be available in these areas. I am requesting that up to $40 million be made available for this program in Fiscal Year 1972.

4. We should also find ways of compensating—and even rewarding—doctors and nurses who move to scarcity areas, despite disadvantages such as lower income and poorer facilities.

As one important step in this direction, I am proposing that our expanding loan programs for medical students include a new forgiveness provision for graduates who practice in a scarcity area, especially those who specialize in primary care skills that are in short supply.

In addition, I will request $10 million to implement the Emergency Health Personnel Act. Such funds will enable us to mobilize a new National Health Service Corps, made up largely of dedicated and public-spirited young health professionals who will serve in areas which are now plagued by critical manpower shortages.

C. MEETING THE PERSONNEL NEEDS OF OUR GROWING MEDICAL SYSTEM

Our proposals for encouraging HMO's and for serving scarcity areas will help us use medical manpower more effectively. But it is also important that we *produce* more health professionals and that we educate more of them to perform critically needed services. I am recommending a number of measures to accomplish these purposes.

1. First, we must use new methods for helping to finance medical education. In the past year, over half of the nation's medical schools have declared that they are in "financial distress" and have applied for special Federal assistance to meet operating deficits.

More money is needed—but it is also important that this money be spent in new ways. Rather than treating the symptoms of distress in a piecemeal and erratic fashion, we must rationalize our system of financial aid for medical education so that the schools can make intelligent plans for regaining a sound financial position.

I am recommending, therefore, that much of our present aid to schools of medicine, dentistry and osteopathy—along with $60 million in new money—be provided in the form of so-called "capitation grants," the size of which would be determined by the number of students the school graduates. I recommend that the capitation grant level be set at $6,000 per graduate.

A capitation grant system would mean that a school would know in advance how much Federal money it could count on. It would allow an institution to make

its own long-range plans as to how it would use these monies. It would mean that we could eventually phase out our emergency assistance programs.

By rewarding *output*—rather than subsidizing *input*—this new aid system would encourage schools to educate more students and to educate them more efficiently. Unlike formulas which are geared to the annual number of enrollees, capitation grants would provide a strong incentive for schools to shorten their curriculum from four years to three—in line with another sound recommendation of the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education. For then, the same sized school would qualify for as much as one-third *more* money each year, since each of its graduating classes would be one-third larger.

This capitation grant program should be supplemented by a program of special project grants to help achieve special goals. These grants would support efforts such as improving planning and management, shortening curriculums, expanding enrollments, team training of physicians and allied health personnel, and starting HMO's for local populations.

In addition, I believe that Federal support dollars for the construction of medical education facilities can be used more effectively. I recommend that the five current programs in this area be consolidated into a single, more flexible grant authority and that a new program of guaranteed loans and other financial aids be made available to generate over $500 million in private construction loans in the coming Fiscal Year—five times the level of our current construction grant program.

Altogether, these efforts to encourage and facilitate the expansion of our medical schools should produce a 50 percent increase in medical school graduates by 1975. We must set that as our goal and we must see that it is accomplished.

2. The Federal Government should also establish special support programs to help low income students enter medical and dental schools. I propose that our scholarship grant program for these students be almost doubled—from $15 to $29 million. At the same time, this administration would modify its proposed student loan programs to meet better the needs of medical students. To help alleviate the concern of low income students that such a loan might become an impossible burden if they fail to graduate from medical school, we will request authority to forgive loans where such action is appropriate.

3. One of the most promising ways to expand the supply of medical care and to reduce its costs is through a greater use of allied health personnel, especially those who work as physicians' and dentists' assistants, nurse pediatric practitioners, and nurse midwives. Such persons are trained to perform tasks which must otherwise be performed by doctors themselves, even though they do not require the skills of a doctor. Such assistance frees a physician to focus his skills where they are most needed and often allows him to treat many additional patients.

I recommend that our allied health personnel training programs be expanded by 50% over 1971 levels, to $29 million, and that $15 million of this amount be devoted to training physicians' assistants. We will also encourage medical schools to train future doctors in the proper use of such assistants and we will take the steps I described earlier to eliminate barriers to their use in the laws of certain States.

In addition, this administration will ex-

pand nationwide the current MEDIHC program—an experimental effort to encourage servicemen and women with medical training to enter civilian medical professions when they leave military duty. Of the more than 30,000 such persons who leave military service each year, two-thirds express an interest in staying in the health field but only about one-third finally do so. Our goal is to increase the number who enter civilian health employment by 2,500 per year for the next five years. At the same time, the Veterans Administration will expand the number of health trainees in VA facilities from 49,000 in 1970 to over 53,000 in 1972.

D. A SPECIAL PROBLEM: MALPRACTICE SUITS AND MALPRACTICE INSURANCE

One reason consumers must pay more for health care and health insurance these days is the fact that most doctors are paying much more for the insurance *they* must buy to protect themselves against claims of malpractice. For the past five years, malpractice insurance rates have gone up an average of 10 percent a year—a fact which reflects both the growing number of malpractice claims and the growing size of settlements. Many doctors are having trouble obtaining *any* malpractice insurance.

The climate of fear which is created by the growing menace of malpractice suits also affects the quality of medical treatment. Often it forces doctors to practice inefficient, defensive medicine—ordering unnecessary tests and treatments solely for the sake of appearance. It discourages the use of physicians' assistants, inhibits that free discussion of cases which can contribute so much to better care, and makes it harder to establish a relationship of trust between doctors and patients.

The consequences of the malpractice problem are profound. It must be confronted soon and it must be confronted effectively—but that will be no simple matter. For one thing, we need to know far more than we presently do about this complex problem.

I am therefore directing—as a first step in dealing with this danger—that the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare promptly appoint and convene a Commission on Medical Malpractice to undertake an intensive program of research and analysis in this area. The Commission membership should represent the health professions and health institutions, the legal profession, the insurance industry, and the general public. Its report—which should include specific recommendations for dealing with this problem—should be submitted by March 1, 1972.

E. NEW ACTIONS TO PREVENT ILLNESSES AND ACCIDENTS

We often invest our medical resources as if an ounce of cure were worth a pound of prevention. We spend vast sums to treat illnesses and accidents that could be avoided for a fraction of those expenditures. We focus our attention on *making* people well rather than *keeping* people well, and—as a result—both our health and our pocketbooks are poorer. A new National Health Strategy should assign a much higher priority to the work of prevention.

As we have already seen, Health Maintenance Organizations can do a great deal to help in this effort. In addition to encouraging their growth, I am also recommending a number of further measures through which we can take the offensive

against the long-range causes of illnesses and accidents.

1. To begin with, we must reaffirm—and expand—the Federal commitment to biomedical research. Our approach to research support should be balanced—with strong efforts in a variety of fields. Two critical areas, however, deserve special attention.

The first of these is cancer. In the next year alone, 650,000 new cases of cancer will be diagnosed in this country and 340,000 of our people will die of this disease. Incredible as it may seem, one out of every four Americans who are now alive will someday develop cancer unless we can reduce the present rates of incidence.

In the last seven years we spent more than 30 billion dollars on space research and technology and about one-twenty-fifth of that amount to find a cure for cancer. The time has now come to put more of our resources into cancer research and—learning an important lesson from our space program—to organize those resources as effectively as possible.

When we began our space program we were fairly confident that our goals could be reached if only we made a great enough effort. The challenge was technological; it did not require new theoretical breakthroughs. Unfortunately, this is not the case in most biomedical research at the present time; scientific breakthroughs are still required and they often cannot be forced—no matter how much money and energy is expended.

We should not forget this caution. At the same time, we should recognize that of all our research endeavors, cancer research may now be in the best position to benefit from a great infusion of resources. For there are moments in biomedical research when problems begin to break open and results begin to pour in, opening many new lines of inquiry and many new opportunities for breakthrough.

We believe that cancer research has reached such a point. This administration is therefore requesting an additional $100 million for cancer research in its new budget. And—as I said in my State of the Union Message—"I will ask later for whatever additional funds can effectively be used" in this effort.

Because this project will require the coordination of scientists in many fields—drawing on many projects now in existence but cutting across established organizational lines—I am directing the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to establish a new Cancer Conquest Program in the Office of the Director of the National Institutes of Health. This program will operate under its own Director who will be appointed by the Secretary and supported by a new management group. To advise that group in establishing priorities and allocating funds—and to advise other officials, including me, concerning this effort—I will also establish a new Advisory Committee on the Conquest of Cancer.

A second targeted disease for concentrated research should be sickle cell anemia—a most serious childhood disease which almost always occurs in the black population. It is estimated that one out of every 500 black babies actually develops sickle cell disease.

It is a sad and shameful fact that the causes of this disease have been largely neglected throughout our history. We cannot rewrite this record of neglect, but we can reverse it. To this end, this administration is increasing its budget for

research and treatment of sickle cell disease fivefold, to a new total of $6 million.

2. A second major area of emphasis should be that of health education.

In the final analysis, each individual bears the major responsibility for his own health. Unfortunately, too many of us fail to meet that responsibility. Too many Americans eat too much, drink too much, work too hard, and exercise too little. Too many are careless drivers.

These are personal questions, to be sure, but they are also public questions. For the whole society has a stake in the health of the individual. Ultimately, everyone shares in the cost of his illnesses or accidents. Through tax payments and through insurance premiums, the careful subsidize the careless, the nonsmokers subsidize those who smoke, the physically fit subsidize the rundown and the overweight, the knowledgeable subsidize the ignorant and vulnerable.

It is in the interest of our entire country, therefore, to educate and encourage each of our citizens to develop sensible health practices. Yet we have given remarkably little attention to the health education of our people. Most of our current efforts in this area are fragmented and haphazard—a public service advertisement one week, a newspaper article another, a short lecture now and then from the doctor. There is no national instrument, no central force to stimulate and coordinate a comprehensive health education program.

I have therefore been working to create such an instrument. It will be called the National Health Education Foundation. It will be a private, non-profit group which will receive no Federal money. Its membership will include representatives of business, labor, the medical profession, the insurance industry, health and welfare organizations, and various governmental units. Leaders from these fields have already agreed to proceed with such an organization and are well on the way toward reaching an initial goal of $1 million in pledges for its budget.

This independent project will be complemented by other Federal efforts to promote health education. For example, expenditures to provide family planning assistance have been increased, rising fourfold since 1969. And I am asking that the great potential of our nation's day care centers to provide health education be better utilized.

3. We should also expand Federal programs to help prevent accidents—the leading cause of death between the ages of one and 37 and the fourth leading cause of death for persons of all ages.

Our highway death toll—50,000 fatalities last year—is a tragedy and an outrage of unspeakable proportions. It is all the more shameful since half these deaths involved drivers or pedestrians under the influence of alcohol. We have therefore increased funding for the Department of Transportation's auto accident and alcohol program from $8 million in Fiscal Year 1971 to $35 million in Fiscal Year 1972. I am also requesting that the budget for alcoholism programs be doubled, from $7 million to $14 million. This will permit an expansion of our research efforts into better ways of treating this disease.

I am also requesting a supplemental appropriation of $5 million this year and an addition of $8 million over amounts already in the 1972 budget to implement aggressively the new Occupational Safety and Health Act I signed last December.

71-234—72——15

We must begin immediately to cut down on the 14,000 deaths and more than two million disabling injuries which result each year from occupational illnesses and accidents.

The conditions which affect health are almost unlimited. A man's income, his daily diet, the place he lives, the quality of his air and water—all of these factors have a greater impact on his physical well being than does the family doctor. When we talk about our health program, therefore, we should not forget our efforts to protect the nation's food and drug supply, to control narcotics, to restore and renew the environment, to build better housing and transportation systems, to end hunger in America, and—above all—to place a floor under the income of every family with children. In a sense this special message on health is one of *many* health messages which this administration is sending to the Congress.

F. A NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE PARTNERSHIP

In my State of the Union Message, I pledged to present a program "to ensure that no American family will be prevented from obtaining basic medical care by inability to pay." I am announcing that program today. It is a comprehensive national health insurance program, one in which the public and the private sectors would join in a new partnership to provide adequate health insurance for the American people.

In the last twenty years, the segment of our population owning health insurance has grown from 50 percent to 87 percent and the portion of medical bills paid for by insurance has gone from 35 percent to 60 percent. But despite this impressive growth, there are still serious gaps in present health insurance coverage. Four such gaps deserve particular attention.

First—too many health insurance policies focus on hospital and surgical costs and leave critical outpatient services uncovered. While some 80 percent of our people have some hospitalization insurance, for example, only about half are covered for outpatient and laboratory services and less than half are insured for treatment in the physician's office or the home. Because demand goes where the dollars are, the result is an unnecessary—and expensive—overutilization of acute care facilities. The average hospital stay today is a full day longer than it was eight years ago. Studies show that over one-fourth of hospital beds in some areas are occupied by patients who do not really need them and could have received equivalent or better care outside the hospital.

A second problem is the failure of most private insurance policies to protect against the catastrophic costs of major illnesses and accidents. Only 40 percent of our people have catastrophic cost insurance of any sort and most of that insurance has upper limits of $10,000 or $15,000. This means that insurance often runs out while expenses are still mounting. For many of our families, the anguish of a serious illness is thus compounded by acute financial anxiety. Even the joy of recovery can often be clouded by the burden of debt—and even by the threat of bankruptcy.

A third problem with much of our insurance at the present time is that it cannot be applied to membership in a Health Maintenance Organization—and thus effectively precludes such membership. No employee will pay to join such

a plan, no matter how attractive it might seem to him, when deductions from his paycheck—along with contributions from his employer—are being used to purchase another health insurance policy.

The fourth deficiency we must correct in present insurance coverage is its failure to help the poor gain sufficient access to our medical system. Just one index of this failure is the fact that fifty percent of poor children are not even immunized against common childhood diseases. The disability rate for families below the poverty line is at least 50 percent higher than for families with incomes above $10,000.

Those who need care most often get care least. And even when the poor do get service, it is often second rate. A vicious cycle is thus reinforced—poverty breeds illness and illness breeds greater poverty. This situation will be corrected only when the poor have sufficient purchasing power to enter the medical marketplace on equal terms with those who are more affluent.

Our National Health Insurance Partnership is designed to correct these inadequacies—not by *destroying* our present insurance system but by *improving* it. Rather than giving up on a system which has been developing impressively, we should work to bring about further growth which will fill in the gaps we have identified. To this end, I am recommending the following combination of public and private efforts.

1. I am proposing that a National Health Insurance Standards Act be adopted which will require employers to provide basic health insurance coverage for their employees.

In the past, we have taken similar actions to assure workers a minimum wage, to provide them with disability and retirement benefits, and to set occupational health and safety standards. Now we should go one step further and guarantee that all workers will receive adequate health insurance protection.

The minimum program we would require under this law would pay for hospital services, for physicians' services—both in the hospital and outside of it, for full maternity care, well-baby care (including immunizations), laboratory services and certain other medical expenses. To protect against catastrophic costs, benefits would have to include not less than $50,000 in coverage for each family member during the life of the policy contract. The minimum package would include certain deductible and coinsurance features. As an alternative to paying separate fees for separate services, workers could use this program to purchase membership in a Health Maintenance Organization.

The Federal Government would pay nothing for this program; the costs would be shared by employers and employees, much as they are today under most collective bargaining agreements. A ceiling on how much employees could be asked to contribute would be set at 35 percent during the first two and one-half years of operation and 25 percent thereafter. To give each employer time to plan for this additional cost of doing business—a cost which would be shared, of course, by all of his competitors—this program would not go into effect until July 1, 1973. This schedule would also allow time for expanding and reorganizing our health system to handle the new requirements.

As the number of enrollees rises under this plan, the costs per enrollee can be expected to fall. The fact that employers and unions will have an even higher stake

in the system will add additional pressures to keep quality up and costs down. And since the range within which benefits can vary will be somewhat narrower than it has been, competition between insurance companies will be more likely to focus on the overall price at which the contract is offered. This means that insurance companies will themselves have a greater motivation to keep medical costs from soaring.

I am still considering what further legislative steps may be desirable for regulating private health insurance, including the introduction of sufficient disincentive measures to reinforce the objective of creating cost consciousness on the part of consumers and providers. I will make such recommendations to the Congress at a later time.

2. I am also proposing that a new Family Health Insurance Plan be established to meet the special needs of poor families who would not be covered by the proposed National Health Insurance Standards Act—those that are headed by unemployed, intermittently employed or self-employed persons.

The Medicaid program was designed to help these people, but—for many reasons—it has not accomplished its goals. Because it is not a truly national program, its benefits vary widely from State to State. Sixteen States now get 80 percent of all Medicaid money and two States, California and New York, get 30 percent of Federal funds though they have only 20 percent of the poverty population. Two States have no Medicaid program at all.

In addition, Medicaid suffers from other defects that now plague our failing welfare system. It largely excludes the working poor—which means that all benefits can suddenly be cut off when family income rises ever so slightly—from just under the eligibility barrier to just over it. Coverage is provided when husbands desert their families, but is often eliminated when they come back home and work. The program thus provides an incentive for poor families to stay on the welfare rolls.

Some of these problems would be corrected by my proposal to require employers to offer adequate insurance coverage to their employees. No longer, for example, would a workingman receive poorer insurance coverage than a welfare client—a condition which exists today in many States. But we also need an additional program for much of the welfare population.

Accordingly, I propose that the part of Medicaid which covers most welfare families be eliminated. The new Family Health Insurance Plan that takes its place would be fully financed and administered by the Federal Government. It would provide health insurance to all poor families with children headed by self-employed or unemployed persons whose income is below a certain level. For a family of four persons, the eligibility ceiling would be $5,000.

For the poorest of eligible families, this program would make no charges and would pay for basic medical costs. As family income increased beyond a certain level ($3,000 in the case of a four-person family) the family itself would begin to assume a greater share of the costs—through a graduated schedule of premium charges, deductibles, and coinsurance payments. This provision would induce some cost consciousness as income rises. But unlike Medicaid—with its abrupt cutoff of benefits when family income reaches a certain point—this arrangement would

provide an incentive for families to improve their economic position.

The Family Health Insurance Plan would also go into effect on July 1, 1973. In its first full year of operation, it would cost approximately $1.2 billion in additional Federal funds—assuming that all eligible families participate. Since States would no longer bear any share of this cost, they would be relieved of a considerable burden. In order to encourage States to use part of these savings to supplement Federal benefits, the Federal Government would agree to bear the costs of administering a consolidated Federal-State benefit package. The Federal Government would also contract with local committees—to review local practices and to ensure that adequate care is being provided in exchange for Federal payments. Private insurers, unions and employers would be invited to use these same committees to review the utilization of their benefits if they wished to do so.

This, then, is how the National Health Insurance Partnership would work: The Family Health Insurance Plan would meet the needs of most welfare families—though Medicaid would continue for the aged poor, the blind and the disabled. The National Health Insurance Standards Act would help the working population. Members of the Armed Forces and civilian Federal employees would continue to have their own insurance programs and our older citizens would continue to have Medicare.

Our program would also require the establishment in each State of special insurance pools which would offer insurance at reasonable group rates to people who did not qualify for other programs: the self-employed, for example, and poor risk individuals who often cannot get insurance.

I also urge the Congress to take further steps to improve Medicare. For one thing, beneficiaries should be allowed to use the program to join Health Maintenance Organizations. In addition, we should consolidate the financing of Part A of Medicare—which pays for hospital care—and Part B—which pays for outpatient services, provided the elderly person himself pays a monthly fee to qualify for this protection. I propose that this charge—which is scheduled to rise to $5.60 per month in July of this year—be paid for instead by increasing the Social Security wage base. Removing this admission cost will save our older citizens some $1.3 billion annually and will give them greater access to preventive and ambulatory services.

Why Is a National Health Insurance Partnership Better Than Nationalized Health Insurance?

I believe that our government and our people, business and labor, the insurance industry and the health profession can work together in a *national partnership* to achieve our health objectives. I do *not* believe that the achievement of these objectives requires the *nationalization* of our health insurance industry.

To begin with, there simply is no *need* to eliminate an entire segment of our private economy and at the same time add a multibillion dollar responsibility to the Federal budget. Such a step should not be taken unless all other steps have failed.

More than that, such action would be dangerous. It would deny people the right to choose how they will pay for their health care. It would remove competition

from the insurance system—and with it an incentive to experiment and innovate.

Under a nationalized system, only the Federal Government would lose when inefficiency crept in or when prices escalated; neither the consumer himself, nor his employer, nor his union, nor his insurance company would have any further stake in controlling prices. The only way that utilization could be effectively regulated and costs effectively restrained, therefore, would be if the Federal Government made a forceful, tenacious effort to do so. This would mean—as proponents of a nationalized insurance program have admitted—that Federal personnel would inevitably be approving the budgets of local hospitals, setting fee schedules for local doctors, and taking other steps which could easily lead to the complete Federal domination of all of American medicine. That is an enormous risk—and there is no need for us to take it. There is a better way—a more practical, more effective, less expensive, and less dangerous way—to reform and renew our nation's health system.

Confronting a Deepening Crisis

"It is health which is real wealth," said Gandhi, "and not pieces of gold and silver." That statement applies not only to the lives of men but also to the life of nations. And nations, like men, are judged in the end by the things they hold most valuable.

Not only is health more important than economic wealth, it is also its foundation. It has been estimated, for example, that ten percent of our country's economic growth in the past half century has come because a declining death rate has produced an expanded labor force.

Our entire society, then, has a direct stake in the health of every member. In carrying out its responsibilities in this field, a nation serves its own best interests, even as it demonstrates the breadth of its spirit and the depth of its compassion.

Yet we cannot truly carry out these responsibilities unless the ultimate focus of our concern is the personal health of the individual human being. We dare not get so caught up in our systems and our strategies that we lose sight of *his* needs or compromise *his* interests. We can build an effective National Health Strategy only if we remember the central truth that the only way to serve our people well is to better serve each person.

Nineteen months ago I said that America's medical system faced a "massive crisis." Since that statement was made, that crisis has deepened. All of us must now join together in a common effort to meet this crisis—each doing his own part to mobilize more effectively the enormous potential of our health care system.

Richard Nixon

The White House
February 18, 1971

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released a fact sheet outlining the major features of the national health strategy and the transcript of a news briefing on the message by Elliot L. Richardson, Secretary, Dr. Roger O. Egeberg, Assistant Secretary for Health and Scientific Affairs, Lewis H. Butler, Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation, and Robert E. Patricelli, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Interdepartmental Affairs, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

64 Statement About a National Health Strategy Proposal. *February* 18, 1971

I AM PROPOSING today a new national health strategy. It helps more people to pay for care—but it also expands the supply of health services and makes them more efficient. It emphasizes keeping people well—and not just making people well.

The purpose of this program is simply this: I want America to have the finest health care in the world—and I want every American to be able to get that care when he needs it.

NOTE: The President read the statement for sound and film recording in the Family Theater at the White House.

65 Remarks at the Dedication of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. *February* 18, 1971

Senator Humphrey, Dean Sayre, Dr. Ripley, and all of the distinguished guests present here today:

I, first, express my deep appreciation to Senator Humphrey for his gracious introduction and also my commendation for his eloquent remarks.

And I would like to point out that in my opinion, had it not been for him, for his devotion, his dedication, and his tenacity, we would not be meeting here today with this project now reaching its culmination. And to him and all the others who worked with him, certainly the thanks of the Nation and the thanks of people around the world go for seeing to it that the living memorial to one of America's greatest men is now coming into being.

And it, of course, is an historic occasion for all of us. For me, too, it is the first time that I have heard the voice of Woodrow Wilson,[1] although I have read, as most of you have, most of what he has written.

And it brings a special meaning to this occasion that one of the distinguished religious leaders of this city and of this Nation is here today, and that he is the grandson of Woodrow Wilson.[2]

I am honored to celebrate this occasion and the dedication of this new international study to the memory of one of America's greatest Presidents.

Along with most Presidents of the past half century, I have long been a student of Woodrow Wilson. He was a man born ahead of his time. We have reason to hope that he was not born ahead of our time.

Ironically, this man, who used the English language to uplift and inspire and who so enriched the lexicon of democracy, is remembered most for one phrase he did not coin, a phrase that was twisted into a slogan of cynicism. He took that phrase from H. G. Wells' book, "The War That Will End War." Using that phrase as their centerpiece, there are some who class Woodrow Wilson as a colossal failure.

He won reelection in 1916 on the slo-

[1] A recording of President Wilsons voice was played at the ceremonies.

[2] Very Rev. Francis B. Sayre, Jr., dean of the Washington Cathedral.

gan, "He kept us out of war." But America went to war. That election, interestingly enough, was the background for my own interest in Woodrow Wilson and the inspiration he has provided for me, as he did for Senator Humphrey, the former Vice President of the United States.

My mother and father were both Republicans. California was the State, as you recall, that decided the election of 1916. The reason was that a number of Republicans voted for Wilson. My mother was one of them. She was a devout Quaker, a deeply dedicated pacifist.

I was only 3 years old in 1916, but for years afterwards, in a friendly way, my mother and father sometimes spoke of that election of 1916 in which my father had voted for Hughes.

But my mother, despite the fact that America did get into war after 1916, always had her faith in Woodrow Wilson. She used to say to me, "He was a good man. He was a man who deeply believed in peace." And she believed that the United States made an error in not following his advice after World War I.

He inspired her with his idealism, and she in turn passed on that inspiration to me.

We all recall how Woodrow Wilson rallied the hopes of mankind that World War I would be a war that could end wars. We all remember, too, that wars followed, tragically.

He tried to lead the United States in the community of nations, but he failed to stem the tide of postwar isolationism. He died a broken man.

But now, with a half century's perspective, we can see the success of Woodrow Wilson begin to emerge. He identified the United States of America with the principle of the self-determination of all nations, weak and strong.

He lit a spark that merged this Nation with the cause of generosity and idealism.

Every wartime President since Woodrow Wilson has been tempted to describe the current war as the war to end wars. But they have not done so because of the derision that the phrase evoked, a reminder of lost dreams, of lights that failed, of hopes that were raised and dashed.

What I am striving for above all else, what this Nation is striving for in all that we do, is something that America has never experienced in this century: a full generation of peace.

I believe that right now is the time for us to learn to walk in peace. The first step, of course, is to still the sound of war around the world.

We are moving in that direction. We have taken the first steps toward walking in peace. But we must first break the terrible world habit of war and only then can we learn the wondrous habit of peace.

That is why today I do not speak of the war to end wars. Instead, I hope to focus on something that men alive today can achieve for themselves and their children, on a dream that we can realize here and now, a genuine beginning toward our ultimate goal.

That is why I have set our sights on a span of time that men in positions of power today can cope with, just one generation, but one long step on the path away from perennial war.

That, too, is why it is more important now than ever before to summon up the spirit of Woodrow Wilson. For we can only establish the habit of peace by answering the call for human brotherhood, his inspiration for an understanding between men and nations.

Some of Woodrow Wilson's most eloquent speeches were made on the trip that he took to Europe immediately after World War I. On that trip, crusading for a League of Nations, he made the point vividly in the Mansion House in London.

He told the story of a great Englishman of letters, Charles Lamb, who once casually said about another man, "I hate that fellow." And one of Lamb's friends replied, "I didn't know that you knew him." And Lamb said, "Oh, I don't. I can't hate a man I know."

And that is how Wilson made his point. He said, "When we know one another, we cannot hate one another."

Knowing one another in its deepest sense means far more than becoming acquainted or improving the atmosphere in relations between nations. It means that we must recognize our differences and come to grips with reality of conflicting national interests.

History has taught us that we do not know one another better by glossing over the substance of disagreements. We know one another better when we understand why nations disagree.

Then, and only then, can we act together to harmonize our differences. When we truly know one another we can have differences without hating one another.

I suggest that the greatest single achievement of Woodrow Wilson was in opening the heart of America for the world to see.

Since Wilson, the world better understands that America does stand for self-determination of all nations, that Americans fervently believe in a world living in freedom and peace.

Wilson died convinced he was a failure. He was wrong. The Wilsonian vision, the American passion for peace with freedom, did not die. Through all the years of war, through all the setbacks of isolationism and weakness toward aggression, that vision has persevered—until now it is on the verge of triumph.

When we know one another, we cannot hate one another. In this still imperfect world, I am convinced that realistic understanding is on the rise and mindless hatred is on the decline.

The strong likelihood exists that there will be no need for a war to end wars, that instead, by taking one careful step at a time, by making peace for one full generation, we will get this world into the habit of peace.

The time will come when Woodrow Wilson will be remembered not as a man who tried and failed, but as one of those Americans who saw the truth before his time and whose vision became the reality of the generation he inspired.

By his example, Woodrow Wilson helped make the world safe for idealism.

By following that example, by not fearing to be idealists ourselves, we shall make the world safe for free men to live in peace.

NOTE: The President spoke at 5:50 p.m. in the Great Hall at the Smithsonian Institution Building, where the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars is located.

S. Dillon Ripley was Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

71-234—72——16

66 Toasts of the President and Prime Minister Colombo of Italy. *February* 18, 1971

Mr. Prime Minister, Mr. Foreign Minister, Mr. Ambassador, our distinguished guests:

Mr. Prime Minister, you have been to this country on 10 different occasions, but it is a very great honor for us to welcome you in this house and in this historic room for the first time as Prime Minister of your country.

And we have tried to make you feel at home with the musical selections by our Army string group.

After hearing them play and hearing you compliment them as graciously as you did to me while they were playing, I thought of the War Between the States and the remark made or attributed to a Confederate general when he was asked by a private serving in the infantry for transfer to the band.

The general replied, "No." He said, "Son, what this army needs is shooters, not tooters."

Our Army, our Navy, our Air Force we consider to be part of the peace forces of the world as you do yours, and we are proud that in addition to their military accomplishments they also have other accomplishments which were demonstrated tonight for this very distinguished audience.

A little earlier today I participated in a ceremony honoring President Wilson and the living memorial that is being established in Washington in his memory.

On that occasion, I thought of his visit to Europe immediately after World War I, and particularly of what he described as the warmest receptions he received on that visit, his receptions in Italy.

I recall, too, what he said at Torino when he commented upon the suggestion that had been made by one of the Italian leaders to the effect that after World War I, carrying out President Wilson's philosophy of self-determination, that Italy should have sovereignty over Italians wherever they lived in the world.

And President Wilson responded to that suggestion in Torino somewhat along these lines. He said, "We could never agree to that, because the United States couldn't bear to part with New York."

And he correctly pointed out that New York, at that time, had more Italians than any city in Italy.

But then he went on to say something very profound and as true today as it was then: that the United States could not bear to part with the genius of the Italian spirit which has meant so much to this country in the past and means so much to it today.

Mr. Prime Minister, in this distinguished company we have gathered today you see part of that genius, leaders in the field of business, in the field of the arts, in the field of sports, all the areas which indicate achievement in our country.

I could mention so many. I could mention Enrico Fermi, of Italian background, the man most responsible for the devel-

opment of the atomic breakthrough. I could mention the great leaders of business, the fact that the largest bank in the world and in the United States was founded by Italians in my home State, in California, and a representative of that family is here tonight.

I could mention the fact that in the field of sports that we, a sports-minded country, have revered many, but none perhaps in our time has reached that pinnacle of admiration that a man of Italian background, Vince Lombardi, reached when he died just a few months ago, not because he was just a great coach, but because he had character, that genius of the Italian spirit which Woodrow Wilson referred to so eloquently 51 years ago.

And, of course, I could refer, Mr. Prime Minister, to the field of politics. Here we can be completely bipartisan. We can speak of Senator Pastore. We can speak in our Cabinet of the Secretary of Transportation, former Governor of Massachusetts John Volpe, who has worked with great devotion for his country and for better relations between all nations.

What I am simply saying is that on this occasion, we thank you for coming to our country, for giving us the opportunity to express America's appreciation to Italy for what you have contributed to us, your country, what your people of Italian background have contributed to America, and also, to say, in response, that we treasure our relationship with your country in the modern day.

Italy and America are friends. We are partners together in the great Atlantic Alliance. And we recognize that in this world today, we have no better friend than Italy.

And speaking personally, I can say to this company that I have no better personal friend, as well as official friend, than Prime Minister Colombo.

After that applause, Mr. Prime Minister, you should come here and run for something.

I simply want to say that we recognize that the Prime Minister has devoted his life to the service of his country, that he now, as we do, has problems to which he applies enormous diligence and dedication and devotion, and for this we admire him. And for that reason, because of our affection for the country that he represents, for the people and the tradition that he represents, and also because of our respect and admiration for him as a person and as a world leader, I know all of you will want to join me in raising your glasses to the Prime Minister of Italy.

The Prime Minister.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:58 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House.

See also Item 62.

Prime Minister Colombo responded in Italian. A translation of his remarks follows:

Mr. President:

The warmth of your words and the cordiality and the friendly welcome which you have extended to me and also some of the things I have read on this little card here in front of me, lead me to be so presumptuous as to think that perhaps you wanted to make this an extra Columbus Day without regard to the date.

I see here salmon from the Columbia River. I think I see something here. Then the filet mignon Potenza. That is where I was born.

THE PRESIDENT. If I may break protocol and interrupt the Prime Minister, I would say—we changed Washington's Birthday—in honor of the Prime Minister, we change Columbus Day to the day of his visit.

THE PRIME MINISTER. I know, Mr. President, that the warm friendship that you express and that of all the American people, and that is manifest to me in the presence of all these other guests here tonight, is not directed to-

wards me alone. I know that it is also meant for Foreign Minister Moro, who is here with me and it is meant for Italy and it is meant for the people of Italy.

You have mentioned a great number of names of outstanding people of the past who have contributed to make this Nation great. You have mentioned and given us a list of distinguished names of people who are here with us tonight, who represent the great link between Italy and the United States and the United States and Italy.

And we are deeply proud, Mr. President, to know and to feel how proud they are to be American citizens and also to see how deeply proud they are of their links with the old country. These are realities, Mr. President, which, of course, point up the depth of the bonds that link our two peoples. And I would say that these bonds are not only of a sentimental order but they are based on common ideals, they are based on the objectives that we share, and they are based on also the closeness that we feel in our responsibilities in sharing the cause of furthering the welfare of the nations.

And you also mentioned the alliance which binds us together, but this alliance, Mr. President, also has very deep-going roots in this common soil and the soil upon which this great family built this Nation, a family which includes so many people of Italian origin.

When you were in Rome, Mr. President, you spoke of your hope for a world that will be put together to enhance the progress of man and not a world that would lead to the destruction of man. And the government that I have the honor to preside is based on the firm conviction, for one thing, that the time available to us to channel the vital human energies and the advances of science and technology toward the betterment of man is growing dangerously short.

And, for this reason, your words, Mr. President, find very lively response, great responsiveness among Italians. And at the same time, Mr. President, the attainment of the vital objectives of peace and justice and the shaping of the present international order upon a basis of stability, which will allow us to look toward the future with the serenity and dignity which man requires for his existence, presupposes the maintenance of the conditions of security that will be suitable and adequate and, therefore, the respect for the equilibrium in whose defense Italy and the United States are actively engaged.

And this is an area of activities that is designed to guarantee the common security, the mutual security whose links are put together in this indispensable and constructive cooperation which even in an area which, for us in Italy, is so vital as the Mediterranean, today stands out in stark significance.

But since security and peace are indivisible, we fervently hope that in every part of the world the conditions for peace will be rebuilt by means—by the route of negotiations.

And Italy in its area of responsibility—and it has always worked—continues to work in Europe in order to establish and to strengthen that pattern of relationships which are necessary for international stability and peace.

Italy is aware that its contribution to this great work will be all the greater to the extent that, with perseverance and with strength, it will be able to move along the road of democracy so that it can make its just contribution to every area of this great enterprise just as it is doing today.

And we know that as we move along this road we will need to have friends, and we know, just as well, Mr. President, that we can rely on the friendship of the United States and we know that we can rely on your friendship, Mr. President.

And it is to this friendship and to your personal health and success, Mr. President, and that of your lovely lady, and to the friendship that exists between Italy and the United States and to the prosperity and the personal happiness and tranquility to all of our honored guests here tonight I wish to lift my cup at this moment in a toast.

67 Remarks at a Reception for the President's Council and the Conference on Physical Fitness and Sports. *February* 19, 1971

MRS. NIXON and I are delighted to welcome this very distinguished company to the East Room of the White House.

We understand that some of our guests could not be here for very good reasons. Spring training for baseball rules out some of the baseball celebrities and sports figures and some of those on the golf tour—I understand everybody over 40 has a new lease on life as a result of what happened in Hawaii the other day—could not be here.

But if I could be allowed just a few moments to impose on your time, before Mrs. Nixon and I have the privilege of meeting you each personally, to reminisce a bit about physical fitness; how this program really began; how it has grown; what it means, and what it means particularly in terms of the health message that I sent to the Congress yesterday dealing with the medical profession's contribution to health and how we get better health care for all Americans.

In 1956, President Eisenhower called me into his office. You may recall this was the year after he had his heart attack. He had just read a very disturbing article with regard to the health of young Americans of high school age as compared with young people in Japan and European countries. And he said that it was essential that we develop a physical fitness program, one in which our young people would be more interested in physical fitness, more interested in it—recognize its importance to raise the standards.

I, as Vice President, was given the assignment of attempting to put some emphasis on this program. During the period that I was Vice President we made some progress in creating interest on the program.

Then, in the years after that, when Bud Wilkinson was here, brought here by President Kennedy, the program got additional impetus and was extended not just to those in high school, in college, the younger generation, but to some of us older people, too.

And as a result of that program, people around the country, I think, have been made aware of the importance of physical fitness and what an individual can do about his health that will possibly not make it necessary for him to go to a doctor. And so much can be done, if we do take care of ourselves properly.

This meeting today with Jim Lovell, who is—what an example of fine health! Look at that weight and all that sort of thing. We are going to send him on the first mission to Mars—but this meeting today, frankly, gives us an opportunity to point up the fact that here are some of the great examples of people who have been successful in the field of sports and physical fitness, because what you do has an enormous effect on young people across the country and on older people as well.

Let's face it. This is a sports-minded country. That isn't bad. It has a lot to do with the spirit of a country, the fact that people are interested in how a golf match or a football game or a baseball game or, for that matter, a tennis game, any kind of sport that you might figure that people who may not participate, who will never

be champions, like to watch.

But now we come to the key point. With television and those marvelous closeups they have and the reruns and everything else, with television these days the tendency is for people just to sit there, feet up, eating pretzels and drinking—well, drinking, in any event—and that is their participation in sports. I do not think that is bad. As a matter of fact, that can do something for the spirit, as well—in both ways.

But what I am suggesting is this: that we need to alert the people of this country, and particularly the young people of this country, that they can do something about their future to make them develop the health patterns which will avoid physical illness and very serious physical illness in the years ahead.

I am not the best one to speak on this subject. As a matter of fact, as I have said, I really hate exercise for exercise's sake. Bud Wilkinson has constantly told me I must jog every day. I do a little, but about a minute is enough.

But the point is that I feel that the emphasis on exercise, the fact that some exercise—call it what you will, jogging, walking, participation in competitive sports—some of this is so essential for the physical well-being of the people of this country.

It is also essential for the spirit of the people of this country. When a person feels better, he thinks better. This we all know. And, therefore, the work that you do on this advisory committee, of inspiring young people around the country to develop now the health patterns, the exercise patterns, the participation, not just watching on television, this serves America and serves it well. And I express appreciation for your doing so.

I want to say, finally, just one thing with regard to the people that are here in this room and the contribution you have made to this country. You are all successful in your various fields.

When I read the list of people, the champions in baseball and football and tennis and golf and all the other areas, I must say it was—being a sports buff—it was really an impressive list. I have seen many diplomatic dinners and all the rest. But this is the most impressive crowd I have seen in this place for a long time, I can assure you.

I believe in competitive sports, as a spectator or as a participant. I believe in the spirit that an individual develops, either as he watches or as he participates in competition.

I don't go along with the idea that all that really matters is jogging in place and having a good physical appearance. What really matters, of course, is the spirit as well as the body.

And if the individual is thinking in an optimistic and, in the best sense, competitive way, he will be a more healthy individual in every way. I believe in that.

And I am glad, therefore, that here in this room filled with champions that you are inspiring all Americans, young and old, with the fact that this is a country that likes competition, friendly, clean competition in all areas of life, that encourages it not only in the school years but in all the years after that. I believe that what you do in that field really renders a great service to this country.

And, finally, I want to say I appreciate the example that the people in sports give to the young people of America. You can't really understand or realize, I am sure, how a champion has—one who appears on the television screen or down on a field

of play—how much effect he has on that young impressionable boy or girl who is in the stands or watching on the television set.

And the lives you lead, the fact that you are good competitors, that you play to win, but you also know how to lose, which means, not accepting a loss saying, "Well, it didn't make any difference," but saying, "I am going to do better so I win the next time"; the fact, too, that you lead the kind of lives that are an example of good, decent, and clean living in the best sense of the word, believe me, this helps the American spirit.

I express my appreciation to you and having talked to you this way—and I want Bud to hear this—I will jog 2 minutes tomorrow morning.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:50 a.m. in the East Room at the White House to members of the President's Council on Physical Fitness and Sports and the Conference on Physical Fitness and Sports.

68 Memorandum About the 1971 Federal Summer Intern Program. *February* 19, 1971

Memorandum to the Heads of Executive Departments and Agencies:

Our experience with the Federal Government's summer intern programs in these past two years—the 1969 Executive Intern Program and the 1970 Washington Summer Intern Program—has been most rewarding. We benefited greatly from the direct contributions of the interns, including constructive ideas which could have been born in no other place than the crucible of on-the-spot experience. At the same time, many of the most promising members of the younger generation were given a unique opportunity to become acquainted with the people in government, the functions they perform and the problems they face.

Because the value of these programs has proven to be so great, I am directing expanded efforts in support of the 1971 Federal Summer Intern Program.

I have called for an alliance between the generations. I have asked American youth to respond affirmatively to the challenge and pledged that we will do our best to keep faith with their hopes. An outstanding Federal Summer Intern Program will be another step in fulfilling our part of the bargain.

I ask each of you to assure the full participation of your organization, to help make this summer the most fruitful ever in terms of nurturing better understanding between young Americans and their Government. The Chairman of the Civil Service Commission will provide the necessary leadership for the program, will measure its results, and will report to me next fall.

RICHARD NIXON

69 Special Message to the Congress on Higher Education. *February* 22, 1971

To the Congress of the United States:

Nearly a year ago, in my first special message on higher education, I asked the Congress to join me in expanding higher education opportunities across the nation. First, I proposed to reform and increase aid to students. Second, I proposed a National Foundation for Higher Education designed to reform and strengthen post secondary education.

Neither house of Congress acted on these proposals. Now the time for action is growing short. Existing legislative authority for the basic Federal higher education programs expires at the end of the current fiscal year.

1971 can be a year of national debate on the goals and potentials of our system of higher education. It can be a time of opportunity to discover new concepts of mission and purpose, which are responsive to the diverse needs of the people of our country. I therefore again urge the Congress to join with me in expanding opportunities in two major ways:

To help equalize individual opportunities for higher education, I am proposing the Higher Education Opportunity Act of 1971.

To broaden opportunities through renewal, reform and innovation in higher education, I am proposing a separate act establishing the National Foundation for Higher Education.

Equalizing Individual Opportunities for Higher Education

At the present time, a young person whose family earns more than $15,000 a year is almost five times more likely to attend college than a young person whose family earns less than $3,000.

At the present time, Federal student assistance programs do not always reach those who need them most.

At the present time, there are just not enough funds to go around to all deserving students. Needy students often do not have access to grants. Higher-income students are frequently unable to borrow for their education, even when loans are guaranteed by the Federal Government.

I repeat the commitment which I made in my message of last year: that no qualified student who wants to go to college should be barred by lack of money. The program which I am again submitting this year would benefit approximately one million *more* students than are currently receiving aid. It would assure that Federal funds go first, and in the largest amounts, to the neediest students, in order to place them on an equal footing with students from higher-income families. Abundant resources for loans would also be available to students from higher-income families. The budget I submitted in January provides funds for these reforms and stands behind the commitments of this administration. Failure to pass this program would not only deny these benefits to many students, but also would limit their opportunity to make major choices about their lives.

A major element of my higher education proposal to the last Congress is the creation of a National Student Loan Association. For too long, the volume of funds available to students for federally insured loans has been arbitrarily restricted by the lack of a secondary market

in which lenders could sell paper in order to replenish their supply of loan capital.

Establishment of the National Student Loan Association would relieve this squeeze on liquidity by making available an additional $1 billion for student loan funds. The Association would be authorized to buy student loans made by qualified lenders—universities as well as commercial lending institutions. This secondary market would enable universities and commercial lenders to make loans to students in far greater quantity than they have in the past.

It is important to be clear on what this reform would mean. It would mean that higher education would be open to all the people of this country as never before. It would mean that students still in high school would know that their efforts to qualify for college need not be compromised by doubts about whether they can afford college. It would mean that their choice of a college would be based on their educational goals rather than upon their family's financial circumstances.

Renewal, Reform and Innovation

If we are to make higher education financially accessible to all who are qualified, then our colleges must be prepared both for the diversity of their goals and the seriousness of their intent. While colleges and universities have made exceptional efforts to serve unprecedented numbers of students over the last decade, they must find additional ways to respond to a new set of challenges:

—All too often we have fallen prey to the myth that there is only one way to learn—by sitting in class, reading books, and listening to teachers. Those who learn best in other ways are rejected by the system.

—While the diversity of individuals seeking higher education has expanded in nearly every social dimension—age, class, ethnic background—higher education institutions have become increasingly uniform and less diverse.

—Increasingly, many colleges, and particularly universities, have become large, complex institutions which have lost their way. The servants of many masters and the managers of many enterprises, they are less and less able to perform their essential tasks well.

—At the present time, thousands of individuals of all ages and circumstances are excluded from higher education for no other reason than that the system is designed primarily for 18–22 year olds who can afford to go away to college.

—At the present time, institutional and social barriers discourage students from having sustained experiences before or during their college years which would help them get more out of college and plan for their future lives.

The relationship between the Federal Government and the universities has contributed little to meeting these needs because it has not been a genuine partnership. In many cases the Federal Government has hired universities to do work which has borne little natural relationship to the central functions of the institution. Too often, the Federal Government has been part of the problem rather than part of the solution.

Certain Federal agencies promote excellence, innovation, and reform in particular areas. The National Science

Foundation has played a magnificent role in the public interest for science, and the National Institutes of Health have played a similar role for health.

The National Foundation for Higher Education would fulfill a new role in the Federal Government. It would have as its mandate a review of the overall needs of the American people for post-secondary education. It would have as its operating premises, the principles of selectivity and flexibility. Its constituency would include people as well as institutions—and not only the usual secondary student entering college, but also others—such as the person who wants to combine higher education with active work experience, or the one who has left school and wants to return.

The Foundation can do much to develop new approaches to higher education:

—New ways of "going to college." I am impressed with the need for new and innovative means of providing higher education to individuals of all ages and circumstances (Britain and Japan, for example, have already taken significant steps in the use of television for this purpose).

—New patterns of attending college. A theme of several recent reports is that students are isolated too long in school, and that breaking the educational "lockstep" would enable them to be better and more serious students (as were the GI's after World War II). If so, student bodies would reflect a greater mix of ages and experience, and colleges would be places for integrating rather than separating the generations.

—New approaches to diversify institutional missions. Colleges and universities increasingly have aspired to become complex and "well rounded" institutions providing a wide spectrum of general and specialized education. The Foundation could help institutions to strengthen their individuality and to focus on particular missions by encouraging and supporting excellence in specific areas—be it a field of research, professional training, minority education, or whatever.

Special Help for Black Institutions

Colleges and universities founded for black Americans are an indispensable national resource. Despite great handicaps they educate substantial numbers of black Americans, thereby helping to bring about a more rapid transition to an integrated society.

Black institutions are faced with an historic inadequacy of resources. To help these institutions compete for students and faculty with other colleges and universities, the combined help of government at all levels, other institutions of higher learning, and the private sector must be summoned.

This administration has taken a series of actions to assist these institutions:

—The proposed reform of student aid programs, with its concentration of funds on the neediest students, would significantly aid students at black institutions.

—The National Foundation for Higher Education will direct special efforts toward meeting the needs of black colleges.

—Additional funds for black colleges have been requested for fiscal year

1972 in programs administered by the U.S. Office of Education, the National Science Foundation, and the Department of Agriculture.

CONCLUSION

These are but some of the new approaches to higher education which need to be pursued. A theme common to all of them is a new kind of engagement between all the citizens of our society and our system of higher education. All of us can make a contribution to bringing about such an engagement by taking part in a thoughtful national discussion about our priorities for higher education. Students and faculties can make a contribution by reexamining their goals and the means they choose to achieve them. The Federal Government can do its part by supporting access to higher education for all of our people and by providing the resources needed to help develop new forms of higher education which would be responsive to all of their needs.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
February 22, 1971

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released a fact sheet and the transcript of a news briefing on the President's proposals on higher education by Dr. Sidney P. Marland, Jr., Commissioner of Education, and Dr. Peter P. Muirhead, Executive Deputy Commissioner, Office of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

70 Statement on Suspending Davis-Bacon Act Provisions for Federal Construction Projects. *February 23, 1971*

I AM today suspending the provisions of the Davis-Bacon Act which require contractors working on Federal construction projects to pay certain prescribed wage rates to their workers. In my judgment, the operation of this law at a time when construction wages and prices are skyrocketing only gives Federal endorsement and encouragement to severe inflationary pressures.

The action I have taken today is based on the principle that Government programs which contribute to excessive wage and price increases must be modified or rescinded in periods of inflation. This was the principle I applied to industry in the case of recent excessive increases in steel and oil prices. This is the principle I am applying to organized labor in the construction emergency.

This decision suspends a special provision of law which has applied uniquely to the construction industry since 1931. It puts the construction industry on the same footing with other industries that now sell products to the Government. For under the Davis-Bacon Act, wage rates on Federal projects have been artificially set by this law rather than by customary market forces. Frequently, they have been set to match the highest wages paid on private projects. This means that many of the most inflationary local wage settlements in the construction industry have automatically been sanctioned and spread through Government contracts.

The Davis-Bacon Act was originally passed in 1931 to ease extremely severe downward pressures on wages in the construction industry. I believe, however, that

this preferential arrangement does not serve the best interests of either the construction industry or the American public at a time when wages are under severe upward pressures. I am therefore using the authority which the law gives to the President to suspend this provision. The proclamation [4031] I am issuing today also suspends the wage determination provision of more than 50 other Federal laws relating to federally involved construction which incorporate the Davis-Bacon Act. I am calling upon States and other governmental bodies with similar statutes to take similar action.

This action is the most appropriate of the actions which are available to me at this time. Nevertheless, I make this decision most reluctantly. It has been my hope that the problem of excessive and inflationary wage settlements in the construction industry could be met without such measures. Yet on several occasions over the past 2 years I have also made it clear that I would take whatever further steps were necessary if the inflationary pattern did not end.

That pattern has not ended. In fact, inflation in the construction industry has grown worse. In 1970, the average contract settlement in the building trades called for a first year wage increase of 18.3 percent. On the other hand, the average increase for the first year of new contracts in manufacturing industries was 8.1 percent—a striking contrast. And in the last two quarters of 1970, wage settlements in the construction industry went even further out of control; new contract settlements in the last 6 months of the year called for nearly a 22 percent average first year increase.

While some might wish to blame management or labor unions for this inflationary syndrome, we must recognize that, in fact, they are its victims. I have met with construction contractors and labor leaders on a number of occasions—including a meeting last month. I know that many of them have been doing their best to find an answer to this situation. It is evident now, however, that decisive Government action is needed to protect the public interest while labor and management continue their efforts to attack the causes of this problem.

Those causes are deep and complex. They are rooted in the way the construction industry is organized—and particularly in the highly fragmented nature of its collective bargaining process. A craft-by-craft, city-by-city negotiating pattern makes competition between local unions for higher wages particularly intense. It makes strikes on particular projects more likely since alternative work is often available nearby. One out of every three wage negotiations in the building trades now produces a work stoppage. When these and other structural factors are combined with a law like the Davis-Bacon Act which, in effect, requires employers to pass on to the Government the cost of high local settlements, then the inflationary problem becomes even more acute.

The results of this inflationary situation are felt in every part of our society. As construction costs go up, so does the price for buying or renting new homes and apartments. Because the entire economy is affected by rising construction costs, other prices are driven up also. The taxpayer bears a particularly heavy burden since the Government spends so much for construction. The Federal Government alone plans to spend some $13 billion for construction in fiscal year 1972. A good part of this spending will come from the de-

fense budget—which means that inflation in the construction industry can make it harder adequately to fund programs which are vital to our national security.

All levels of government together account for almost one-third of total construction expenditures. It is crucial, I believe, that taxpayers get their money's worth for all this spending and that it not be used to accommodate—and further accelerate—inflationary pressures.

But the person who is hurt most by this pattern of inflation is the construction worker himself. For as the cost of building increases, the rate of building is slowed—and the result is fewer jobs for the workingman. The rate of unemployment in the construction trades last year was substantially higher than in any other major industry and double the national average. It stood at 11.2 percent this past January. Moreover, those workers who do find jobs also find that as costs rise and the number of projects declines, they are working fewer hours.

The average worker in the building trades is therefore caught in a vicious cycle. His rate of pay goes up but often his overall income does not, since his opportunities to work have gone down. As a result, he is inclined to demand an even higher hourly wage which can have the effect, in turn, of further reducing available employment. By curbing inflation in the construction industry, we hope to break this cycle, expand employment, and improve the overall position of the construction worker.

During the past 2 years, this Administration has taken a number of steps to help the construction industry. We have made considerable progress in bringing down the cost of money. We have worked to stabilize the cost of materials and to increase productivity. We are planning to expand Federal construction programs—especially in housing—and we are making additional efforts to assist private construction.

We are now on the threshold of a new economic expansion. That expansion must be a genuine expansion, one that is measured by rising purchasing power and not by an accelerating cost of living; by more new homes and apartments and not by ever-accelerating rents and housing prices; by more new public facilities urgently needed to combat pollution and meet other pressing social needs. We are counting on the construction industry to make a significant contribution to our expanding economy. We have great confidence in the potential of the construction industry, and we want this potential to be fully realized.

But the construction industry cannot realize its potential—and it cannot make its full contribution to the stable growth of our entire economy—unless it can overcome its present handicaps of chronic instability, frequent strikes, and excessive wage increases. Insofar as the Government is a party to these conditions—as it is under the Davis-Bacon Act—it can serve both the public and the industry best by correcting that situation.

I have suspended the Davis-Bacon Act because of emergency conditions in the construction industry. The purposes of the Davis-Bacon Act can once again be realized when construction contractors and labor unions work out solutions to the problems which have created the emergency.

In the final analysis, those who are directly involved in the construction industry must assume the leadership in finding answers to these complex problems.

Construction contractors and labor leaders will have the full cooperation of this Administration as they strive to carry out this crucial responsibility.

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing on the President's action by Secretary of Labor James D. Hodgson.

71 Toast of the President at a Dinner Honoring Governors Attending the National Governors' Conference Winter Session. *February* 23, 1971

Ladies and gentlemen:

We have good news for you tonight. We have no speeches. I know that you have have been somewhat surfeited with speechmaking during the afternoon, the presentations of members of our Cabinet and of our White House Staff.

So tonight our remarks will be brief. I will speak briefly to welcome you, and I am going to ask Governor Hearnes to respond, if he will. Everybody from Missouri speaks briefly, so we have no problem on that score.

I simply want to say first, that as far as my remarks are concerned, I am not going to direct them to the Governors. I spoke to you earlier about some very practical matters that we were all interested in.

But I think in this great room, the State Dining Room, with all of the feeling of history in it and all of the magnificent events that have been held here, we somewhat like to think of those that have been honored here, really chief executives, emperors, kings, and prime ministers. And we think of the names—I have been here for dinner with de Gaulle and Churchill and Nehru. We go back through the years and you think of Lincoln in this room, and clear back to Jackson, and T. R. with all the excitement that he must have brought to this room, and F.D.R., and so on down the line.

But, in any event, we also think of the First Ladies who have presided in this room. And that is really the burden of my remarks. Mrs. Rockefeller [1] said something very nice a moment ago. She said this is a happy house.

Now, I reject any political connotation to that. In any event, what she meant to say was that, and we want you to feel that, this is your house. It belongs to all of us, whoever may be here.

I have noted that in the 182 years since Washington was President of the United States, that 50 percent of the time people who have been Governors have been President of the United States. So each of you can sort of look to the possibility.

This is a happy house, in any event. But in that respect I would also say, though, that we think back of the First Ladies and all that goes into the planning of a party.

I was talking to the first ladies of the States at this table and the first lady from Mississippi and the first lady from Arizona, from Connecticut, and from New York.

And I thought of all the parties that all of the first ladies have put on in your various capitals and all of them aren't like this. You won't have as many chief

[1] Margaretta "Happy" Rockefeller, wife of Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller of New York.

executives gathered in any one, perhaps, as we have here tonight, but each of them is enormously important.

You entertain legislators and VIP's and so forth and so on.

And we, the men, think it is tough. We have got to get up; we have got to make a speech; we have got to sort of make exciting conversations so that somebody will remember what we said, or forget it, we hope.

In any event, whatever the case might be, the ladies have an enormous responsibility. Look at this room, the flowers, the menu, the wines, the entertainment, who sits by whom and, what is often very important, who does not sit by whom, all of this is in the domain of the First Lady.

And I feel tonight that certainly, as all of you do, that we are very fortunate, those of us who are in positions as chief executives, whether in this house or in the statehouses or in the capitals of this country, that we have first ladies who have presided with such dignity, with such charm, who have saved us from ourselves so often, and it is for that reason that I simply want to say that for those who may have enjoyed this evening, the credit should go, naturally, to my First Lady and to yours.

And so, Governor, to introduce you rather than toasting you alone, I suggest that all of us rise, the men at least, and toast the first ladies.

The first ladies.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:58 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House.

Following the President's toast, Gov. Warren E. Hearnes of Missouri, chairman of the conference, responded. His remarks are printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 7, p. 287).

72 Special Message to the Congress on Consumer Protection. *February* 24, 1971

To the Congress of the United States:

The history of American prosperity is the history of the American free enterprise system. The system has provided an economic foundation of awesome proportions, and the vast material strength of the nation is built on that foundation. For the average American, this strength is reflected in a standard of living that would have staggered the imagination only a short while ago. This constantly rising standard of living benefits both the consumer and the producer.

In today's marketplace, however, the consumer often finds himself confronted with what seems an impenetrable complexity in many of our consumer goods, in the advertising claims that surround them, the merchandising methods that purvey them and the means available to conceal their quality. The result is a degree of confusion that often confounds the unwary, and too easily can be made to favor the unscrupulous. I believe new safeguards are needed, both to protect the consumer and to reward the responsible businessman.

I indicated my deep concern for this matter in my special message to the Congress of October 30, 1969. At that time I urged the Congress to enact a legislative program aimed at establishing a "Buyer's Bill of Rights." This proposal found little success in the 91st Congress. But putting

the remedies aside has not sufficed to put the problems aside. These remain. They must be dealt with.

Accordingly, I am again submitting proposals designed to provide such a Buyer's Bill of Rights by:

—Creating by Executive Order a new Office of Consumer Affairs in the Executive Office of the President which will be responsible for analyzing and coordinating all Federal activities in the field of consumer protection;

—Recognizing the need for effective representation of consumer interests in the regulatory process and making recommendations to accomplish this after full public discussion of the findings of the Advisory Council on Executive Organization;

—Establishing within the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare a product safety program. The Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare would have authority to fix minimum safety standards for products and to ban from the marketplace those products that fail to meet those standards;

—Proposing a Consumer Fraud Prevention Act which would make unlawful a broad but clearly-defined range of practices which are unfair and deceptive to consumers and would be enforced by the Department of Justice and the Federal Trade Commission. This act, where appropriate, would also enable consumers either as individuals or as a class to go into court to recover damages for violations of the act;

—Proposing amendments to the Federal Trade Commission Act which will increase the effectiveness of the Federal Trade Commission;

—Calling upon interested private citizens to undertake a thorough study of the adequacy of existing procedures for the resolution of disputes arising out of consumer transactions;

—Proposing a Fair Warranty Disclosure Act which will provide for clearer warranties, and prohibit the use of deceptive warranties;

—Proposing a Consumer Products Test Methods Act to provide incentives for increasing the amount of accurate and relevant information provided consumers about complex consumer products;

—Resubmitting the Drug Identification Act which would require identification coding of all drug tablets and capsules;

—Encouraging the establishment of a National Business Council to assist the business community in meeting its responsibilities to the consumer; and by

—Other reforms, including exploration of a Consumer Fraud Clearinghouse in the Federal Trade Commission, increased emphasis on consumer education and new programs in the field of food and drug safety.

New Office of Consumer Affairs

The President's Committee on Consumer Interests has made important gains on behalf of the American consumer in the past two years.

It has brought a new and innovative approach to the problem of keeping the consumer informed and capable of handling the complex choices presented to him in today's commercial world. One such measure involves the dissemination

of information which the United States Government, as the nation's largest single consumer, collects on the products it uses. In my message of October 30, 1969, I announced that I was directing my Special Assistant for Consumer Affairs to develop a program for providing the buying public with this information.

On the strength of her recommendations, on October 26, 1970, I signed Executive Order 11566 which establishes a means for making available to the public much of the product information which the Federal Government acquires in making its own purchases. A Consumer Product Information Coordinating Center has been established in the General Services Administration with continuing policy guidance from my Special Assistant for Consumer Affairs to make these data available to the public through Federal information centers and other sources throughout the country.

In addition, the Committee on Consumer Interests has made significant strides in developing Federal, State and local cooperation in consumer programs, encouraging establishment of strong State and local consumer offices, and advising on the enactment of effective consumer laws and programs.

Nevertheless, further cooperation among Federal, State and local governments is essential if we are truly to insure that the consumer is properly served. Therefore, I am asking my Special Assistant for Consumer Affairs to intensify her efforts on behalf of the consumer at the State and local level. I am also directing her to conduct regional meetings with State officials concerned with consumer issues, with consumer groups, and with individual consumers to discuss common problems and possible solutions.

But I believe the greatest overall accomplishment of this office has been to give the consumer new assurance of this administration's concern for his and her welfare in the marketplace. In manifesting this concern during the past two years, the responsibility of the President's Committee on Consumer Interests has grown, as has its impact on consumer problems. I have therefore signed today a new Executive Order [11583] creating a new Office of Consumer Affairs in the Executive Office of the President. I am appointing my Special Assistant for Consumer Affairs to be Director of this new office. This change reflects the increasingly broad scope of responsibilities assigned to the Special Assistant for Consumer Affairs and will increase the effectiveness of the Office. The Office will advise me on matters of consumer interests, and will also assume primary responsibility for coordinating all Federal activity in the consumer field.

Finally, while I am deeply concerned with obtaining justice for all consumers, I have a special concern to see justice for those who, in a sense, need it most and are least able to get it. Therefore, I am directing my Special Assistant for Consumer Affairs to focus particular attention in the new Office on the coordination of consumer programs aimed at assisting those with limited income, the elderly, the disadvantaged, and minority group members.

A Consumer Advocate

In my message of October 30, 1969, I pointed out that effective representation of the consumer requires that an appropriate arm of the government be given the tools to serve as an advocate before

the Federal agencies. I proposed then that this function be performed by a Consumer Protection Division created for the purpose and located within the Department of Justice. That proposal was not acted on.

Since that time my Advisory Council on Executive Organization has completed its Report on Selected Independent Regulatory Agencies. This report makes sweeping recommendations on the reorganization of those agencies for the purpose of helping them better serve the interests of the consumer.

One specific recommendation involves the creation of a new Federal Trade Practices Agency dealing exclusively with matters of consumer protection. This Agency would result from a general restructuring of the Federal Trade Commission. The report specifically suggests that a consumer advocate might be placed within the Federal Trade Practices Agency.

I believe that this is a better approach than the creation of still another independent agency which would only add to the proliferation of agencies without dealing with the problems of effectiveness to which the Advisory Council report addresses itself.

As I indicated at the release of the Advisory Council's report, I am delaying legislative proposals on these issues pending full public discussion of the findings and recommendations of the Council. I urge that those who comment on the Advisory Council recommendations also focus on the manner in which the consumer interest can best be represented in Federal agency proceedings. I further urge the Congress to view the problems of consumer advocacy and agency structure as part of the general problem of making the Federal Government sufficiently responsive to the consumer interest.

After April 20, when comments have been received, I will make the recommendations I consider necessary to provide effective representation of consumer interests in the regulatory process. If the Congress feels it must proceed on the matter of consumer advocacy prior to receiving my recommendations, then I strongly urge and would support, as an interim measure, the placement of the advocacy function within the Federal Trade Commission.

A Product Safety Act

Technology, linked with the American free enterprise system, has brought great advantages and great advances to our way of life. It has also brought certain hazards.

The increasing complexity and sophistication of many of our consumer goods are sometimes accompanied by the increasing possibility of product failure, malfunction, or inadvertent misuse resulting in physical danger to the consumer.

Therefore, I propose legislation providing broad Federal authority for comprehensive regulation of hazardous consumer products.

This product safety legislation will encompass five major responsibilities which would be assigned to a new consumer product safety organization within the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Through this organization the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare will:

1. Gather data on injuries from consumer products;

2. Make preliminary determinations of the need for particular standards;

3. Develop proposed safety standards with reliance on recognized private standards setting organizations;

4. Promulgate standards after a hearing and testimony on the benefits and burdens of the proposed legislation; and

5. Monitor industry compliance and enforce mandatory standards.

The mechanisms which will be included in this bill provide for full participation on the part of private organizations and groups in the development of standards.

National Attack on Consumer Fraud

Consumer fraud and deception jeopardize the health and welfare of our people. They cheat consumers of millions of dollars annually. They are often directed against those who can least afford the loss, and are least able to defend themselves—the elderly, the handicapped, and the poor.

At the same time, the honest businessman is damaged by fraud and deceptive practices every bit as much as the consumer—and perhaps more. He is subjected to the unfair competition of the unscrupulous businessman, and he loses money. He is subjected to the opprobrium of those who have suffered at the hands of unscrupulous businessmen, and he loses the goodwill of the public. For it is a fact, however unfortunate, that in the area of business especially, the many are commonly judged by the actions of the few.

Efforts to eliminate these unethical business practices have not been successful enough. It is commonly profitable for unscrupulous businessmen to operate in defiance of the enforcement authorities, to accept whatever penalties and punishments are incurred, and to continue to operate in spite of these. The penalty is just part of the overhead. I want these practices brought to an end.

With this message I am committing this administration to a full and forceful effort to see that they are brought to an end.

CONSUMER FRAUD PREVENTION ACT

I am again submitting and I urge prompt attention to a bill to make unlawful a broad but clearly defined range of practices which are deceptive to consumers. The legislation would provide that the Department of Justice be given new powers to enforce prohibitions against those who would victimize consumers by fraudulent and deceptive practices.

It would give consumers who have been victimized by such practices the right to bring cases in the Federal courts to recover damages, upon the successful termination of a government suit under the Consumer Fraud Prevention Act.

I am also recommending civil penalties of up to $10,000 for each offense in violation of this act.

The Department of Justice has created a new Consumer Protection Section within the Antitrust Division, which has centralized the Department's enforcement in the courts of existing statutes designed to protect the consumer interest. Thus the Department of Justice is prepared to enforce promptly the proposed Consumer Fraud Prevention Act.

FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION

While there is a need for new legislation to insure the rights of the consumer,

there is also a need to make more effective use of the legislation we already have, and of the institutions charged with enforcing this legislation.

A principal function of the Federal Trade Commission has historically been to serve as the consumers' main line of resistance to commercial abuse. In the past year the Commission, under new leadership, has been substantially strengthened. A major organizational restructuring has produced within the Commission a Bureau of Consumer Protection, a Bureau of Competition, and a Bureau of Economics. An Office of Policy Planning and Evaluation has been created to establish a more effective ordering of priorities for the Commission's enforcement efforts.

In order to make FTC procedures more responsive to the needs of consumers, responsibilities of the eleven Commission field offices have been extended to include trying cases before hearing examiners in the field, negotiating settlements, conducting investigations, and referring complaints to the Commission. Six Consumer Protection Coordinating Committees have been established in selected metropolitan areas.

I am submitting today legislation which would provide the FTC with the authority to seek preliminary injunctions in Federal courts against what it deems to be unfair or deceptive business practices. The present inability to obtain injunctions commonly results in the passage of extended periods of time before relief can be obtained. During this time the practices in question continue, and their effects multiply.

The proposed bill would expand the jurisdiction of the Commission to include those activities "affecting" interstate commerce, as well as those activities which are "in" interstate commerce.

Finally, I recommend that the penalty schedule for violation of a Commission cease-and-desist order be adjusted from a maximum of $5,000 per violation to a maximum of $10,000 per violation.

GUARANTEES AND WARRANTIES

A constant source of misunderstanding between consumer and businessman is the question of warranties. Guarantees and warranties are often found to be unclear or deceptive.

In 1970, I submitted a proposal for legislation to meet this problem. I am submitting new legislation for this purpose.

This proposal would increase the authority of the Federal Trade Commission to require that guarantees and warranties on consumer goods convey adequate information in simple and readily understood terms.

It would further seek to prevent deceptive warranties; and it would prohibit improper use of a written warranty or guarantee to avoid implied warranty obligations arising under State law.

CONSUMER FRAUD CLEARINGHOUSE

My Special Assistant for Consumer Affairs is examining the feasibility of a consumer fraud clearinghouse—a prompt exchange of information between appropriate Federal, State and local law enforcement officials which can be especially helpful in identifying those who perpetrate fraudulent, unfair and deceptive practices upon the consumer and deprive the honest businessman of his legitimate opportunities in the marketplace.

Upon her recommendation, I am asking the FTC to explore with State and local consumer law enforcement officials an effective mechanism for such an exchange.

Consumer Education

Legislative remedies and improved enforcement procedures are powerful weapons in the fight for consumer justice. But as important as these are, they are only as effective as an aware and an informed public make them. Consumer education is an integral part of consumer protection. It is vital if the consumer is to be able to make wise judgments in the marketplace. To enable him or her to do this will require a true educational process beginning in childhood and continuing on.

The Office of the Special Assistant for Consumer Affairs has established guidelines for consumer education suggested for use at the elementary and high school level. Those guidelines have been sent to every school system in the country, and their reception has been encouraging. I believe they mark an effective step toward developing an informed consumer. The Office has also begun the development of suggested guidelines for adult and continuing education with particular emphasis on special socio-economic groups and senior citizens.

Now, in order to expand and lend assistance to Consumer Education activities across the nation, I am asking the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, in coordination with my Special Assistant for Consumer Affairs, to work with the nation's education system to (1) promote the establishment of consumer education as a national educational concern; (2) provide technical assistance in the development of programs; (3) encourage teacher training in consumer education; and (4) solicit the use of all school and public libraries as consumer information centers.

I am also asking the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, in coordination with my Special Assistant for Consumer Affairs, to develop and design programs for the most effective dissemination of consumer information, and particularly to explore the use of the mass media, including the Corporation for Public Broadcasting.

Additional Proposals

consumer remedies

As we move to shape new consumer legislation, I believe we must also review all consumer remedies. Although this is primarily a matter of State and local responsibility, I believe that the problem is also of national concern. Accordingly, I am asking the Chairman of the Administrative Conference of the United States to join with other interested citizens representing a broad spectrum of society to undertake a thorough study of the adequacy of existing procedures for resolving disputes arising out of consumer transactions.

The study would (1) focus particularly on the means of handling small claims and explore methods for making small claims courts more responsive to the needs of consumers; (2) examine existing and potential voluntary settlement procedures, including arbitration, and potential means of creating incentives to voluntary, fair settlements of consumer disputes; (3) address the difficult and troublesome questions presented by mass litigation; (4)

examine problems and solutions at the State as well as the Federal level; and (5) draw on the experience of other nations in improving consumer remedies.

The purpose of this study will be to gather those facts needed to determine the means of gaining the greatest benefit to consumers with the least cost to production processes and to the country. I urge Federal, State, local, and private bodies to cooperate in this effort. I also ask that recommendations to the President, the Congress, the courts and the general public be made within the shortest practicable time.

FOOD AND DRUG PROGRAMS

Events in the past year have reconfirmed the need for urgent action to insure thorough and effective quality control through the Food and Drug Administration over the food Americans consume and the drugs they take.

In my message of October 30, 1969, I called for stronger efforts in the field of food and drug safety.

At that time I announced that the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare had initiated a thorough study of the Food and Drug Administration. As a result of that study, a number of management reforms have contributed to a more effective functioning of the FDA.

Food. During the past two years consumer concern about the quality of certain foods in this nation has become acute. I have instructed the Food and Drug Administration to develop new and better methods for inspecting foods—domestic and imported—to insure that they are entirely free from all natural or artificial contamination. In addition, a major study is under way reviewing the safety of all food additives. Finally, because too many Americans have no understanding of the most basic nutritional principles, the Food and Drug Administration has developed programs of nutritional guidelines and nutritional labeling. Different approaches to labeling are presently being tested for method and effectiveness.

Drugs. In the past year the Food and Drug Administration has been engaged in an extensive program to insure the effectiveness of the drugs Americans use. Decisions have been made on some 3,000 drugs marketed between 1938 and 1962 and representing 80% of the most commonly prescribed drugs.

In addition, the Food and Drug Administration will expand its research efforts aimed at insuring that all drugs available on the market are capable of producing the therapeutic effects claimed for them.

I have resubmitted legislation requiring the identification coding of drug tablets and capsules to prevent those poisonings which result from the use of drug products of unknown or mistaken composition.

A CONSUMER PRODUCT TEST METHODS ACT

Consumers are properly concerned with the reliability of the information furnished them about the goods they buy, and I believe they have a right to such information.

Accordingly, I again propose legislation aimed at stimulating product testing in the private sector. Under this legislation, the Secretary of Commerce, through the National Bureau of Standards, in consultation with my Special Assistant for Consumer Affairs, would identify products that should be tested. Competent

Federal agencies would identify product characteristics that should be tested and would approve and develop, where necessary, testing methods to assess those characteristics. Suppliers of goods would be permitted to advertise their compliance with government approved testing standards. In addition, interested private organizations may receive accreditation indicating their competence to perform the approved tests, and the use of an accredited organization in testing a product may be advertised.

NATIONAL BUSINESS COUNCIL FOR CONSUMER AFFAIRS

Most businessmen recognize and accept their responsibility to the consumer, and in many cases they have voluntarily undertaken efforts to assure more fully that these responsibilities are met throughout the business community.

To emphasize and encourage such voluntary activity, a National Business Council for Consumer Affairs will be organized by the Secretary of Commerce. It will work closely with my Special Assistant for Consumer Affairs, the Federal Trade Commission, the Justice Department and others as appropriate in the further development of effective policies to benefit American consumers.

The Council will be a vehicle through which Government can work with business leaders to establish programs for accomplishing the goal I stated in my 1969 message on consumer protection of fostering "a marketplace which is fair both to those who sell and those who buy." And it will encourage everyone who does business to do an even better job of establishing competitive prices for high quality goods and services.

CONCLUSION

In submitting the foregoing proposals, I want to emphasize that the purpose of this program is not to provide the consumer with something to which he is not presently entitled; it is rather to assure that he receives what he is, in every way, fully entitled to. The continued success of our free enterprise system depends in large measure upon the mutual trust and goodwill of those who consume and those who produce or provide.

Today, in America, there is a general sense of trust and goodwill toward the world of business. Those who violate that trust and abuse that goodwill do damage to the free enterprise system. Thus, it is not only to protect the consumer, but also to protect that system and the honest men who have created and who maintain it that I urge the prompt passage of this legislative program.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
February 24, 1971

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released a fact sheet outlining major features of the consumer protection program and the transcript of a news briefing on the message by Virginia H. Knauer, Special Assistant to the President for Consumer Affairs; Lewis A. Engman, General Counsel, Office of the Special Assistant to the President for Consumer Affairs; and Elliot L. Richardson, Secretary, and Patricia R. Hitt, Assistant Secretary for Community and Field Services, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

73 Radio Address About Second Annual Foreign Policy Report to the Congress. *February* 25, 1971

Good morning, my fellow Americans:

Over the past 10 years, Presidents of the United States have come before the American people in times of crisis to talk about war or the threat of war.

Today I am able to talk to you in a more hopeful and positive vein—about how we are moving this Nation and the world toward a lasting peace.

We have brought ourselves to a time of transition, from war toward peace, and this is a good time to gain some perspective on where we are and where we are headed.

Today I am sending to the Congress my second annual comprehensive report on the conduct of our foreign affairs. It discusses not only what we have done but why we have done it, and how we intend to proceed in the future.

I do not intend to summarize all that is in my detailed report on foreign policy at this time. Instead, I would like to focus on three key points:

—How we are getting out of the war this Nation has been in for the past 6 years;

—How we have created a new and different foreign policy approach for the United States in a greatly changed world; and

—How we are applying that approach in working with others to build a lasting peace.

The most immediate and anguishing problem that faced this Administration 2 years ago was the war in Vietnam.

We have come a long way since then.

Two years ago, when this Administration took office, there were almost 550,000 Americans in Vietnam. Within 60 days we will have brought home 260,000 men, and this spring I will announce a new schedule of withdrawals.

Two years ago, our casualties each month were five times as high as they are today.

Two years ago, the additional demands of the Vietnam war cost us approximately $22 billion per year. That cost has been cut in half.

Much of the progress in Vietnam was due to the success of the allied operations against the enemy sanctuaries in Cambodia last spring.

The clear proof is in this figure: American casualties after Cambodia have been half the rate they were before Cambodia. Our decision to clean out the sanctuaries in Cambodia saved thousands of American lives. And it enabled us to continue withdrawing our men on schedule.

Just as last year's cutoff of supplies through Cambodia has saved lives and insured our withdrawal program this year, the purpose of this year's disruption of the Ho Chi Minh Trail in Laos is to save lives and insure the success of our withdrawal program next year.

The disruption of the Communist supply line through Laos is being accomplished by South Vietnamese troops, with no U.S. ground troops or advisers. Their army is doing the fighting, with our air support, and the intensity of the fighting is evidence of the importance of that supply line to the enemy.

Consider this combination of events that many people thought was impossible only 2 years ago:

We have kept our commitments as we have taken out our troops. South Vietnam now has an excellent opportunity not only

to survive but to build a strong, free society.

Thanks to the disruption of so much of the enemy's supplies, Americans are leaving South Vietnam in safety; we would much prefer to leave South Vietnam in peace. Negotiation remains the best and quickest way to end the war in a way that will not only end U.S. involvement and casualties but will mean an end to the fighting between North and South Vietnamese.

On October 7, we made a proposal that could open the door to that kind of peace. We proposed:

—an immediate standstill cease-fire throughout Indochina to stop the fighting,

—an Indochina peace conference,

—the withdrawal of all outside forces,

—a political settlement fair to both sides,

—the immediate release of all prisoners of war.

I reaffirm that proposal today. It is supported by every government in Indochina except one—the Government of North Vietnam.

I once again urge Hanoi to join us in this search for peace.

If North Vietnam wishes to negotiate with the United States, they will have to recognize that time is running out. With the exception of the prisoners-of-war issue, if North Vietnam continues to refuse to discuss our peace proposals, they will soon find they have no choice but to negotiate only with the South Vietnamese.

Our eventual goal is a total withdrawal of all outside forces. But as long as North Vietnam continues to hold a single American prisoner, we shall have forces in South Vietnam. The American prisoners of war will not be forgotten by their Government.

I am keeping my pledge to end America's involvement in this war. But the main point I want to discuss with you today—and the main theme of my report to the Congress—is the future, not the past. It matters very much how we end this war.

To end a war is simple.

But to end a war in a way that will not bring on another war is far from simple.

In Southeast Asia today, aggression is failing—thanks to the determination of the South Vietnamese people and to the courage and sacrifice of America's fighting men.

That brings us to a point that we have been at several times before in this century: aggression turned back, a war ending.

We are at a critical moment in history: What America does—or fails to do—will determine whether peace and freedom can be won in the coming generation.

That is why the way in which we end this conflict is so crucial to our efforts to build a lasting peace in coming decades.

The right way out of Vietnam is crucial to our changing role in the world and to peace in the world.

To understand the nature of the new American role we must consider the great historical changes that have taken place.

For 25 years after World War II, the United States was not only the leader of the non-Communist world, it was the primary supporter and defender of this free world as well.

—But today our allies and friends have gained new strength and self-confidence. They are now able to participate much more fully not only

71-234—72——17

in their own defense but in adding their moral and spiritual strength to the creation of a stable world order.

—Today our adversaries no longer present a solidly united front; we can now differentiate in our dealings with them.

—Today neither the United States nor the Soviet Union has a clear-cut nuclear advantage; the time is therefore ripe to come to an agreement on the control of arms.

The world has changed. Our foreign policy must change with it.

We have learned in recent years the dangers of over-involvement. The other danger—a grave risk we are equally determined to avoid—is under-involvement. After a long and unpopular war, there is temptation to turn inward—to withdraw from the world, to back away from our commitments. That deceptively smooth road of the new isolationism is surely the road to war.

Our foreign policy today steers a steady course between the past danger of over-involvement and the new temptation of under-involvement.

That policy, which I first enunciated in Guam 19 months ago,[1] represents our basic approach to the world:

We will maintain our commitments, but we will make sure our own troop levels or any financial support to other nations is appropriate to current threats and needs.

We shall provide a shield if a nuclear power threatens the freedom of a nation allied with us or of a nation whose survival we consider vital to our security.

But we will look to threatened countries and their neighbors to assume primary responsibility for their own defense, and we will provide support where our interests call for that support and where it can make a difference.

These principles are not limited to security matters.

We shall pursue economic policies at home and abroad that encourage trade wherever possible and that strengthen political ties between nations. As we actively seek to help other nations expand their economies, we can legitimately expect them to work with us in averting economic problems of our own.

As we continue to send economic aid to developing nations, we will expect countries on the receiving end to mobilize their resources; we will look to other developed nations to do more in furnishing assistance; and we will channel our aid increasingly through groups of nations banded together for mutual support.

This new sharing of responsibility requires not less American leadership than in the past, but rather a new, more subtle, form of leadership. No single nation can build a peace alone; peace can only be built by the willing hands—and minds—of all. In the modern world, leadership cannot be "do-it-yourself"—the path of leadership is in providing the help, the motive, the inspiration to do it together.

In carrying out what is referred to as the Nixon Doctrine, we recognize that we cannot transfer burdens too swiftly. We must strike a balance between doing too much and preventing self-reliance, and suddenly doing too little and undermining self-confidence. We intend to give our friends the time and the means to adjust, materially and psychologically, to a new form of American participation in the world.

How have we applied our new foreign policy during the past year? And what is

[1] See 1969 volume, Item 279.

our future agenda as we work with others to build a stable world order?

In Western Europe, we have shifted from predominance to partnership with our allies. Our ties with Western Europe are central to the structure of peace because its nations are rich in tradition and experience, strong economically, vigorous in diplomacy and culture; they are in a position to take a major part in building a world of peace.

Our ties were strengthened on my second trip to Europe this summer and reflected in our close consultation on arms control negotiations. At our suggestion, the NATO alliance made a thorough review of its military strategy and posture. As a result, we have reached new agreement on a strong defense and the need to share the burden more fairly.

In Eastern Europe, our exchange of state visits with Romania and my meeting last fall with Marshal Tito in Yugoslavia are examples of our search for wider reconciliation with the nations that used to be considered behind an Iron Curtain.

Looking ahead in Europe:

—We shall cooperate in our political and economic relations across the Atlantic as the Common Market grows.

—We and our allies will make the improvements necessary to carry out our common defense strategy.

—Together we stand ready to reduce forces in Western Europe in exchange for mutual reductions in Eastern Europe.

The problems of Africa are great, but so is her potential. The United States will support her peoples' efforts to build a continent that provides social justice and economic expansion.

Turning to our own hemisphere: In Latin America, there was too much tendency in the past to take our closest friends and neighbors for granted. Recently, we have paid new respect to their proud traditions. Our trade, credit, and economic policies have been reexamined and reformed to respond to their concerns and their ideas, as well as to our own interests.

Our new Latin American policy is designed to help them help themselves; our new attitude will not only aid their progress but add to their dignity.

Great changes are brewing throughout the American hemisphere. We can have no greater goal than to help provide the means for necessary change to be accomplished in peace and for all change to be in the direction of greater self-reliance.

Turning to the Far East: a new Asia is emerging. The old enmities of World War II are dead or dying. Asian states are stronger and are joining together in vigorous regional groupings.

Here the doctrine that took shape last year is taking hold today, helping to spur self-reliance and cooperation between states. In Japan, South Korea, Thailand, and the Philippines, we have consolidated bases and reduced American forces. We have relaxed trade and travel restrictions to underline our readiness for greater contact with Communist China.

Looking ahead in that area:

—While continuing to help our friends help themselves, we must begin to consider how regional associations can work together with the major powers in the area for a durable peace.

—We will work to build a strong partnership with Japan that will accommodate our mutual interests.

—We will search for consecutive dis-

cussions with Communist China while maintaining our defense commitment to Taiwan. When the Government of the People's Republic of China is ready to engage in talks, it will find us receptive to agreements that further the legitimate national interests of China and its neighbors.

In Asia, we can see tomorrow's world in microcosm. An economically powerful democratic free nation, Japan, is seeking new markets; a potentially powerful Communist nation, China, will one day seek new outlets and new relations; a Communist competitor, the Soviet Union, has interests there as well; and the independent non-Communist nations of Southeast Asia are already working together in regional association. These great forces are bound to interact in the not too distant future. In the way they work together and in the way we cooperate with their relationship is the key to permanent peace in that area—the Far East, the scene of such a painful legacy of the recent past, can become an example of peace and stability in the future.

In the Middle East, the United States took the initiative to stop the fighting and start the process of peace.

Along the Suez Canal a year ago, there was daily combat on the ground and in the air. Diplomacy was at an impasse. The danger of local conflict was magnified by growing Soviet involvement and the possibility of great powers being drawn into confrontation.

America took the lead in arranging a cease-fire and getting negotiations started. We are seeing to it that the balance of power, so necessary to discourage a new outbreak of fighting, is not upset. Working behind the scenes, when a crisis arose in Jordan, the United States played a key role in seeing that order was restored and an invasion was abandoned.

We recognize that centuries of suspicion and decades of hostility cannot be ended overnight. There are great obstacles in the way of a permanent, peaceful settlement, and painful compromise is required by all concerned.

We are encouraged by the willingness of each of the parties to begin to look to the larger interest of peace and stability throughout the Middle East. There is still the risk of war, but now—for the first time in years—the parties are actively calculating the risks of peace.

The policy of the United States will continue to be to promote peace talks—not to try to impose a peace from the outside, but to support the peace efforts of the parties in the region themselves.

One way to support these efforts is for the United States to discourage any outside power from trying to exploit the situation for its own advantage.

Another way for us to help turn a tenuous truce into a permanent settlement is this: The United States is fully prepared to play a responsible and cooperative role in keeping the peace arrived at through negotiation between the parties.

We know what our vital interests are in the Middle East. Those interests include friendly and constructive relations with all nations in the area. Other nations know that we are ready to protect those vital interests. And one good reason why other nations take us at our word in the Middle East is because the United States has kept its word in Southeast Asia.

We now come to a matter that affects every nation: the relations between the world's two great super powers.

Over the past 2 years, in some fields the Soviet Union and the United States have moved ahead together. We have taken the first step toward cooperation in outer space. We have both ratified the treaty limiting the spread of nuclear weapons. Just 2 weeks ago, we signed a treaty to prohibit nuclear weapons from the seabeds.

These are hopeful signs, but certain other Soviet actions are reason for concern. There is need for much more cooperation in reducing tensions in the Middle East and in ending harassment of Berlin. We must also discourage the temptation to raise new challenges in sensitive areas such as the Caribbean.

In the long run, the most significant result of negotiations between the super powers in the past year could be in the field of arms control.

The strategic arms limitation talks with the Soviet Union have produced the most searching examination of the nature of strategic competition ever conducted between our two nations. Each side has had the chance to explain at length the concerns caused by the posture of the other side. The talks have been conducted in a serious way without the old lapses into propaganda.

If both sides continue in this way, there is reason to hope that specific agreements will be reached to curb the arms race.

Taking a first step in limiting the capacity of mankind to destroy itself would mark a turning point in the history of the postwar world; it would add to the security of both the Soviet Union and the United States, and it would add to the world's peace of mind.

In all our relations with the Soviets, we shall make the most progress by recognizing that in many cases our national interests are not the same. It serves no purpose to pretend they are; our differences are not matters of mood, they are matters of substance. But in many other cases, our separate national interests can best be pursued by a sober consideration of the world interest.

The United States will deal, as it must, from strength: We will not reduce our defenses below the level I consider essential to our national security.

A strong America is essential to the cause of peace today. Until we have the kind of agreements we can rely on, we shall remain strong.

But America's power will always be used for building a peace, never for breaking it—only for defending freedom, never for destroying it.

America's strength will be, as it must be, second to none; but the strength that this Nation is proudest of is the strength of our determination to create a peaceful world.

We all know how every town or city develops a sense of community when its citizens come together to meet a common need.

The common needs of the world today, about which there can be no disagreement or conflict of national interest, are plain to see.

We know that we must act as one world in restoring the world's environment, before pollution of the seas and skies overwhelms every nation. We know we must stop the flow of narcotics; we must counter the outbreaks of hijacking and kidnaping; we must share the great discoveries about the oceans and outer space.

The United States is justly proud of the

lead it has taken in working within the United Nations, and within the NATO alliance, to come to grips with these problems and with these opportunities.

Our work here is a beginning, not only in coping with the new challenges of technology and modern life but of developing a worldwide "sense of community" that will ease tension, reduce suspicion, and thereby promote the process of peace.

That process can only flourish in a climate of mutual respect.

We can have that mutual respect with our friends, without dominating them or without letting them down.

We can have that mutual respect with our adversaries, without compromising our principles or weakening our resolve.

And we can have that mutual respect among ourselves, without stifling dissent or losing our capacity for action.

Our goal is something Americans have not enjoyed in this century: a full generation of peace. A full generation of peace depends not only on the policy of one party or of one nation or one alliance or one bloc of nations.

Peace for the next generation depends on our ability to make certain that each nation has a share in its shaping, and that every nation has a stake in its lasting.

This is the hard way, requiring patience, restraint, understanding, and—when necessary—bold, decisive action. But history has taught us that the old diplomacy of imposing a peace by the fiat of great powers simply does not work.

I believe that the new diplomacy of partnership, of mutual respect, of dealing with strength and determination will work.

I believe that the right degree of American involvement—not too much and not too little—will evoke the right response from our other partners on this globe in building for our children the kind of world they deserve: a world of opportunity in a world without war.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11 a.m. in a room adjoining the Oval Office at the White House. His remarks were broadcast live on radio.

An advance text of the President's address was released on the same day.

74 Message to the Congress Transmitting Second Annual Report on United States Foreign Policy. *February* 25, 1971

To the Congress of the United States:

In a democracy, policy is the public's business. I believe the President has an obligation to lay before the American people and its Congress the basic premises of his policy and to report fully on the issues, developments, and prospects confronting the Nation.

Shortly before my inauguration, I concluded that an annual Presidential report on foreign policy would serve these ends well. Each report would measure progress and outline what remains to be done.

I hereby transmit to The Congress the second annual Presidential review of United States foreign policy.

This year my message will be supplemented by two major documents: the Secretary of State's review—the first of its kind—and the annual Defense Report by the Secretary of Defense. Both of these will be comprehensive and detailed accounts, filling out the basic framework and philosophy set forth in this Presidential message.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
February 25, 1971

75 Second Annual Report to the Congress on United States Foreign Policy. *February* 25, 1971

INTRODUCTION

"No goal could be greater than to make the next generation the first in this century in which America was at peace with every nation in the world."

Address on the
State of the Union
January 22, 1970

In the first year of this Administration we outlined a new American role. In 1970, we implemented policies which embody our new purpose.

This year, as any year, saw crises. We dealt with them without new war and while winding down the war we inherited. But our fundamental goal is deeper. It is to get at the roots of crises and to build a durable structure of international relationships.

This second annual report to the Congress and the Nation, therefore, like the first, is more than a recital of events. It reviews the premises and philosophy of our foreign policy and discusses events in the context of purposes. It explains why we have done as we have, and sets forth our hopes and concerns for the years to come.

A PERIOD OF TRANSITION

This Administration must lead the nation through a fundamental transition in foreign policy.

As I explained in last year's report, we are at the end of an era. The postwar order of international relations—the configuration of power that emerged from the Second World War—is gone. With it are gone the conditions which have determined the assumptions and practice of United States foreign policy since 1945.

No single sudden upheaval marked the end of the postwar era in the way that the World Wars of this century shattered the prewar orders of international relations. But the cumulative change since 1945 is profound nonetheless:

—Western Europe and Japan, nations physically or psychologically debilitated by the war, have regained their economic vitality, social cohesion, and political self-assurance. Their new vigor transforms our relationship into a more balanced and dynamic coalition of independent states.

—New nations have found identity and

self-confidence and are acting autonomously on the world stage. They are able to shoulder more responsibility for their own security and well-being.

—In the last 20 years, the nature of the Communist challenge has been transformed. The Stalinist bloc has fragmented into competing centers of doctrine and power. One of the deepest conflicts in the world today is between Communist China and the Soviet Union. The most prevalent Communist threats now are not massive military invasions, but a more subtle mix of military, psychological, and political pressures. These developments complicate the patterns of diplomacy, presenting both new problems and new prospects.

—At the same time, the Soviet Union has expanded its military power on a global scale and has moved from an inferior status in strategic weapons to one comparable to the United States. This shift in the military equation has changed both defense doctrines and the context of diplomacy.

—Around the globe, East and West, the rigid bipolar world of the 1940's and 1950's has given way to the fluidity of a new era of multilateral diplomacy. Fifty-one nations joined the United Nations at its founding in 1945; today 127 are members. It is an increasingly heterogeneous and complex world, and the dangers of local conflict are magnified. But so, too, are the opportunities for creative diplomacy.

—Increasingly we see new issues that transcend geographic and ideological borders and confront the world community of nations. Many flow from the nature of modern technology. They reflect a shrinking globe and expanding interdependence. They include the challenges of exploring new frontiers of space and sea and the dangers of polluting the planet. These global issues call for a new dimension of international cooperation.

The New American Role

How is America to conduct itself in a world so different? How should we define the form and content of American participation in the 1970's?

In the era of American predominance, we resorted to American prescriptions as well as resources. In the new era, our friends are revitalized and increasingly self-reliant while the American domestic consensus has been strained by 25 years of global responsibilities. Failure to draw upon the growth of others would have stifled them and exhausted ourselves. Partnership that was always theoretically desirable is now physically and psychologically imperative.

In the era of overwhelming U.S. military strength, we and our allies could rely on the doctrine of massive retaliation. In the new era, growing Soviet power has altered the military equation. Failure to adapt to this change could lead to confrontations which pose an agonizing choice between paralysis and holocaust. Strength that served the cause of peace during a period of relative superiority needs new definitions to keep the peace during a period of relative equality.

In the era of Communist solidarity we pursued an undifferentiated negotiating approach toward Communist countries. In the new era, we see a multipolar Communism marked by a variety of attitudes toward the rest of the world. Failure to

respond to this diversity would have ignored new opportunities for improving relations. Negotiation with different Communist countries on specific issues carries more promise.

Finally, in the new era, unprecedented challenges beckon nations to set aside doctrine and focus on a common agenda. A new global partnership could promote habits of working for the world's interests instead of narrow national interests.

We in this generation have before us an historic opportunity to turn the transformations of the last 25 years into new avenues for peace, and to realize the creative possibilities of a pluralistic world. We must begin with the vision of the world we seek, to infuse our actions with a sense of direction. We need a vision so that crises do not consume our energies, and tactics do not dominate our policies.

America has always had a belief in a purpose larger than itself. Two centuries ago our mission was to be a unique exemplar of free government. Two decades ago it was to take up worldwide burdens of securing the common defense, economic recovery, and political stability.

Today we must work with other nations to build an enduring structure of peace. We seek a new and stable framework of international relationships:

—which reflects the contributions and reconciles the aspirations of nations.

—which is cemented by the shared goal of coexistence and the shared practice of accommodation.

—which liberates countries and continents to realize their destinies free from the threat of war.

—which promotes social justice and human dignity.

Our participation remains crucial. Because of the abundance of our resources and the stretch of our technology, America's impact on the world remains enormous, whether by our action or by our inaction. Our awareness of the world is too keen, and our concern for peace too deep, for us to remove the measure of stability which we have provided for the past 25 years.

But we need the resources and concepts of others so that they will build this structure with us. For it will not endure unless other nations sense that it is also of their making. Their growth in the past decades enables other nations to do more, and peace in the coming decades will require all nations to do some.

With others we will strive for something that America and the world have not experienced in this century, a full generation of peace.

The first step, of course, is to still the sound of war. We are moving toward that goal. Beyond that, we are focusing on something that men alive today can achieve for themselves and their children, on a span of peace we can realize here and now. This will be our ultimate test.

Thus the core of our new foreign policy is a partnership that reflects the basic theme of the international structure we seek. Its necessary adjuncts are strength to secure our interests and negotiation to reconcile them with the interests of others. Its fullest extension encompasses adversaries as well as friends.

It will take many years to shape the new American role. The transition from the past is underway but far from completed. During this period the task of maintaining a balance abroad and at home will test the capacity of American leadership and the understanding of the American people.

Adjustments in our policies surely will be required, but our experience in 1970

71-234—72——18

confirmed the basic soundness of our approach.

We have set a new direction. We are on course.

PART I: THE NIXON DOCTRINE

"It is not my belief that the way to peace is by giving up our friends or letting down our allies. On the contrary, our aim is to place America's international commitments on a sustainable, long-term basis, to encourage local and regional initiatives, to foster national independence and self-sufficiency, and by so doing to strengthen the total fabric of peace."

Address to the United Nations
General Assembly
September 18, 1969

This Administration began with the conviction that a global structure of peace requires a strong but redefined American role. In other countries there was growing strength and autonomy. In our own there was nascent isolationism in reaction to overextension. In the light of these changed conditions, we could not continue on the old path.

We need to replace the impulses of the previous era: both our instinct that we knew what was best for others and their temptation to lean on our prescriptions. We need to head off possible overreactions in the new era: a feeling on our part that we need not help others, and a conclusion on their part that they cannot count on America at all. We need to strengthen relations with allies and friends, and to evoke their commitment to their own future and to the international system.

Perception of the growing imbalance between the scope of America's role and the potential of America's partners thus prompted the Nixon Doctrine. It is the key to understanding what we have done during the past two years, why we have done it, and where we are going.

The Doctrine seeks to reflect these realities:

—that a major American role remains indispensable.

—that other nations can and should assume greater responsibilities, for their sake as well as ours.

—that the change in the strategic relationship calls for new doctrines.

—that the emerging polycentrism of the Communist world presents different challenges and new opportunities.

Toward New Forms of Partnership

The tangible expression of the new partnership is in greater material contributions by other countries. But we must first consider its primary purpose—to help make a peace that belongs to all.

For this venture we will look to others for a greater share in the definition of policy as well as in bearing the costs of programs. This psychological reorientation is more fundamental than the material redistribution; when countries feel responsible for the formulation of plans they are more apt to furnish the assets needed to make them work.

For America this could be the most critical aspect of the Doctrine. To continue our predominant contribution might not have been beyond our physical resources—though our own domestic problems summoned them. But it certainly would have exceeded our psychological resources. For no nation has the wisdom, and the understanding, and the energy required to act wisely on all problems, at all times, in every part of the world. And it asks too much of a people to under-

stand—and therefore support—sweeping and seemingly permanent overseas involvement in local problems, particularly when other countries seem able to make greater efforts themselves.

The intellectual adjustment is a healthy development for other nations as well as for us. It requires them to think hard about some issues that had been removed, or had never appeared, on their national agendas. It is no more in their interest than in ours to place on the United States the onus for complicated decisions—the structure of an army, the outline of a development plan, the components of an economic policy, the framework of a regional alliance.

The Nixon Doctrine, then, should not be thought of primarily as the sharing of burdens or the lightening of our load. It has a more positive meaning for other nations and for ourselves.

In effect we are encouraging countries to participate fully in the creation of plans and the designing of programs. They must define the nature of their own security and determine the path of their own progress. For only in this manner will they think of their fate as truly their own.

This new sharing requires a new, more subtle form of leadership. Before, we often acted as if our role was primarily one of drawing up and selling American blueprints. Now, we must evoke the ideas of others and together consider programs that meet common needs. We will concentrate more on getting other countries engaged with us in the formulation of policies; they will be less involved in trying to influence American decisions and more involved in devising their own approaches.

More than ever before in the period since World War II, foreign policy must become the concern of many rather than few. There cannot be a structure of peace unless other nations help to fashion it. Indeed, in this central fact lie both its hope and its elusiveness: it cannot be built except by the willing hands—and minds—of all.

It was in this context that at Guam in the summer of 1969, and in my November 3, 1969 address to the Nation, I laid out the elements of new partnership.

"First, *the United States will keep all of its treaty commitments.*" We will respect the commitments we inherited—both because of their intrinsic merit, and because of the impact of sudden shifts on regional or world stability. To desert those who have come to depend on us would cause disruption and invite aggression. It is in everyone's interest, however, including those with whom we have ties, to view undertakings as a dynamic process. Maintaining the integrity of commitments requires relating their tangible expression, such as troop deployments or financial contributions, to changing conditions.

The concrete results vary. In South Korea fewer U.S. troops are required, but Korean forces must receive more modern equipment. In NATO a continuing level of U.S. forces and greater European contributions are in order. The best way of maintaining stable relationships with our allies is jointly to reach common conclusions and jointly to act on them.

In contemplating new commitments we will apply rigorous yardsticks. What precisely is our national concern? What precisely is the threat? What would be the efficacy of our involvement? We do not rule out new commitments, but we will relate them to our interests. For as I said in last year's report:

"Our objective, in the first instance, is

to support our *interests* over the long run with a sound foreign policy. The more that policy is based on a realistic assessment of our and others' interests, the more effective our role in the world can be. We are not involved in the world because we have commitments; we have commitments because we are involved. Our interests must shape our commitments, rather than the other way around."

"Second, *we shall provide a shield if a nuclear power threatens the freedom of a nation allied with us or of a nation whose survival we consider vital to our security.*" Nuclear power is the element of security that our friends either cannot provide or could provide only with great and disruptive efforts. Hence, we bear special obligations toward non-nuclear countries. Their concern would be magnified if we were to leave them defenseless against nuclear blackmail, or conventional aggression backed by nuclear power. Nations in a position to build their own nuclear weapons would be likely to do so. And the spread of nuclear capabilities would be inherently destabilizing, multiplying the chances that conflicts could escalate into catastrophic exchanges.

Accordingly, while we maintain our nuclear force, we have encouraged others to forego their own under the Non-Proliferation Treaty. We have assured those signing the NPT that they would not be subject to nuclear blackmail or nuclear aggression. The Soviet Union has done so as well.

"Third, *in cases involving other types of aggression we shall furnish military and economic assistance when requested in accordance with our treaty commitments. But we shall look to the nation directly threatened to assume the primary responsibility of providing the manpower for its defense.*" No President can guarantee that future conflicts will never involve American personnel—but in some theaters the threshold of involvement will be raised and in some instances involvement will be much more unlikely. This principle, first applied to security matters, applies as well to economic development. Our economic assistance will continue to be substantial. But we will expect countries receiving it to mobilize themselves and their resources; we will look to other developed nations to play their full role in furnishing help; and we will channel our aid increasingly through multilateral channels.

We will continue to provide elements of military strength and economic resources appropriate to our size and our interests. But it is no longer natural or possible in this age to argue that security or development around the globe is primarily America's concern. The defense and progress of other countries must be first their responsibility and second, a regional responsibility. Without the foundations of self-help and regional help, American help will not succeed. The United States can and will participate, where our interests dictate, but as *a* weight—not *the* weight—in the scale.

The Process of Implementation

Policy becomes clearer only in the process of translation into programs and actions.

In this process the Nixon Doctrine seeks to reflect the need for continuity as well as the mandate for change. There are two concurrent challenges:

—to carry out our new policy so as to maintain confidence abroad.

—to define our new policy to the American people and to elicit their support.

This transition from bearing the principal burdens to invoking and supporting the efforts of others is difficult and delicate.

Some vestiges of the past consist of essentially sound relationships and valid practices. They should be preserved.

Others must be liquidated, but the method is crucial. Clearly, we could not have continued the inherited policy on Vietnam. Just as clearly, the way in which we set about to resolve this problem has a major impact on our credibility abroad and our cohesion at home. The same is true in other areas where our military presence remained too large, or our economic burden disproportionate, or our attitude paternalistic.

The challenge is not merely to reduce our presence, or redistribute our burden, or change our approach, but to do so in a way that does not call into question our very objectives.

Others judge us—and set their own course—by the steadiness of our performance as well as the merit of our ideas. Abrupt shifts in our policies—no matter how sound in concept—are unsettling, particularly for those who may have committed themselves to past practices at United States urging. For their own political future is involved. If we acquired a reputation for unsteadiness, we would isolate ourselves. We must avoid practicing either consistency or novelty for its own sake.

For the mood among many of our friends is ambivalent. They seek autonomy but still presume American initiative. They at once realize the need for their new independent role, welcome it, and are apprehensive about its responsibilities. The Nixon Doctrine recognizes that we cannot abandon friends, and must not transfer burdens too swiftly. We must strike a balance between doing too much and thus preventing self-reliance, and doing too little and thus undermining self-confidence.

This balance we seek abroad is crucial. We only compound insecurity if we modify our protective or development responsibilities without giving our friends the time and the means to adjust, materially and psychologically, to a new form of American participation in the world.

Precipitate shrinking of the American role would not bring peace. It would not reduce America's stake in a turbulent world. It would not solve our problems, either abroad or at home.

The need for steadiness overseas has a domestic corollary. While striking a balance in the world it is also necessary, and in some ways even more difficult, to find the proper balance at home.

For the American people have grown somewhat weary of 25 years of international burdens. This weariness was coming in any event, but the anguish of the Vietnam war hastened it, or at least our awareness of it. Many Americans, frustrated by the conflict in Southeast Asia, have been tempted to draw the wrong conclusions. There are lessons to be learned from our Vietnam experience—about unconventional warfare and the role of outside countries, the nature of commitments, the balance of responsibilities, the need for public understanding and support. But there is also a lesson *not* to be drawn: that the only antidote for undifferentiated involvement is indiscriminate retreat.

Our experience in the 1960's has underlined the fact that we should not do more abroad than domestic opinion can sustain. But we cannot let the pendulum swing in the other direction, sweeping us toward an isolationism which could be as disastrous as excessive zeal.

Thus, while lowering our overseas presence and direct military involvement, our new policy calls for a new form of leadership, not abdication of leadership. This policy must not only reflect a changed public will. It must shape a new consensus for a balanced and positive American role.

While cutting back overseas forces prudently, we must resist the automatic reduction of the American presence everywhere without regard to consequences. While trimming our defense budget where possible and adjusting defenses to modern realities, we must resist ritualistic voting against defense spending. Mere scaling down is not an end in itself. We need to determine the proper role for our forces abroad; the level of assistance for allied forces; and the shape of our respective budgets.

The Nixon Doctrine will enable us to remain committed in ways that we can sustain. The solidity of domestic support in turn will reverberate overseas with continued confidence in American performance.

The Record of Implementation

Different national and regional circumstances dictate variations in style, speed, and substance in implementing the Nixon Doctrine. This past year the sharing of responsibilities was reflected in various ways.

In some areas the Nixon Doctrine resulted in reduced American presence:

—In Vietnam, we progressively transferred combat burdens in an on-going war. Vietnamization produced substantial improvement in South Vietnamese forces, the withdrawal of some 260,000 Americans by May 1 of this year and a decline in American casualties in 1970 to a level 70% below 1968.

—In South Korea, we moved to a more supportive role in the continuing process of deterring a new war. We announced a reduction of 20,000 in the authorized American troop ceiling together with modernization of Korean forces through expanded military assistance.

—Elsewhere in Asia we cut back our forces to reflect our declining involvement in Vietnam and the increased capabilities of our allies. Troop reductions and base consolidations by this July will lower the U.S. presence by some 12,000 in Japan, 5,000 in Okinawa, 16,000 in Thailand and 9,000 in the Philippines.

—Worldwide we cut back the U.S. official presence, civilian and military, for a more efficient and less conspicuous approach. A program begun in November 1969 reduced our government personnel abroad by about 86,000.

In other cases our new approach took different forms:

—In Europe we enlisted greater material and intellectual contributions from our allies. We jointly reviewed NATO strategy and agreed to a realistic defense in which the European conventional share will be relatively

larger. For the ongoing SALT negotiations we stayed in close touch with our allies not only because of their interest but also for their ideas.

—In the Western Hemisphere we have shifted from paternalism to a more balanced partnership. We sought the ideas and initiatives of our neighbors and together strengthened the mechanisms for sharing responsibilities in hemispheric development and diplomacy.

—Our foreign assistance program enabled us to help countries who were helping themselves. Congressional passage of a $1 billion supplemental appropriation at year's end was encouraging recognition that the Nixon Doctrine requires substantial American assistance.

—In our proposals for a new approach to foreign aid we emphasized multilateral institutions and collaboration. We will work more with, and ask more of, others in the development process.

In 1970 there were also examples of policies which belied oversimplified interpretations of the Nixon Doctrine as a formula for heedless withdrawal:

—The Cambodian sanctuary operations were not inconsistent with the plan for American disengagement. Rather they furthered the strategic purpose of insuring the Vietnamization and withdrawal programs.

—Maintaining the present level of U.S. forces in Europe does not contradict the principle of self-help and burden sharing in Asia. Rather it is the best means of eliciting greater partnership in the European theater, while recognizing the reality of the security problem.

—The discreet projection of American presence in the Mediterranean during the Jordanian crisis did not increase the chances of outside intervention. Rather it served as a reminder that outside intervention carried great risks.

The Nixon Doctrine applies most directly to our dealings with allies and friends. But it animates all areas of our new foreign policy:

—*In our economic posture.* We look towards increased U.S. economic and military assistance in certain areas to help our friends make full use of their resources and move on to greater self-reliance. International trade and monetary policies will demand mutual accommodations and adjustment.

—*In our defense posture.* We will provide the nuclear shield of the Nixon Doctrine. Our general purpose forces are more and more keyed to our partners' capabilities, to provide truly flexible response when our commitments are involved. And our security assistance program will provide indispensable support to our friends, especially where there are reductions in U.S. manpower.

—*In our negotiating posture.* When we conduct bilateral negotiations with the USSR, as in SALT, partnership involves close consultations with our allies both to protect their interests and solicit their views. In turn partnership requires our allies, in their negotiations, to pursue their course within a framework of common ob-

jectives. And there are areas of multilateral negotiations in which partnership is most immediately involved.

—*In our global posture.* Nonpolitical world problems call for cooperation that transcends national rivalries. Here, more comprehensively than in traditional realms, there is a need for shared approaches and shared participation.

The Necessity for Dialogue

The Nixon Doctrine, then, is a means to fulfill our world responsibilities on a sustained basis by evoking both the contributions of our friends and the support of our own people. Its very nature calls for continuing dialogue abroad and at home.

We recognize that the Doctrine, like any philosophic attitude, is not a detailed design. In this case ambiguity is increased since it is given full meaning through a process that involves other countries. When other nations ask how the Doctrine applies to them in technical detail, the question itself recalls the pattern of the previous period when America generally provided technical prescriptions. The response to the question, to be meaningful, partly depends on them, for the Doctrine's full elaboration requires their participation. To attempt to define the new diplomacy completely by ourselves would repeat the now presumptuous instinct of the previous era and violate the very spirit of our new approach.

In coming years we will therefore be engaged in a broad and deep discussion with others concerning foreign policy and the nature of our respective roles. To define and assume new modes of partnership, to discover a new sense of participation, will pose a great intellectual challenge for our friends and ourselves.

At home the challenge is comparable.

It is always a requirement of American leadership to explain, as clearly as possible, its overall approach. We must convincingly demonstrate the relationship between our specific actions and our basic purposes. In turn, the leadership can ask the American people for some degree of trust, and for acknowledgment of the complexities of foreign policy. This does not mean a moratorium on criticism. It means listening to the rationale for specific actions and distinguishing attacks on the broad policy itself from attacks on tactical judgments.

This dialogue between the government and the people is all the more imperative in this transitional era. Gone for Americans is a foreign policy with the psychological simplicity of worrying primarily about what we want for others. In its place is a role that demands a new type of sustained effort *with* others.

To further this dialogue overseas and in America is the principal objective of this annual review.

To promote this dialogue is to improve the prospects that America, together with others, will play its vital part in fashioning a global structure of peace. A peace that will come when all have a share in its shaping. A peace that will last when all have a stake in its lasting.

PART II: RELATING NATIONAL INTERESTS

—Europe
—The Western Hemisphere
—Indochina
—East Asia and the Pacific
—South Asia

—Africa
—The Middle East
—International Economic Policy

EUROPE

"In Europe, our policies embody precisely the three principles of a durable peace: partnership, continued strength to defend our common interests when challenged, and willingness to negotiate differences with adversaries."

U.S. Foreign Policy For The 1970's
Report to the Congress
February 18, 1970

In last year's annual review I stated the following as the agenda for the future of our relations with Western Europe:

—the evolution of a mature partnership reflecting the vitality and independence of Western European nations.
—the expansion of our cooperation in facing the common social and human challenges of modern societies.
—consultation with our NATO allies on defense strategy and force levels and on the mutual interests affected by U.S.-Soviet talks on strategic arms limitation.
—an understanding with our allies on our common objectives and respective roles in seeking a peaceful and stable order in all of Europe.

This agenda is still with us, for its tasks are rooted in our fundamental purposes, and are part of an historical process.

Clearly, if we are to found a structure of peace on the collaboration of many nations, our ties with Western Europe must be its cornerstone. This is not simply because wars on the continent have engulfed the rest of the world twice in this century. It is not simply because Europe's concentration of industrial might is crucial to the balance of power. Western Europe is central because its nations are rich in tradition and experience, strong economically, and vigorous in diplomacy and culture; they are in a position to take a major part in building a world of peace.

THE EVOLUTION OF PARTNERSHIP

When the Atlantic Alliance was formed, we were united in the face of a common danger. Today, while our concern for security remains, it is no longer enough for us to concentrate simply on what we are trying to prevent; we need a clearer vision of what we are seeking to achieve. Our deepest challenges today cannot be addressed without a new and more positive sense of common purpose. They arise from the evolution of our relationship with each other.

The United States broke with its isolationist history at the precise moment of Europe's prostration. Our predominance in the West was a necessity in the aftermath of the Second World War. But today the renewal of Western European institutions and foreign policies is an accomplished fact. Our partnership, once a vehicle for our underwriting of Europe's defense and recovery, has grown into a more balanced, dynamic and complex coalition.

We welcome this success of our postwar policies. This Administration does not view our allies as pieces in an American Grand Design. We have accepted, for example, France's desire to maintain an independent posture in world affairs, and have strengthened our bilateral relations. In 1970, two other allies were vigorously

taking the initiative in diplomacy. Chancellor Brandt pursued West Germany's Eastern Policy, seeking reconciliation with Germany's neighbors in Central and Eastern Europe; Prime Minister Heath, in his Guildhall address on November 16, declared his intention to see that British policies are determined by British interests.

Our allies' new spirit of independence, reflecting as it does their vitality as nations, can be a source of strength. But our cohesion, too, is a source of strength, which makes possible the freedom of action of individual allies. We must learn to reconcile autonomy and unity. This is America's commitment, and the Alliance's challenge.

But the necessary transition to an equal partnership is still in progress.

In the postwar period of American predominance, Americans became accustomed to view Alliance issues in largely technical terms, for we were in a position to devise strategies and programs unilaterally. Our partners often automatically accepted our prescriptions, as a way to win influence over our actions. This diminished their sense of involvement, and encouraged a sense of dependency.

Today their attitudes are ambivalent. They still look to America for leadership in European diplomacy and defense even while they assert their autonomy. They still presuppose a strong American military presence in Europe even while they no longer act as dependent. It is not surprising that many of the assumptions of 1949 should no longer apply to our relationship in 1971. But how should we define our respective roles today? This is the key question which we and our allies must face openly and frankly together in the period ahead.

When I came into office, I made a personal commitment to strengthening the ties of the West:

—My first foreign trip at the start of my term was to Western Europe, to seek the benefit of our allies' wisdom and experience in world affairs. My first stop was to meet with the North Atlantic Council in Brussels, and I then conferred in turn with the heads of state and government of Belgium, Great Britain, West Germany, Italy, and France.

—In 1970, I sought the views and counsel of Prime Ministers Wilson, Heath, and Baunsgaard, President Pompidou, Chancellor Brandt, and Allied foreign ministers, who paid official visits to Washington. In January 1970, Prime Minister Wilson became the first foreign head of government to attend a meeting of our own National Security Council, as he took part in our deliberation on policy toward Europe.

—Last fall, I travelled to Europe again, visiting Britain and Italy and NATO's Southern Headquarters in Naples, where I met with NATO Secretary General Brosio and senior Allied military commanders. Because peace in the Mediterranean—one of the focuses of my trip—is not a concern of NATO alone, I called on our valued friends in Spain, conferred at Naples with all our Ambassadors to Mediterranean countries, and visited non-aligned Yugoslavia—to deepen my understanding of the views and concerns of countries beyond the Alliance who all have a stake in peace in the region.

—The United States has consulted continuously in NATO on the status and

issues of its bilateral strategic arms limitation talks with the USSR. We recognized our obligation to keep our allies fully informed and to seek their ideas. We have made clear that we would make no agreement which sacrificed their interests.

—At the milestone ministerial sessions of the North Atlantic Council in May and December 1970, we and our allies undertook and completed a fundamental review of Alliance defense strategy and posture.

But consultation is not an end in itself. What makes it imperative is the agenda before us.

Western Europe is uniting, and will soon be in a position to forge an identity of its own, distinct from America within the Atlantic world. As nations and peoples we in the West now share both the horizons and the burdens of the most advanced modern societies. This challenges us to develop a partnership engaging the collective energies and wisdom of our fifteen sovereign states.

The expansion of Soviet military power has put NATO's postwar reliance on U.S. strategic nuclear strength into a new perspective. America's guarantee of nuclear defense remains crucial, but it can no longer be the sole basis of Allied deterrence. The constant evolution in strategic conditions—in arms control as well as in weaponry—is of vital concern to our allies as well as to us. This requires us to adapt our Alliance strategy to new conditions and share its burdens.

The cruel and unnatural division of Europe is no longer accepted as inevitable or permanent. Today, there is a growing impatience with confrontation. We and our allies seek a European détente. But we know that we cannot achieve it if we let slip away the close friendships in the West and the basic conditions of stability which have set the stage for it. This obligates our allies and ourselves to conduct our diplomacy in harmony, as we jointly and severally seek concrete negotiations on the range of issues in order to make détente a reality.

In our consultation on this agenda, I have assured our allies and friends in Europe that the United States will continue to play a role of leadership, commensurate with our position in the world. But America's task today—as the Nixon Doctrine reflects—is to evoke the contribution which the Alliance is capable of making. This new purpose of our leadership and partnership will test our maturity and compassion just as the Marshall Plan tested our energy and technical skill.

The Challenge of European Unity. The European Community is on the threshold of a momentous advance. Last year, the Commission of the Community began negotiating with Great Britain, Norway, Denmark, and Ireland for their full membership. It opened talks with Sweden, Austria, Switzerland, and other members of the European Free Trade Association looking toward some form of relationship. The prospect of an expanded Community—and the determination which emerged to move toward monetary and economic union—make the Community a potential economic giant. If these come to pass, the major economies of the continent will be combined into a vast industrial power second only to the United States.

Our friends must soon decide, then, how they see Europe's role in the world and its relationship with us. The form and degree of its unity is for Europeans to settle. The United States has always supported the strengthening and enlargement

of the European Community. We still do. We welcome cohesion in Europe because it makes Europe a sturdier pillar of the structure of peace. Regional cohesion contributes to world stability. And America's and Western Europe's fundamental interests are parallel in most areas of policy.

For years, however, it was believed uncritically that a unified Western Europe would automatically lift burdens from the shoulders of the United States. The truth is not so simple. European unity will also pose problems for American policy, which it would be idle to ignore.

For our closest friends are now developing a collective identity and collective policies separate from us. And unity happens to be coming fastest in the economic sphere—the area of policy in which competition seems to have the least immediate penalty and our common interest will take the most effort to insure. Each of us maintains restrictions on agricultural trade which limit the export opportunities of the other. America's main restrictions are on dairy products; the European Community's Common Agricultural Policy restrains our exports of grains. The Community's preferential trading arrangements with Mediterranean countries are a problem for American citrus exports.

The common interest requires the prosperity of both Western Europe and the United States. This means freer and expanded trade and restraint in protecting special interests. We must negotiate a reduction in our trade restrictions. We must work toward a more equitable worldwide trading system which is based upon most-favored-nation treatment among all industrial nations and in which all of them accord the same tariff preferences to the entire developing world. In short, we must define our self-interest in the widest terms and fix our sights on our fundamental rather than tactical purposes.

Both sides have a heavy responsibility, therefore, as we meet in the informal regular consultation which began in 1970 between the Commission of the European Community and the United States. There have been suggestions for expanding our consultation, including the possibility of higher-level Community representation in Washington. We would welcome the implementation of any such suggestion the Community might propose—because of the importance of close consultation.

In political and military relations as well, wisdom and statesmanship will be required on both sides of the Atlantic as Europe moves toward unity.

The further evolution of European unity into other areas of policy is logical and natural; its supporters, including ourselves, have never regarded economic cohesion as an end in itself. In November, foreign ministers of Community members began semi-annual formal political consultations looking toward common positions. Ultimately we may see a single entity making policy for Western Europe in all fields, including diplomacy and defense. We would welcome this, because we believe that Western European and American interests in defense and foreign policy are complementary:

—In defense, geographic proximity makes the linking of our allies' defense systems logical and feasible; their collective power makes it advantageous. But a coherent strategy of European defense, today and as far into the future as I can see, will require mutual support across the Atlantic.

—In diplomacy we share basic objectives: Western security, European

stability, East-West détente. Two strong powers in the West would add flexibility to Western diplomacy. Two strong powers could increasingly share the responsibilities of decision.

This will not be automatic. To link together the foreign and defense policies of a uniting Europe and the United States will be another test of our sense of community and of our ability to perceive and pursue our common interest.

The Problems of Modern Societies. The North Atlantic Treaty embraces the overwhelming majority of the advanced industrial nations, and more than half the wealth of the world. The environment has suffered grievously from our common technological triumphs; we share the experience of seeing the technological, environmental, and social problems of modern societies grow to alarming proportions. But we also have the skills and resources needed to redress the balance. And we share a tradition of exchanging ideas. It is no accident that we are in the forefront of the world's attack on these global problems.

In 1969, the United States suggested that NATO form a Committee on the Challenges of Modern Society, as a framework for joint effort in this new dimension of partnership. The Committee was formed, and launched action programs in 1970 with pilot studies on a range of problems. For example:

—Several allies have begun cooperative production of experimental road vehicles for maximum passenger safety.

—All NATO members agreed in November to bring to an end by 1975, if possible, the deliberate discharge of oil and oily wastes into the sea.

—Allied experts explored the problems of flood control and relief.

—The Committee made plans to cosponsor a major international conference on the problems of cities at Indianapolis in May 1971.

These problems affect the societies of all of us; they can affect our relations with one another; shared experience can be the basis of finding solutions.

These are world problems, not limited to the Atlantic region. As the Charter of the Committee makes explicit, we allies see our own cooperation in the widest perspective—as a bridge between our community and the rest of the world. Japan, which works with us in the OECD, and other friendly nations have joined us in bilateral and multilateral programs. We link our efforts and will share what we learn with the United Nations and its agencies, and other multilateral organizations. We hope to help developing nations anticipate and avoid some of these by-products of modernization. We are prepared to have the Communist world share in our effort.

ALLIANCE DEFENSE

In last year's annual report, I noted the variety of views on some central questions of defense policy that had to be faced candidly among the allies:

—What is a realistic assessment of the military threats to Western Europe?

—How long could NATO sustain a conventional forward defense against a determined Warsaw Pact attack?

—How should our tactical nuclear posture in Europe be planned to counter specific military threats?

—How should our tactical nuclear capabilities be related to our conventional posture?

—What relative burdens should be

borne by the U.S. and its partners in providing the forces and other resources required by our common strategy?

—Are all NATO's capabilities in Europe sufficient to meet the needs of our strategy?

To answer these questions, I proposed that the Alliance conduct a thorough review of its strategy and defense posture in Europe for the coming decade.

The United States launched such a review in the National Security Council system, covering all the issues of European security: NATO strategy and forces, mutual force reductions, and our broader effort to enhance security through negotiation. In response to my proposal in last year's report, and at the initiative of Secretary General Brosio, our NATO allies then joined us in a major collective study of the full range of Allied defense problems in the 1970's.

The basic problem was not technical or esoteric. It was an absolute necessity to devise a sensible posture of defense we can plausibly ask our peoples to support. Many voters, legislators, and officials in Western countries have raised questions about the continuing burden of defense budgets—not because they did not see the need for security, but because they did not see a clear rationale for the forces proposed. Our armies are not ends in themselves, or merely tokens of a commitment. They have a function to perform: to aid in deterrence and to defend if deterrence fails. Therefore, the Alliance needed to work through the analysis of what realistic deterrence and defense required in Europe over the longer term. We needed to give substance to our strategy, to make it credible to ourselves as well as to our adversaries.

The result of our studies in the National Security Council and in NATO was a major achievement. The North Atlantic Council ministerial meeting in December 1970, which completed the Alliance study, was indeed, as Secretary Rogers called it, "one of the most important in the history of the Alliance." We now have the blueprint and substance of a rational defense posture, which provides the framework for resolving the policy questions I raised last year.

The Threat and NATO Strategy. We and our NATO allies do not believe that war is imminent in Europe, but we must face the possibility that it could occur. The military power of the Warsaw Pact has grown over the decade and continues to increase. Postwar Europe has seen more than its share of crises, and new crises are possible. As the annex to the December communique pointed out: "In addition to a capability to deter and counter major deliberate aggression, Allied forces should be so structured and organized as to be capable of dealing also with aggressions and incursions with more limited objectives associated with intimidation or the creation of faits accomplis, or with those aggressions which might be the result of accident or miscalculation."

Our review examined three alternative strategies for dealing with these contingencies:

—reliance on conventional forces alone.

—early response with nuclear weapons.

—a flexible strategy that does not preclude or force either kind of response.

America's will to employ nuclear retaliation in defense of NATO, our analysis indicated, remains central and necessary to Allied security. But in the conditions of today's new strategic equation, it can no longer be the sole basis for Allied deter-

rence. Today, nuclear destruction would be mutual. No NATO leader should be left with only the choice between capitulation and immediate resort to general nuclear war.

Sole reliance on conventional forces might lead an aggressor to conclude that we might accept the loss of vital territory without taking further action. Sole reliance on nuclear forces, on the other hand, might lead inevitably and unnecessarily to the very widespread devastation that we should be trying to prevent. Neither of these prospects enhances our security.

We and our allies therefore reaffirmed our consensus that we must have forces able to deter and defend below the threshold of general nuclear war, to give us full flexibility in responding to any outbreak of hostilities. This means a strong and credible deployment of modernized NATO conventional forces. These forces must be capable of rapid mobilization and reinforcement and of sustaining a successful initial forward defense against conventional attack.

The Military Situation in Europe. We next had to assess the military balance in Europe in terms of the goals of our strategy.

The economic strength of the NATO nations, we found, makes us considerably stronger in military potential than the Warsaw Pact. We and our allies collectively enjoy a three-fold advantage in Gross National Product and a two-fold advantage in population.

The actual balance of conventional military forces in Europe is much closer, however. NATO's active forces in peacetime are roughly comparable to those of the Warsaw Pact. Following mobilization, NATO is capable of maintaining forces larger than the Warsaw Pact. But geographic proximity and differences in domestic systems give the Warsaw Pact the significant advantage of being able to mobilize its reserves and reinforce more rapidly than NATO.

It follows as a practical matter that:

—NATO must be alert for warning of an impending attack, so that we can act as promptly as possible to mobilize and reinforce.

—We must improve NATO's conventional deterrent, especially correcting qualitative deficiencies in present Allied forces.

—We must maintain a sufficient tactical and strategic nuclear deterrent as a complement to our conventional forces.

—We must continue our consultation—as I urged in last year's report—on defining the precise role of tactical nuclear weapons.

Our strategic review illuminated the need for specific qualitative improvements. Several components of our posture require additional attention: the sheltering of our tactical aircraft; our logistical stocks and transport; the peacetime disposition of Allied ground forces; the protection of NATO's flanks; the standardization of Allied equipment; our armored and anti-armor forces; our overall maritime capabilities, particularly for anti-submarine defense; our machinery for mobilization and reinforcement; and NATO communications for crisis management purposes. Our studies have shown that many improvements in these areas can be made at acceptable cost.

Sharing Alliance Burdens Equitably. The conception of burden sharing in previous administrations was that our allies should share our burden; the thrust of the

Nixon Doctrine is that their primary task is to shoulder their own. The emphasis is no longer on their sharing the cost of America's military commitment to Europe—although financial arrangements may play a part—but on their providing the national forces needed in conjunction with ours in support of an effective common strategy.

Our allies have responded to this shift in emphasis. We were gratified when at the December NATO Council meeting our European allies joined in a pledge to strengthen their national forces and to inaugurate a new joint program of modernizing NATO's common infrastructure.

The program announced in December will accelerate construction of aircraft shelters and an integrated communication system. It represents a landmark in the history of NATO—an effort undertaken, organized, and financed entirely by our European allies. As Secretary Laird has pointed out, this common infrastructure—the integrated network of permanent facilities supporting NATO forces in Europe—is a particularly appropriate focus of collective European effort. It is a collective asset, badly in need of improvement; our allies' effort here is of direct and permanent benefit to their own defense.

U.S. Forces in Europe. The United States faced pressures to withdraw our forces from Western Europe for budgetary reasons, and pressures to keep them there for purely symbolic reasons. All these arguments evaded the crucial question: What defense function do and should our forces in Europe perform?

I decided, despite these pressures, that given a similar approach by our allies, the United States would maintain and improve its forces in Europe and not reduce them without reciprocal action by our adversaries. This decision, which I announced at the December NATO meeting, flowed directly from the analysis we had conducted in the NSC system and reinforced in NATO consultation. It had become clear to me that without undiminished American participation in European defense, neither the Alliance's strategy, nor America's commitment, nor Western cohesion would be credible.

No token presence could serve our purpose. Our substantial contribution of United States forces—about 25 percent of NATO's peacetime capabilities in Central Europe—insures the viability of the strategy of flexible response. It enables us to found Alliance defense on something other than reliance on the threat of strategic nuclear war. It is the basis of our allies' confidence in us. It links European defense to a common strategy and to the nuclear power of the United States.

America's presence in substantial force is psychologically crucial as well. It provides the sense of security which encourages our partners' efforts to unite and to do more for themselves. Our direct and large-scale involvement in Europe is the essential ingredient of the cohesion of the West which has set the stage for the effort to negotiate a reduction of tension.

Accurately or inaccurately, our allies would interpret a substantial withdrawal of American forces as a substantial withdrawal of America's commitment. Were they to conclude this was happening, they would not necessarily do more on their own to compensate; they would more likely lose confidence in the very possibility of Western defense, and reduce their reliance on Western solidarity.

In maintaining and improving our forces in Europe—and in the seas on Europe's flanks—we are doing what is nec-

essary to encourage our European allies to take up a greater share of the collective responsibility. They are doing so, and the Alliance is stronger for it.

EAST-WEST RELATIONS IN EUROPE

Security in Europe depends on more than NATO's military strength. The close ties of friendship in the West and the stability of the military balance set the stage for renewed effort at a broader reconciliation.

East-West conflict in Europe springs from historical and objective causes, not transient moods or personal misunderstandings. For 25 years Europe has been divided by opposing national interests and contrary philosophies, which clash over specific issues: the military confrontation of opposing coalitions, the division of Germany, the situation in and around Berlin, the nature of relations between Western and Eastern countries and institutions, and the barriers to travel and cultural and intellectual intercourse.

These issues will not be quickly resolved. To relax tensions means a patient and persistent effort to deal with specific sources and not only with their manifestations. The West will be conciliatory on substance, but we are determined to deal with substance and not simply with atmosphere.

We in the West are convinced by the history of the postwar period that a détente that does not apply equally to Eastern and Western Europe will be inherently unstable. In our view, détente means negotiating the concrete conditions of mutual security that will allow for expanded intra-European contact and cooperation without jeopardizing the security of any country. Soviet policies and doctrines, however, too often interpret détente in terms of Western ratification of the status quo and acknowledgment of continuing Soviet hegemony over Eastern Europe. Beyond this, Soviet policy has been tempted to offer a relaxation of tension selectively to some allies but not to others, and only on limited issues of primary interest to the USSR. In view of this fundamental difference, a major question for the Alliance to face is whether we can overcome the East-West stalemate while maintaining unity among ourselves and avoiding internal divisions in our countries.

A Western Consensus. In the postwar period, East-West relations were almost an exclusive preserve of Soviet and American policies and negotiations, just as the major European crises of this period were predominantly Soviet-American confrontations.

Today, our Western European allies are properly anxious to make their own contribution to East-West negotiations. They will increasingly assert their own judgment and interests in doing so. A wide variety of contacts and negotiations are proceeding today, involving different participants in different forums on several issues:

—The United States is negotiating with the USSR in SALT.

—The United States, the Soviet Union, the UK and France are holding Four Power talks at the UN on the Middle East.

—The same four powers are negotiating in Europe on Berlin.

—The Federal Republic of Germany has negotiated new treaties with the USSR and Poland, and may soon open talks with Czechoslovakia. For the first time the Chancellor of the

Federal Republic has met with the East German Premier.

—France reached agreement with the USSR in 1970 for periodic consultation on major world issues.

—NATO allies have conversed bilaterally with Warsaw Pact countries on a Conference on European Security, as well as on the question of mutual reduction of forces in Europe.

At issue are major national questions (such as the relationship between East and West Germany), basic regional problems (such as mutual force reductions), and the overall U.S.-Soviet strategic relationship. Whatever the issue, however, its resolution will engage the interests of NATO and Europe as a whole.

Obviously, the Western countries do not have identical national concerns and cannot be expected to agree automatically on priorities or solutions. Each ally is the best judge of its own national interest. But our principal objective should be to harmonize our policies and insure that our efforts for détente are complementary. A differentiated détente, limited to the USSR and certain Western allies but not others, would be illusory. It would cause strains among allies. It would turn the desire for détente into an instrument of political warfare. Far from contributing to reconciliation in Europe, it would postpone it indefinitely.

Today's pursuit of détente is taking place simultaneously with efforts to strengthen the economic and political solidarity of Western Europe. The West cannot afford to allow the momentum of individual approaches to the East to put allies inadvertently in the painful position of having to choose between their national concerns and their European responsibilities.

East-West détente and Western cohesion can be mutually supporting, if the Alliance consults thoughtfully to strike a balance between individual and common interests. The United States applies such a code of consultation to itself; we have been scrupulous to maintain a dialogue with our allies on the issues and developments in SALT; in turn, our allies have worked in consultation with us on major East-West issues. It is crucial that this continue.

Our urgent task in the coming year is to achieve an understanding within the Alliance on our analysis of the sources of East-West tensions, on our respective roles in dealing with them through individual and collective diplomacy, and on our evaluation of future trends. I pledge the United States to an intensive effort of Allied consultation on these questions in 1971, at the highest level and in bilateral channels and multilateral forums.

The Major Issues: We must translate our consensus on objectives into specific policies.

Allied efforts toward *mutual force reductions* in Europe will continue in the coming year. Reducing the military confrontation in Europe is in the common interest of East and West. Our mutual objective should be to create a more stable military balance at lower levels and lower costs.

The problem of defining a fair agreement in precise terms is extremely complex. As in the preparations for SALT, I instructed our Government to develop the analytical building blocks of an agreement and evaluate them in differing combinations, as our contribution to the Al-

liance's collective deliberations. Our technical analysis is described in the Arms Control chapter of this report.

The USSR has frequently proposed a general *Conference on European Security.* But such a conference, in the Soviet formulation, would not address the main security issues—the German question, Berlin, mutual force reductions—but only very general themes. We and our allies are prepared to negotiate with the East in any forum. But we see little value in a conference whose agenda would be unlikely to yield progress on concrete issues, but would only deflect our energies to drafting statements and declarations the interpretation of which would inevitably be a continuing source of disagreements. Once a political basis for improving relations is created through specific negotiations already in process, a general conference might build on it to discuss other intra-European issues and forms of cooperation.

Any lasting relaxation of tension in Europe must include progress in resolving the issues related to the division of *Germany.*

The German national question is basically one for the German people. It is only natural that the government of the Federal Republic should assign it high priority. But as Chancellor Brandt has emphasized, it is the strength of the Western coalition and West Germany's secure place in it that have enabled his government to take initiatives which mark a new stage in the evolution of the German question. The reshaping of German relations with the East inevitably affects the interests of all European states, as well as the relationship between the U.S. and the Soviet Union.

Therefore, there has been full consultation within the Alliance during the evolution of the Federal Republic's new policies and the negotiation of its new treaties with the USSR and Poland. It is clearly established that Allied responsibilities and rights are not affected by the terms of these treaties. I emphasized in my talks with Chancellor Brandt in Washington and in intensive Allied consultation in 1970 that we support West Germany's objective of normalizing relations with its eastern neighbors, and that we view its anguish at the unnatural division of the German nation with profound compassion.

New policies and their effects in Central Europe will create new conditions and raise new issues—but none that cannot be dealt with in continuing close consultation with the Federal Republic and within the Alliance.

With the encouragement of the Federal Republic, the U.S., UK and France in August 1969 invited the USSR to discuss *Berlin.* Four Power ambassadorial discussions started in March 1970. The history of the postwar period demonstrates the complexity and importance of this issue.

The Western objectives are the assurance of unhindered traffic to and from Berlin, Soviet acknowledgment of the existing and entirely legitimate ties between Berlin and Bonn, and improved communications and travel in and around Berlin. An effective Four Power agreement on Berlin will have to encompass arrangements worked out between East and West Germany on technical details. We recognize that new access procedures to Berlin will not necessarily prevent administrative harassment; this will depend as

much on Communist willingness to remove Berlin as a cause of friction as on the specific terms of agreement.

Thus what began essentially as a discussion of practical improvements to assure Berlin's viability has assumed greater significance in East-West relations. To the West German Government, the eastern treaties and a Berlin settlement are parts of the whole complex of Germany's future, and therefore it has conditioned the ratification of the treaties upon a satisfactory conclusion of the Berlin talks. To the Western allies, progress on Berlin will be an indicator of the possibilities of moving toward fruitful talks on broader issues of European security.

Eastern and Central Europe. The breakdown of the postwar monolithic Stalinist bloc in Europe is a fact of life. This creates new conditions, aspirations, and expectations in both Western and Eastern Europe. Just as peace and its fruits are indivisible for the West, so they must be for Eastern Europe.

While the countries of that region are in close proximity to the USSR, they also have historic ties to Western Europe and to the United States. We will not exploit these ties to undermine the security of the Soviet Union. We would not pretend that the facts of history and geography do not create special circumstances in Eastern Europe. We recognize a divergence in social, political, and economic systems between East and West.

But, in our view, every nation in Europe has the sovereign right to conduct independent policies, and to be our friend without being anyone else's enemy or being treated as such.

There are difficulties, which we recognize, attending close political relations between Eastern European nations and the United States. But within these limits there are opportunities for economic, scientific, and technological contact which we are prepared to broaden on the basis of mutual benefit.

In 1969 I visited *Romania*—a Warsaw Pact country—the first visit by an American President to a Communist country in 24 years. President Ceausescu visited Washington in 1970. Romania takes positions on many major issues quite different from our own, but we both recognize the right of every nation to develop its own policies in light of its own interests. Therefore our differences do not preclude consultation or practical cooperation.

Our trade with Romania doubled in 1970. We extended credits for the purchase of agricultural commodities and liberalized certain export controls for her benefit. We expanded educational and cultural exchanges and responded with immediate relief in medical supplies, foodstuffs, and other emergency needs when Romania suffered a disastrous flood in 1970.

In 1970, on President Tito's invitation, I paid the first visit by an American President to non-aligned *Yugoslavia*. We exchanged ideas on major international issues, especially on the Middle East. We broadened our ties of cooperation on the basis of mutual interest and a mature respect for our acknowledged differences. President Tito has now accepted my invitation to pay a return visit to the United States.

Our trade with Yugoslavia increased by over one-third in 1970. The U.S. Export-Import Bank reached agreement with Yugoslavia to increase credit, and extended a loan for Yugoslav purchase of commercial jet aircraft in this country.

Romania and Yugoslavia both welcome

private capital as beneficial to their economic expansion and consistent with their national policies. I will therefore shortly ask the Congress to provide authority to extend guarantees to American private investment in both countries. This is to our mutual benefit.

Romania and Yugoslavia have indicated by their policies a desire for cordial relations with the United States on the basis of reciprocity. Our relations have continued to improve because the pace and scope is determined in the first instance by them. We are responsive, and other countries in Eastern Europe who desire better relations with us will find us responsive as well. Reconciliation in Europe is in the interest of peace.

ISSUES FOR THE FUTURE

Within our evolving Atlantic community, we must deepen and extend our unity:

—to complete the transition from American predominance to a more nearly equal partnership, sharing the responsibilities of leadership.

—to reaffirm our commitment to cooperative economic and political relations across the Atlantic as a Western European entity emerges.

—to intensify our collective attack on the problems of modern society and expand it into a worldwide collaboration.

In the security field, following through on the conclusions of our joint review of Alliance defense, we must:

—insure that our common strategy is backed up by the force levels and qualitative improvements required to make it credible.

—share the common defense burden equitably.

For a wider partnership and true security in Europe, continuing our quest for reconciliation between East and West, we must:

—continue our close Allied consultation as SALT and other East-West negotiations progress.

—harmonize our individual approaches to insure that they are complementary, and preserve the cohesion and stability which make détente possible.

—seek to engage our adversaries in negotiations addressing the concrete issues that keep Europe divided.

I have repeatedly emphasized that the Nixon Doctrine is a philosophy of invigorated partnership, not a synonym for American withdrawal. Our relationship with Western Europe proves it.

WESTERN HEMISPHERE

". . . all of us come from and were born to this world, our nations, through violent revolution. Now our charge and our task is to provide the means and the method through which those great changes that need to be made in the world, in our own countries and in the world, can be made through peaceful change."

Toast at a Dinner Honoring
President Caldera of Venezuela
June 2, 1970

For more than a century and a half, our most consistent peacetime foreign relations were hemispheric relations. We have shared with our sister republics the experience of gaining and preserving our independence from the Old World. It

was only natural that the nations of the New World should see their destinies as intertwined and continue to pay special attention to their ties with each other. Geography and history have bound us together and nurtured a sense of community, now formalized in the treaties and institutions of the inter-American system.

The purposes and practices of our association have changed over time, but its benefits have endured. It has helped to maintain the independence of the hemisphere from outside domination, to facilitate political and economic progress, and to enhance the region's influence in the world community.

FORCES OF CHANGE

It is nevertheless understandable that tensions should develop. There is great ferment in Latin America and the Caribbean. Modernization brings extensive and frequently unsettling change, accompanied by growing nationalism. Some in the region view the United States—with its disproportionate size and wealth—more as a hindrance and threat than as a source of support.

Thus, when this Administration came into office, we had to reassess our approach. If the inter-American system was to realize the aspirations of its peoples, we would have to shape our role by the realities of the 1970's and tune our view to the perceptions of others.

One of my first decisions as President was to ask Governor Nelson Rockefeller to undertake a mission to twenty Western Hemisphere countries and to assess the needs of the region. His report identified the underlying forces of change: rapid population growth and urbanization, a revolution in communications and a rising tide of aspirations.

The response to these forces has been varied. In some countries, such as Mexico and Brazil, the rate of economic growth has been impressive; in many parts of the hemisphere there is swelling self-confidence and a determination to modernize. But many sectors chafe at the inability of domestic structures to achieve swift solutions to pressing problems.

In their quest for change, the nations of the region have increasingly turned to new methods. They are creating institutions that they consider more national in character and more responsive to indigenous needs. Efforts to reconcile the often conflicting demands of social reform and economic growth and to meet the need for popular support, have spawned statist, sometimes radical, approaches. In virtually all cases, nationalism seeks greater independence from our predominant influence; in some, a populist brand of nationalism has taken anti-U.S. turns.

ADJUSTING OUR RELATIONSHIP

Our neighbors face a fundamental issue in their relations with us: to reconcile their interest in close ties with their determination to mold their own destinies. The United States will continue for some time to be the principal source of external resources: public and private capital, export markets, and technology. But the traditional expectation that we should bear principal responsibility for accelerating development clashes with national pride and self-reliance.

This ambivalence has led them to seek adjustments in our relationships, particularly in the economic sphere, and to look

elsewhere for resources. They now seek:

—continued development assistance, but with less direction and fewer restrictions.

—continued foreign investment, but on terms consistent with their sense of national dignity.

—more assured access to the markets of the United States and other industrialized nations.

The problem of tailoring our relations to new conditions is further complicated by a difference in perspective.

The United States is a major power with global responsibilities; our vision is directed primarily outward, toward building relationships that can fashion a worldwide structure of peace. In the Western Hemisphere, as elsewhere, our focus is on fostering such relationships and assisting economic and social development.

Most of the other hemispheric nations channel their energies primarily inward. The legitimacy of their governments rests on their response to the drive of their peoples for a better life. For them the predominant issues in their relations with us are the content and style of our economic relations.

The United States has traditionally responded to these aspirations. We will continue to do so, believing that our own purposes are advanced when other governments can meet the needs of their peoples. They can then increasingly direct their energies outward and contribute to the continent's constructive and peaceful change.

UNITED STATES POLICY

In my address to the Inter-American Press Association on October 31, 1969, I outlined a new concept of hemisphere partnership: "experience . . . has taught us that economic and social development is not an achievement of one nation's foreign policy but something deeply rooted in each nation's own traditions." I sought to define a sustained role for the United States, one that would avoid our previous fluctuations between arousing unrealistic expectations and taking our neighbors for granted. We cannot remake continents by ourselves. Such a venture would stifle the initiative and responsibility of other nations and thus their progress and their dignity.

The immediate focus of hemispheric cooperation will be on economic and social imperatives. But these issues, while critical, are elements of a broader relationship between sovereign states. The nations of this region must improve political forms of cooperation as well. We must find ways to settle disputes that bring common danger and to work together for common benefit.

Together with our partners, we can strengthen the political bonds of the inter-American system to create an environment truly conducive to economic and social development. Our similar cultural traditions, the shared aspirations of our peoples, a lengthy history of common enterprises—there is much to draw upon. If we cannot build partnerships in the relationship with developing nations in this hemisphere, then this task will indeed be formidable elsewhere in the world.

The value of a constructive partnership is nowhere better illustrated than with our neighbor, Mexico. In 1970, we jointly traced the final lines of our common border. The comprehensive agreement which President Diaz Ordaz and I reached in

Puerto Vallarta in August will, when ratified, resolve all existing border problems and establish procedures for treating future ones. Our countries' relations have never been closer. They were further cemented by my two meetings with Mexico's President and one with her then President-elect. They reflect a mutual respect and cooperation that is our object throughout the hemisphere.

In moving toward this goal, we seek to develop positive collaboration suited to the realities of this decade. It is a change in concept and style, not in commitment. We will offer ideas and leadership, but our common programs will need the ideas and leadership of our partners as well. Working with our friends on a joint agenda, our new approach will stress:

—sharing responsibility within the inter-American community.

—positive U.S. support of development efforts.

—respect for national dignity and accommodation to diversity.

—humanitarian concern.

SHARING RESPONSIBILITY

With our great material and technical resources we have often been tempted to do for others what we thought was best for them. But the modernization process takes hold only when other countries have the incentive to commit their talents fully for purposes they consider their own. In the past two years, we have moved from a predominant role to shared responsibility by helping to reshape inter-American institutions and by modifying our participation in them.

A milestone was the gathering of twenty-two Latin American governments in Vina del Mar, Chile, in May 1969 to formulate and pool their ideas on development and particularly how the U.S. might help. Their proposals—the Consensus of Vina del Mar—were then presented to me. Together with the Rockefeller Report and our own studies, they formed the essential ingredients of our policy review in the National Security Council.

Thus the measures we announced in October 1969 responded to *their* ideas and *their* concerns as well as to our own interests.

We then negotiated the details of many of the proposals in meetings of the Inter-American Economic and Social Council (IA-ECOSOC), the principal forum of the Organization of American States for development and trade. It was a new experience and a difficult adjustment. We deliberately concentrated on eliciting their contributions rather than taking most of the initiatives ourselves. Together we reached agreement on steps to improve development assistance, increase the transfer of technology, and expand trade. The results were more meaningful because they were jointly formulated.

In 1970, for the first time, the United States submitted its economic policies affecting the hemisphere for review by the Inter-American Committee for the Alliance for Progress (CIAP), as other hemisphere nations have done for many years. This symbolized our commitment to equal partnership, increased Latin American understanding of our policies, and heightened our sensitivity to the great impact of our economy on the region.

To foster collaboration in planning and managing development assistance, we:

—provided financial support for the staff of CIAP to play a greater role in setting development priorities.

—pledged financial support to increase the capabilities of the Inter-American Development Bank and CIAP to prepare projects for financing by development lenders.

—permitted CIAP to participate in the planning of U.S. bilateral development loans for the hemisphere.

—eased restrictions so that our neighbors may now spend aid dollars elsewhere in Latin America or the developing world.

—supported the expanded technical assistance programs of the OAS Secretariat General and Specialized Organizations.

—extended financial assistance to the Central American Common Market and the Caribbean Free Trade Area.

Inter-American mechanisms for non-economic problems were improved as well. Several important revisions in the OAS Charter took effect last February: the creation of an annual OAS General Assembly; the upgrading of the IA-ECOSOC and the Educational, Scientific and Cultural Council; and the assignment of peaceful settlement functions to the OAS Permanent Council.

POSITIVE CONTRIBUTION TO DEVELOPMENT

The United States has a great interest in furthering economic and social development in Latin America. If frustration continues to grow, radical forces will depict us as an obstacle to national development. We could become increasingly alienated from our hemisphere neighbors. Instead, our resources, knowledge, and influence in the world community can provide the margin of support which helps make progress possible.

Exports represent the most reliable long-term source of foreign exchange for our friends. To help them increase their exports is to help them reduce dependence and enhance self-respect.

Latin American countries face discrimination in many trading markets in which industrialized nations offer preferential tariffs to other developing countries, such as the European Common Market's special treatment for African and Mediterranean exports. In 1970, on behalf of our hemispheric partners, we pressed hard in the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development and in the UN Conference on Trade and Development for a generalized scheme of preferences which *all* developed countries would apply to *all* developing countries. We achieved agreement among the developed nations to go forward with comparable systems of generalized preferences. These would significantly reduce discrimination now faced by Latin American countries as well as give them preferential treatment in our market. And our own preference list pays attention to items of particular interest to Latin America.

To further help our partners earn foreign exchange, we made available direct technical assistance for export development and for the promotion of tourism.

In some Latin American countries a serious *debt service* burden eats up foreign exchange. Heavy borrowings for essential development funds may reach a point at which the repayments absorb a disproportionate share of their earnings. With our strong support, CIAP elicited the cooperation of other creditor nations

71-234—72——19

and stimulated international financial institutions to consider solutions, such as rescheduling of interest payments.

While helping our friends increase their earnings of foreign exchange, there are many kinds of *development assistance* that we and other industrial nations should provide directly. The United States has supplied a substantial share of the external resources for development financing in the hemisphere. In addition to our major contributions to the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) and UN development activities, we gave in FY 1970:

—$422 million in bilateral AID loans and grants.

—$506 million to the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), the principal regional entity for development lending.

—$153 million in our Food for Peace Program.

In April we joined in a major replenishment of the resources of the IDB, which will permit it to increase its lending in the hemisphere by 50 percent in the next three to four years. Congress has authorized part of the $1.8 billion that I requested as the U.S. share, and I have strongly urged that the remainder be authorized early in 1971.

In the IA–ECOSOC discussions we agreed to direct a growing portion of our assistance toward regional economic groups, development of capital markets, and expansion of regional scientific and technological programs.

At year's end, the Congress authorized a contribution to completion of the last unfinished link of the Pan American Highway, the Darien Gap in Panama and Colombia. This project holds great promise for regional economic expansion. It will facilitate the movement of goods and people from one end of the continent to the other and promote trade and economic integration.

A COMMUNITY OF DIVERSITY

The year was marked by continuing internal changes, sometimes with radical overtones. We maintained contact with governments spanning a wide political spectrum.

The United States has a strong political interest in maintaining cooperation with our neighbors regardless of their domestic viewpoints. We have a clear preference for free and democratic processes. We hope that governments will evolve toward constitutional procedures. But it is not our mission to try to provide—except by example—the answers to such questions for other sovereign nations. We deal with governments as they are. Our relations depend not on their internal structures or social systems, but on actions which affect us and the inter-American system.

The new Government in Chile is a clear case in point. The 1970 election of a Socialist President may have profound implications not only for its people but for the inter-American system as well. The government's legitimacy is not in question, but its ideology is likely to influence its actions. Chile's decision to establish ties with Communist Cuba, contrary to the collective policy of the OAS, was a challenge to the inter-American system. We and our partners in the OAS will therefore observe closely the evolution of Chilean foreign policy.

Our bilateral policy is to keep open lines of communication. We will not be the ones to upset traditional relations.

We assume that international rights and obligations will be observed. We also recognize that the Chilean Government's actions will be determined primarily by its own purposes, and that these will not be deflected simply by the tone of our policy. In short, we are prepared to have the kind of relationship with the Chilean government that it is prepared to have with us.

Ferment in the region provides openings for exploitation. Cuba continued to exclude itself from the inter-American system by its encouragement and support of revolution and its military ties to the Soviet Union. The latter meanwhile attempted to expand its influence and its military presence.

We do not seek confrontations with any government. But those which display unremitting hostility cannot expect our assistance. And those which violate the principles of the inter-American system, by intervening in the affairs of their neighbors or by facilitating the intervention of non-hemispheric powers, cannot expect to share the benefits of inter-American cooperation. We will work constructively with other members of the community to reduce the disruptive effect of such actions.

Many governmental disputes flow from pressures against foreign private investment. Such investment plays a constructive role in development, for no government or public agency has the vast resources required for even basic development goals. It is clearly for each country to decide its conditions for foreign investment, just as it is for each investor to decide what conditions provide adequate security and incentives. The challenge for governments and investors is to develop new approaches which satisfy the needs of both. We ask only that our citizens be treated fairly in accordance with international law.

In some tragic cases, the forces of change take on extreme forms—hijacking, kidnapping, and terrorism. These are acts of desperation, morally bankrupt. The nations of the inter-American community recently signed a convention dealing with their prevention and punishment. We hope that others will join in this commitment, and that its coverage will reach beyond the hemisphere.

CONCERN FOR PEOPLE

In my October 1969 speech I made it clear that our fundamental concern remains people:

". . . a dedication to improving the quality of life in this new world of ours—to making people the center of our concerns, and to helping meet their economic, social, and human needs."

When a calamitous earthquake struck Peru last June, the United States responded immediately with both public and private assistance. As a gesture of our concern, Mrs. Nixon visited Peru, bringing relief supplies to the victims of the tragedy. Her warm reception was tribute to the profound ties between the peoples of Peru and the United States.

Friendship with the peoples of Latin America transcends fluctuations in governmental relations. In this spirit we maintained our people-to-people programs in Chile despite the uncertainty of our official relations.

Our Latin American programs also look toward local efforts in social development. Government-to-government programs in this area have been hampered by their political sensitivity. The need is for innovative ideas and programs, particularly

from non-governmental sources, which are more directly responsive to social problems as perceived by the people of the region. To meet this need, we created in 1970 the Inter-American Social Development Institute. Directed by a board with a majority from the private sector, the new Institute will provide funds primarily to non-governmental organizations in the U.S. and Latin America—such as universities, credit unions, and foundations—to help them share their expertise.

ISSUES FOR THE FUTURE

We have only begun. Implementing our new approach will require difficult adjustments, for ourselves and for our partners. Together we must:

—respect and protect the independence of all members.

—provide for the peaceful resolution of disputes.

—make a better life for our peoples.

—embrace our diversity in a framework of partnership.

In such an association will the nations of this hemisphere share a stake. There will be unity not so much in common domestic structures as in mutual support for independence and mutual respect for diversity.

Our self-interest requires our creative contributions to the development of such a community, but three sets of problems constrain us:

The need to balance our Western Hemisphere interests against other domestic and foreign policy considerations. To reflect this concern in the councils of government, I again urge Congress to establish an office of Under Secretary of State for Western Hemisphere Affairs.

To promote Latin American trade I will:

—soon submit legislation to implement generalized tariff preferences.

—assure special attention in trade policies for commodities of particular interest to the region.

—continue to press for elimination or reduction of non-tariff barriers, especially those which harm the exports of Latin America and other developing areas.

To maintain an equitable share in our new bilateral assistance programs for hemisphere development, I will establish guidelines for the resources to be provided to the region through the new development institutions.

To free the use of bilateral aid we will seek final agreement among industrial countries in 1971 to untie the bulk of development assistance.

The present limitations of inter-American machinery. The United States will seek further reform of inter-American instrumentalities. Two factors limit their current effectiveness—outdated methods, and some members' concern that stronger institutions could become devices for U.S. domination. The system will be increasingly tested by the pervasive change and instabilities in the region. Together with our partners, we must resist efforts to weaken our regional system. Together we must provide it with financial support, reshape its institutions, and participate in a spirit of mutual respect.

The forces of nationalism and extremism. The United States must accommodate diversity and seek to maintain the fabric of hemispheric unity. We cannot afford to withdraw out of frustration or

allow ourselves to become isolated. We shall be prepared to negotiate pragmatically to prevent or resolve bilateral disputes. And we shall avoid actions which foster or reinforce anti-U.S. nationalism.

The experience of 1970 confirmed the judgment of October 1969: "Partnership—mutuality—these do not flow naturally. We have to work at them." But the year also signalled that a more balanced relationship is taking root. In a turbulent age, the mandate for our hemispheric policy is to act compassionately, to work cooperatively, and to strengthen the bonds of a maturing partnership.

Indochina

Vietnam

"There are many nations involved in the fighting in Indochina. Tonight, all those nations, except one, announce their readiness to agree to a cease-fire. The time has come for the Government of North Vietnam to join its neighbors in a proposal to quit making war and to start making peace."

Address to the Nation
October 7, 1970

"The allied sweeps into the North Vietnamese and Vietcong base areas along the Cambodian-South Vietnamese border:

—will save American and allied lives in the future;

—will assure that the withdrawal of American troops from South Vietnam can proceed on schedule;

—will enable our program of Vietnamization to continue on its current timetable;

—should enhance the prospects for a just peace."

Report to the Nation
June 30, 1970

These passages concern the two most important events of our Indochina policy during 1970. The first refers to our initiative for a ceasefire-in-place throughout Indochina, the centerpiece of the comprehensive peace proposals that I set forth on October 7. These proposals could end the war rapidly for all participants through negotiations.

The second describes the purposes of the allied operations last spring against enemy bases in Cambodia which helped to assure the progress of Vietnamization and our withdrawal program. These operations were crucial to our effort to reduce our involvement in the war in the absence of negotiations.

The Cambodian operations have borne immediate fruit while our Indochina peace proposals have not yet done so. These two events thus symbolize what has been true in Vietnam since this Administration took office: The South Vietnamese have made great progress in assuming the burdens of the war, a process which is in their hands and ours, but we have made little progress toward a negotiated peace, a process which requires Hanoi's participation.

After two years of the mandate from the American electorate, we can look back with satisfaction on the great distance we have travelled. This is my tenth major report on Indochina to the American peo-

ple. The overall trend is consistent and unmistakable.

What We Found and Where We Are

Understanding our purposes in Vietnam must begin with a look at the situation we found when we took office and the situation today. Let us compare them in concrete terms.

Two years ago the authorized troop strength for Americans in Vietnam was 549,500. Troop levels had risen steadily for five years. On January 1, 1971, that authorized level was 344,000, and on May 1, 1971, there will be a new ceiling of 284,000. Troop levels have dropped at a steady rate. The process will continue.

Two years ago American combat deaths for the previous twelve months were 14,561 and averaged 278 weekly. In 1969 the figures were 9,367 and 180, respectively. In 1970 they were 4,183 and 80; and indeed in the last six months they were 1,337 and 51. The decline has been constant.

Two years ago the enemy could launch major offensives in most parts of Vietnam. The pacification program was just beginning to recover from the setbacks of the 1968 Tet offensive. Now the enemy mounts very few significant operations and is particularly quiescent in Military Regions III and IV in southern South Vietnam, which contain two-thirds of the population. Pacification has made steady progress throughout these two years.

Two years ago there was no comprehensive allied peace plan for ending the war. Now, as the result of several initiatives by the Republic of Vietnam and ourselves, we have laid out a comprehensive and flexible framework for a negotiated settlement.

Two years ago the additional demands of the Vietnam War were costing us approximately 22 billion dollars per year. Today they are costing us approximately half that.

Two years ago the ratio of South Vietnamese forces to American forces in Vietnam was less than 2 to 1. Today it is more than 3½ to 1.

Two years ago the ratio of South Vietnamese to American major engagements with the enemy was about 7 to 1. Now it is about 16 to 1.

Two years ago there was no assurance that the South Vietnamese could undertake large-scale military operations on their own. Now, they have proven their ability to do so.

Two years ago the South Vietnamese constitutional system was just beginning to take hold. Since then the National Assembly and the Supreme Court have played increasingly meaningful roles, and there has been a series of elections at the province, village, and hamlet levels. Today, the political focus in South Vietnam for almost all forces except the Communists is within the established system.

Two years ago large areas of South Vietnam were unsafe and many routes impassable. Now, while there are still many dangerous pockets, the vast bulk of the country is secure.

This progress has been made possible largely by the efforts of the South Vietnamese. It is they who have compensated for the reduced U.S. effort. It is they who now carry the major part of the burden and are progressively taking on more.

In short, with assistance from us and other allies, the South Vietnamese have made their country the most dramatic and concrete example of the partnership

principle of the Nixon Doctrine.

Our Choices and Our Objectives

These facts show substantial advance. But to confine discussion of Vietnam to a recital of statistics, however impressive, would be inadequate, even irresponsible. While figures reflect policies, they do not fully define purposes.

Thus, this brief record of achievements is not meant to ignore the serious difficulties that remain. We do not intend to add to a painful record of prematurely optimistic assessments on Vietnam; we will discuss the problems and uncertainties as well as the advances.

The above record does recall the situation we inherited two years ago. I will not dwell on events leading up to January, 1969, but rather on the choices we had in selecting our course.

The conflict had been costly and frustrating for Americans, and many believed that this Administration should move to end immediately either the conflict or American involvement in it.

Some urged that we escalate in an attempt to impose a military solution on the battlefield. We ruled out this approach because of the nature of the conflict and of the enemy, the costs of such a policy, the risks of a wider war, and the deeply held convictions of many of our people. Increased military pressure could not alone win a struggle that was in part guerrilla war as well as conventional invasion, and included political as well as military aspects. It would have entailed a greatly increased toll in lives, treasure, and diplomatic objectives. It would have heightened the prospects of direct intervention by Hanoi's allies. It would have split apart our own society.

Others urged that we liquidate our presence immediately, cut our losses, and leave the South Vietnamese on their own. I have repeatedly explained why I considered this a disastrous path: For the South Vietnamese people, who would have lost their collective political choice and countless individual lives. For other non-Communist countries, especially in Asia, among whom not a single leader recommended such a policy. For the global credibility of the U.S. word. For those Americans who had made such heavy sacrifices. And for the integrity of American society in the post-Vietnam era.

Thus we rejected both of these routes. Yet we knew that we could not continue previous policies which offered no hope for either peace or reduced American involvement.

We chose instead what we considered the most responsible course left to us. We sought above all a rapid negotiated solution to the conflict by progressively defining the terms of a settlement that would accommodate the legitimate interests of both sides. And in the absence of a settlement we sought, through Vietnamization, to shift American responsibilities to the South Vietnamese.

In charting this course we recognized the following realities:

—The way we treated the most painful vestige of the previous era was crucial for a successful transition to a new foreign policy for a new era.

—The other side which had fought for two decades would agree to a negotiated settlement only if the terms were generous, and if the battlefield looked less promising than the conference table.

—Progressive turnover of the burden

to the Vietnamese themselves, however uncertain, was the only policy available once we had rejected the status quo, escalation and capitulation.

—The support of the American people during the remainder of the conflict required a diminishing U.S. involvement.

—The health of the American society after the conflict called for a solution that would not mock the sacrifices that had been made.

There has been one guiding principle, one irreducible objective, for both our negotiations and Vietnamization. I stated it on May 14, 1969, and consistently since: "We seek the opportunity for the South Vietnamese people to determine their own political future without outside interference."

In our search for a negotiated solution we have stretched our positions towards those of the other side. But we have not agreed to their demand that we impose a political future on the South Vietnamese at the conference table.

In Vietnamization we have withdrawn our forces as rapidly as the South Vietnamese could compensate for our presence. But we have not withdrawn them so as to allow the North Vietnamese to impose a political future on the battlefield.

A peaceful settlement will remain our overwhelming preference. We will not give up our search. But in the meantime we will not let down our friends.

Our policy has not satisfied—and cannot satisfy—either those who believe in a military solution or those who press for an immediate end to our involvement. For the vast majority of Americans who prefer a just peace to capitulation, there is, of course, still room for debate and criticism. But we ask these Americans to recall the situation we found two years ago, to judge the soundness of our purposes, and to measure the record to date against these purposes. They can be sure that we shall keep our promises in the future, as we have kept them in the past.

Negotiations

From the outset our constant primary goal has been a negotiated end to the war for all participants. We would take no satisfaction in the fact that after U.S. involvement and casualties were ended, Vietnamese continued to fight Vietnamese.

However, it takes two sides to negotiate, and Hanoi's attitude has been consistently intransigent. No progress has been made despite the advancement in 1970 of the two elements which might make the North Vietnamese consider negotiations to be in their interest:

—the creation of conditions which give them incentive to turn to negotiations rather than protracted war—the tremendous drain on their manpower and resources, the growing strength of the South Vietnamese military forces and political system, and the continuing support of the American people for our Indochina policy.

—the elaboration of our various proposals which are designed to make clear to the other side that they will have a fair chance for political power to the extent desired by popular will.

Since 1968 the U.S. has done almost everything that various parties—including Hanoi—told us would kindle negotiations. We halted the bombing and other

acts of force against North Vietnam. We agreed to NLF participation in the Paris talks. We agreed to the principle of withdrawal and made initial withdrawals of American troops. We made substantial withdrawals, soon to total 265,000. We agreed in principle to remove all our troops. We took a series of de-escalatory steps, such as cutting back our B–52 and tactical air sorties. And we appointed a new senior negotiator in Paris.

These steps, except for the bombing halt, were unilateral measures, designed not only to reduce our involvement, but also to open the door to negotiations. Each of them was urged by the other side as a constructive contribution. None of them has generated movement by the other side.

In an effort to make progress in Paris, we have offered broad proposals for a negotiated solution to the war. On May 14, 1969, I proposed a plan which would remove all outside forces from South Vietnam and allow the people freely to decide their political future through internationally supervised elections. On July 11, 1969, President Thieu invited the other side to participate in the political life of South Vietnam.

These proposals laid out the framework for what we believed would be a resolution of the conflict equitable to all parties. We recognized, however, that a political settlement was the heart of the matter; it is what the fighting has been all about. And we knew that the other side suspected the electoral process and doubted that it would have a fair chance at political power.

We thus moved to define more precisely the political solution we envisaged. On April 20, 1970, I set forth the principles that we think should govern a fair political settlement in South Vietnam:

—A political solution must reflect the will of the South Vietnamese people and allow them to determine their future without outside interference.

—A fair political solution should reflect the existing relationship of political forces within South Vietnam.

—We will abide by the outcome of the political process agreed upon.

Having defined our principles on the central political issue, we looked for a comprehensive approach that might provide both the structure and stimulus for genuine negotiations. During the Cambodian operations I ordered a thorough review within the government of all possible initiatives that might engage the other side in meaningful dialogue. After summer-long studies and meetings, on October 7, 1970, I presented a broad five-point peace plan with the concurrence of the governments of South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia:

—An internationally supervised cease-fire-in-place throughout Indochina, governed by principles which would make it acceptable and credible to both sides. This was designed to stop the fighting at once and hopefully create new conditions and avenues for a negotiated settlement.

—An Indochina Peace Conference. This reflected the facts that North Vietnamese forces were in Laos and Cambodia as well as Vietnam and that a stable peace in one required a stable peace in all.

—The withdrawal of all American forces from South Vietnam on a timetable to be negotiated as part of an overall settlement. This was to make clear that we were prepared to remove *all* American troops.

71-234—72——20

—A political settlement in South Vietnam based on the political principles I had stated on April 20. This was to reaffirm to the other side our willingness to search for a political process that would meet their concerns.

—The immediate and unconditional release of all prisoners of war, journalists, and other innocent civilian victims held by both sides. This was to underline our view that the prisoner issue was strictly humanitarian and need not await resolution of other problems.

Months of analytical work had laid the groundwork for the ceasefire proposal. We projected for a year into the future the possible developments on the ground under different ceasefire conditions. We deliberately recognized the other side's essential conditions. And we rejected ceasefire proposals that looked more advantageous for our side in security terms in order to place the greatest possible emphasis on negotiability.

In making our formal proposals and throughout the last two years we have emphasized, both privately and publicly, that we and the Republic of Vietnam would be flexible and generous once serious negotiations were under way.

The other side's constant response has been to demand that we unconditionally withdraw all U.S. forces and replace the leaders of the Republic of Vietnam with a coalition government. Their position is unacceptable to us on several counts.

First, the substance of their demands. They say nothing about what they will do about North Vietnamese forces, when we believe the South Vietnamese should be free of all outside intervention. They ask us to impose a future on South Vietnam, when we believe the people should choose that future.

Secondly, their view of the negotiating process. The Communists pose their demands as *preconditions* to negotiations. If we were to pay this price there would be nothing left to negotiate.

Thirdly, the incompatibility of their demands. Even if we were to agree to their first demand and pull out unilaterally, we would have absolutely no incentive to agree to their second demand of assuring their political victory in South Vietnam. This would be their problem, not ours. It would be up to them to compete with the growing strength of the South Vietnamese.

Lastly, the Communist definition of a coalition government. Their definition makes a mockery of the concept itself. They prescribe that one-third of the coalition government would be from the NLF, one-third from those people in the "Saigon Administration" who stand for "peace, independence, and neutrality," and one-third from other forces who also stand for these principles.

Since the Communists reserve the right to define the principles of "peace, independence, and neutrality" and to decide which people support these principles, their proposal for a coalition government boils down to a demand that they nominate one-third of the government without restrictions and have a veto power over the other two-thirds. It is a formula for a guaranteed political takeover.

Thus, the issue is not, as some would have it, a question of a few personalities in the Saigon government standing in the way of a peaceful solution. The Communists seek not only the removal of the

elected leaders of the present Government but the disruption of all organized non-Communist forces.

The fundamental question in the negotiations, in short, is the means of allocating political power in South Vietnam. The other side wants to negotiate in Paris an allotment of power that would assure their dominance. Our proposals call for a fair competitive process that would consult the will of the South Vietnamese people and reflect the existing relationship of political forces.

We recognize that finding an appropriate and equitable means of expressing South Vietnamese political will is a complex task. There is little guidance to be drawn from Vietnamese history. Nevertheless, if our adversaries ever make a political decision to negotiate seriously, I believe we could find a way to reach a solution fair for all parties. We know that after we leave, the other side will still be there. We know that for a settlement to endure all parties must want it to endure.

We remain prepared to make a major effort in the shaping of such a settlement.

Vietnamization

Although committed to a maximum effort to reach a negotiated end to the war, we needed an alternative.

For negotiations were not entirely in our hands. North Vietnamese history and doctrine did not make for encouraging prospects. Their calculus of the situation in South Vietnam, and more particularly in the United States, probably made them believe that time was on their side. And even if a settlement did come through negotiations, it might take a long period.

At home we did not have the option of continuing as we had—and the enemy knew it. So we chose a policy that we believed would gain the sustained support of the American people and thus give us a chance both to fulfill our objectives in Vietnam and to demonstrate to the other side that time was not necessarily with them. Such a policy seemed the only chance of giving the South Vietnamese a fair chance, and the best hope of inducing the North Vietnamese to negotiate.

Thus the alternative, and hopefully the spur, to negotiations, is Vietnamization that I have described on several occasions.

This policy fulfills our objective of reducing American involvement. It cannot, except over a long period, end the war altogether. Still, if Vietnamization leads to perpetuating the war, it is not by our design but because the other side refuses to settle for anything less than a guaranteed takeover.

In last year's report I described the successes of this program during its first months, and attempted to determine the depth and durability of this progress. We posed four central uncertainties for the future:

—the enemy's capability to mount sustained operations and undo our gains.

—the actual improvement in allied capabilities, particularly Vietnamese leadership, logistics, tactics, and political sensitivity.

—the alternative strategies open to the enemy, including protracted warfare, in which they could wait out our withdrawals and then, with reinvigorated efforts, once again seize the initiative.

—most importantly, the attitudes of the Vietnamese people toward both sides and the likelihood that pacification gains would stick.

These issues certainly cannot be re-

solved in one year. However, on all there was encouraging progress during 1970:

—The enemy, partly because of strategy, but in great measure due to limited capability, did not mount sustained large-scale operations. This was partly the result of the Cambodian operations.

—A marked improvement in South Vietnamese performance was shown repeatedly in large-scale operations both in Vietnam and in Cambodia, and in their increasing tactical and logistic skills.

—The enemy chose a protracted warfare strategy. We still face the question of whether he might regain the initiative once the bulk of our forces have left, but the growing capabilities of the South Vietnamese must give Hanoi pause.

—The attitude of the Vietnamese people remains crucial and difficult to judge, but rural security grew and pacification gains were sustained.

During 1970, concrete results of Vietnamization punctuated these trends. Our withdrawal program proceeded on schedule with the April 20 announcement of the withdrawal of another 150,000 Americans below the authorized ceiling, bringing total reductions since the start of Vietnamization to 265,500 by May 1, 1971. The very fact that we could project our withdrawals a year in advance was a sign of major progress.

As we have moved ahead with this program we have continued to confer not only with the South Vietnamese but also the other allies who have sent troops to help South Vietnam—Australia, Korea, New Zealand, and Thailand.

South Vietnamese forces showed themselves increasingly capable of providing security for their country. There are now 1.1 million men bearing arms for the Government—200,000 more than in 1968. The continued strengthening of local and territorial forces freed more and more South Vietnamese regular units for combat against regular North Vietnamese Army units. The South Vietnamese accounted for a growing bulk of combat engagements. They took over more of our bases. They completely assumed naval operational responsibilities inside the country. And they substantially stepped up the role of their air forces, flying almost half the sorties in South Vietnam. More intangible, but equally significant, were their greatly increased self-confidence and initiative.

The level of fighting dropped greatly, especially in the southern portions of South Vietnam. And American casualties continued their steady decline, a result of lesser enemy activity, fewer Americans, and the increased share of the combat burden picked up by the South Vietnamese.

Pacification

American withdrawal is the primary reflection of Vietnamization while pacification is its primary goal.

Our withdrawal program poses two fundamental issues. First, at what pace can we take out our forces? We base our decisions on the above considerations backed up by various studies, such as a recently completed analysis of the large unit war situation in each of South Vietnam's four military regions.

Then, how do we protect those forces who remain? We are confident that the steadily growing strength of the South Vietnamese and the impact of the sanctuary sweeps are sufficient to handle possible

threats. Nevertheless, North Vietnam might try to take advantage of our redeployments by building up its strength in the South and launching new attacks. In this case, I have made clear on a dozen occasions that I would take strong and effective measures to prevent the enemy from jeopardizing our remaining forces.

The other important aspect of Vietnamization is pacification, which in broadest terms concerns the situation in the countryside—physical security, popular allegiance, and the military, administrative, and political effectiveness of both sides. As the enemy's main force units have been pushed farther away from population centers, the task of extending governmental presence has become progressively easier.

In order to assess the progress in the countryside we developed a new indicator to measure the portions of population under Government control, under the influence of both sides, and under the control of the other side. The basic criteria are whether a hamlet has adequate defense and a fully functioning Government official resident both at day and at night. We devised tough and realistic measures of these two criteria.

In mid-1969 the indicator showed roughly 40% of the rural population under South Vietnamese control, 50% under the influence of both sides, and 10% under the control of the other side. Recently these proportions were respectively 65%, 30%, and 5%. When South Vietnam's urban population of six million, all under government control, is added to the over seven million rural population in that category, roughly 80% of the total population of South Vietnam is controlled by the Government.

This indicator cannot tell us precisely what is going on in the countryside. It does give us a good grasp of trends—and the trends have been favorable. We are confident that real and substantial progress has been made.

Honest observers can differ on quantitative measures of success in pacification; it is even more difficult to appraise such intangible factors as rural attitudes toward the central government and confidence in its ability to guide the country's affairs. But today more South Vietnamese receive governmental protection and services than at any time in the past six years.

Pacification progress has been slower, however, in certain key provinces in the northern half of South Vietnam, closer to the enemy's staging areas in North Vietnam and Laos. The supply bases in southern Laos perform the function of the destroyed sanctuaries in Cambodia. In these northern provinces the ravages of war have been more severe and the Communist infrastructure has been deeply rooted for over 20 years. Here especially the South Vietnamese Government must increase its efforts to develop capable forces and implement programs to gain the support of the rural population.

Cambodian Sanctuary Operations

Much of this accelerated progress in Vietnamization was due to the now indisputable military success of the allied operations against the enemy sanctuaries in Cambodia last spring.

The March 18 deposition of Prince Sihanouk caught us, as well as everyone else, completely by surprise. The situation that had existed in Cambodia, with the North Vietnamese and Viet Cong occupying a series of enclaves along the border, represented a troublesome but not in-

superable obstacle to our efforts in South Vietnam. Our first reaction to Prince Sihanouk's removal was to encourage the negotiations which the Cambodian government was seeking with the Communists. However, Hanoi flatly refused such a course and rapidly spread out its forces to link up its base areas and pose a growing threat to the neutral government in Phnom Penh.

As I pointed out in my final report on the Cambodian operations, enemy actions during April and captured enemy documents unmistakably show their intentions. We faced the prospect of one large enemy base camp 600 miles along South Vietnam's flank; a solid supply route from the port of Sihanoukville through which most of the war materiel for the southern half of South Vietnam had come in the previous six years; and a vast staging and sanctuary area from which to attack allied forces in Vietnam with impunity. This would have meant increased enemy attacks, higher casualties among our men and our allies, and a clear threat to Vietnamization, the withdrawal program, and the security of South Vietnam.

Our choice, though difficult, seemed the more necessary the longer we pondered it. If we wished to pursue the policy of turning over responsibilities to the South Vietnamese and withdrawing our troops, we had to clear out the enemy sanctuaries. The alternative was to allow the enemy to build up this threat without challenge, to increase his attacks, and to raise allied casualties. This would sooner or later have confronted us with the choice of either halting our withdrawals, or continuing them but jeopardizing the lives of those remaining behind.

I preferred to make a difficult decision in April rather than magnifying our dilemma by postponement.

The results of our joint two-month operations with the South Vietnamese, and the subsequent sweeps of the sanctuaries by South Vietnamese forces, removed this threat. There were as well these positive results:

—greatly reduced American casualties; in the six months before the sanctuary operations the average weekly casualties were 93, in the six months after they were 51.

—extensive materiel and manpower losses for the enemy which they are taking a long time to replace.

—the ending of the concept of immune Cambodian sanctuaries.

—the dislocation of enemy supply lines and strategy in the Saigon and Mekong Delta regions; as a result the main forces war substantially ended for the southern half of the country during 1970.

—precluded the enemy from reopening his route of supply by sea.

—separation of Communist main force and guerrilla units and a boost to pacification efforts in the southern half of the Republic of Vietnam.

—insurance that our troop withdrawals would continue.

—increased time for the South Vietnamese to strengthen themselves.

—a tremendous lift in the morale and self-confidence of the South Vietnamese.

My decision to send U.S. ground forces into Cambodia, though clearly required because of these factors, was nevertheless anguishing because of the domestic reaction.

At the time those who urged an immediate American pullout from Vietnam were joined in protest by some who gen-

erally support our phased withdrawals but misread the Cambodian operations as a return to a policy of escalation. I believed then that the impact of these actions—reduced enemy activity, lowered U.S. casualties, and continued withdrawals—would ultimately persuade some of the latter of the wisdom of our decision.

While many Americans may still disagree with that decision, I think the facts since June 30 have conclusively demonstrated not only the tactical success of the operations, but also their strategic purpose of reducing American involvement in Vietnam.

Political and Economic Issues

Vietnamization has political and economic dimensions in addition to military ones. They will become increasingly important as the war winds down.

Political development in any newly independent country is a challenging task. When that country is under fire from a determined enemy, the difficulties are multiplied. The government sees its first priority as providing security. Military considerations are likely to dominate the time of officials, the content of programs, and the freedom of political life.

Nevertheless, political development in a paramilitary conflict is a crucial ingredient of a government's effort. It is increasingly important in Vietnam as the military struggle subsides. Ultimately, the fate of Vietnam will turn on political factors—the motivation of the people during the conflict; the cohesion of non-Communist political forces in a possible electoral competition with the Communists; the solidity of the political institutions during and after the war.

There has been a steady political evolution in South Vietnam beginning with the election of a Constitutional Assembly in 1966 and of the President and National Assembly in 1967. In 1970 there were continued signs of a growing commitment to the political institutions established by the 1967 Constitution. Elections for hamlet chiefs and for Village, Municipal, and Provincial Councils took place throughout the country. There were also elections for half the seats in the Upper House which attracted a wide spectrum of non-Communist political forces.

1970 saw enactment of Land-to-the-Tiller legislation, a sweeping land reform program which will give land to tenant farmers and could have significant political impact. It has our full support.

The Presidential and Lower House elections this year will further test the fabric of the constitutional system, the strengths of the various political factions, and the allegiance of the people. 1971 will show the extent of political development in South Vietnam. Vietnamese people of all factions will judge the responsiveness of the political process and register their verdicts. The enemy will seek to exploit the political currents of an election year. But it will also be watching—and perhaps drawing conclusions from—the stability of the system.

The maintenance of a sound South Vietnamese economy is crucial for Vietnamization. This problem was of great concern in 1970, but the Government moved on it with some encouraging results.

Our extensive review of the economic situation in July, 1970, made it abundantly clear that the key Vietnamization goals of constructive political change and increased South Vietnamese military performance were intimately linked to the goal of a sound economy.

Prices rose by over fifty percent in the twelve months up to mid-1970. These increases were eroding the purchasing power of the already near-subsistence pay received by many soldiers and civil servants at the very time they were being tasked with the growing burdens of Vietnamization. Moreover, if inflation had continued, the economic security of other major groups, such as farmers, veterans, and urban workers, could have been jeopardized.

In the fall of 1970 the South Vietnamese Government took strong fiscal and monetary actions, including an important reform of the exchange rate. These difficult steps, supplemented by a slight increase in our assistance to offset the increased budgetary costs of Vietnamization, dramatically arrested an accelerating inflation. The price level rose by only about four percent in the last half of the year, setting the stage for policies that can lead to more enduring economic stability.

There are two lessons to be drawn from these developments:

—First, Vietnamization of the economy and the war cannot be accomplished at the same time without our economic assistance. As the South Vietnamese take on more of the fighting they divert more resources from internal production. Our assistance, by providing the external resources to help maintain internal levels of consumption for soldiers, farmers and workers, is a vital aspect of Vietnamization. We will provide external support commensurate with the military burden borne by the economy and people in this difficult period of transition.

—Second, we can do no more for the Vietnamese economy than it does for itself. The enterprise and resourcefulness of the Vietnamese people are widely acknowledged. Thus, as demonstrated in 1970, the vital link between our assistance and a sound economy is the Vietnamese Government's economic policy. We will continue to expect the Government to take all reasonable self-help measures.

While we provide assistance to support Vietnamization, we are looking towards the time when the economy can become self-sufficient. The date depends not only on the course of the war but on the pace of economic development. The country's potential is great. For example, even as the war has continued, increasing domestic rice production will cause rice imports to decline from over 700,000 annual tons in the late 1960's to about 100,000 tons in 1971 and zero in 1972. Together with the South Vietnamese we are analyzing the development prospects and plan to begin discussions this year on measures, to include additional funding, that can be taken to hasten the process. We believe other countries will want to participate in this effort.

We look forward to the day when the peoples of Vietnam, South and North, can turn from the waste of war to the constructive tasks of peace.

Prisoners of War

We have the deepest concern for the plight of our prisoners of war in Indochina. Some 1600 Americans, including pilots and soldiers and some 40 civilians, are missing or held in North Vietnam, South Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. Some have been held as long as six years, longer than for any other prisoners of war in our history.

The enemy violates specific require-

ments of the Geneva Prisoner of War Convention, by which they are bound. They violate common standards of decency as well.

They have not permitted impartial inspection of prison camps despite constant attempts to arrange such visits. They have refused to repatriate seriously sick and wounded prisoners. They have failed to identify all prisoners and to allow many of them to correspond with their families.

We and the South Vietnamese have made intensive efforts this past year to secure better treatment and the release of allied prisoners—through global diplomacy, through proposals in Paris, and through the courageous raid at Son Tay. Congressional expressions have been valuable in underlining American public concern. The world increasingly condemned the other side's practices, and the UN General Assembly passed a resolution this fall which underscored the international obligation to treat prisoners humanely.

I repeat my October 7 proposal for the immediate and unconditional release of all prisoners of war held by both sides. All prisoners, journalists, and other civilian captives should be released now to return to the place of their choice. Such action would not only meet humanitarian concerns; it might also lead to progress on other aspects of a peace settlement.

As first steps, the Republic of Vietnam, with our support, has offered to repatriate all sick and wounded prisoners of war. It has unilaterally returned groups of such prisoners, despite North Vietnam's refusal to make orderly arrangements for their repatriation. And it has proposed the release of all North Vietnamese prisoners of war in return for all U.S. and allied prisoners in Indochina and any South Vietnamese prisoners held outside South Vietnam. We profoundly regret the other side's refusal to respond to these initiatives.

The treatment of prisoners of war anywhere is not a political or military issue, but a matter of simple humanity. As I said on October 7:

"War and imprisonment should be over for all these prisoners. They and their families have already suffered too much."

This government will continue to take all possible measures to secure the end of imprisonment as well as the end of the war.

No discussion of Vietnam would be complete without paying tribute to the brave Americans who have served there. Many have sacrificed years of their lives. Others have sacrificed life itself.

These Americans have fought in a war which differed from our previous experience. We have not sought a traditional military victory. The complex nature of this conflict posed unprecedented difficulties for those involved.

It is to their lasting credit that Americans in Vietnam have overcome these difficulties and conducted themselves in our best tradition.

Problems for the Future

There are sobering problems still remaining in Vietnam:

—*Enemy Capabilities and Intentions.* Despite heavy losses, the North Vietnamese have the manpower, the logistical network, and the dedication to continue fighting if they wish. Although their main force units have been greatly reduced, they still pose a considerable threat, especially in Military Regions I and II in South Vietnam. Hanoi could instead use its buildup of forces in South Laos and

Northeastern Cambodia to step up its pressures against the Cambodian government or to increase its hold on Cambodian territory. In any event, Communist terrorist activities, assassinations, and kidnappings continue to exact a tragic toll from the Vietnamese people.

—*The Vietnamization Process.* Vietnamization made very encouraging advances during 1970. The fundamental question remains: can the South Vietnamese fully stand on their own against a determined enemy? We—and more importantly the South Vietnamese—are confident that they can. Substantial problems remain, however: improving the leadership of South Vietnamese forces at all levels; enhancing their ability to take on support as well as combat functions; providing assistance to Cambodia and bettering Vietnamese-Cambodian understanding; rooting out the Viet Cong infrastructure in the countryside; assuring political stability in the cities; managing the strains on the Vietnamese economy as we continue to Vietnamize other aspects of the conflict; and moving against corruption which not only poisons the moral atmosphere but also carries potential political impact. This is a formidable agenda, but South Vietnamese accomplishments to date demonstrate their capacity to deal with it.

—*The Negotiating Stalemate.* Our intensive efforts in 1970 failed to yield progress in the Paris negotiations. We frankly expected that our elaboration of political principles, the appointment of Ambassador Bruce, and the October 7 peace initiative would produce some movement from the other side. We will not give up on negotiations, though the past year indicated that it will be extremely difficult to overcome the enemy's mix of doctrine, calculations, and suspicion. There is the additional fact that as our forces decline, the role we can play on many aspects of a settlement is also bound to decline.

The substantial record of achievement in the first two years of this Administration cannot obscure one fundamental fact—the fighting continues.

If winding down the war is my greatest satisfaction in foreign policy, the failure to end it is my deepest disappointment. We will not be content until all conflict is stilled. This sentiment was the driving force behind our proposal for a cease-fire. It is at the core of our policy, for as I said on April 20:

"The death of a single man in war, whether he is an American, a South Vietnamese, a Viet Cong, or a North Vietnamese, is a human tragedy. That is why we want to end this war and achieve a just peace. We call upon our adversaries to join us in working at the conference table toward that goal."

I once again ask the other side to work for a settlement that will stop the fighting, meet the concerns of all parties, and last because all want it to last.

LAOS AND CAMBODIA

"The war in Indochina has been proved to be of one piece; it cannot be cured by treating only one of its areas of outbreak."

Address by the President
October 7, 1970

Enduring peace will come for Vietnam

only when there is peace for its neighbors.

Hanoi has made the war an Indochina conflict. In South Vietnam there are some 100,000 North Vietnamese troops. In Laos there are about 90,000. In Cambodia there are over 50,000 North Vietnamese and Viet Cong. These troops challenge the legitimate governments of Laos and Cambodia, and they menace South Vietnam from within and without.

The situations in Laos and Cambodia are comparable:

—Neither one poses any threat to North Vietnam.

—North Vietnam, nevertheless, has for years been violating their neutrality and independence, guaranteed in international accords which Hanoi and its allies signed.

—In both countries North Vietnamese regular troops strip away any pretense of civil war. In Laos indigenous Pathet Lao play an insignificant military role, while in Cambodia only small numbers of Cambodians help the North Vietnamese and Viet Cong.

—In both countries Hanoi has two aims. First, and primarily, to use them as infiltration routes, staging bases, and sanctuaries for attacks against South Vietnam. Secondly, to erode governmental control in order to aid their efforts in South Vietnam and perhaps take over Laos and Cambodia themselves.

United States Policy

This canvas poses two fundamental questions for the United States:

—What should be our policy toward Laos and Cambodia as countries under external attack?

—How do we deal with the major implications for our policy in South Vietnam?

North Vietnam's aggression against Laos and Cambodia and its violation of the 1954 and 1962 Geneva Agreements are important. We care about the preservation of international agreements and the independence of these nations. But our immediate concern is that North Vietnam uses them as springboards for assaults on a country where we have a firm commitment, have invested lives, treasure, and prestige, and have Americans to protect as we progressively withdraw. Furthermore, if Hanoi were to gain control of Laos and Cambodia, a large portion of the more than 140,000 Communist troops now engaged in these countries would be freed to fight in South Vietnam.

As we pursued our policy of Vietnamization and negotiation for Vietnam we could not ignore these unavoidable facts on its flank. Our basic choices for Laos and Cambodia became:

—to seek diplomatic settlements for both countries, either as part of an all-Indochina arrangement or separately.

—to provide military support both to Laos and Cambodia and to South Vietnamese defensive operations, without U.S. ground combat involvement.

We have always wished to stabilize the borders of South Vietnam and to insure the neutrality of its neighbors by diplomatic means. My October 7 peace initiative, supported by the three governments, proposed for all of Indochina:

—a ceasefire to stop the fighting.

—an international conference to seal the peace.

—the immediate release of all prisoners of war.

This comprehensive approach came against a background of consistent efforts to reach diplomatic solutions. From the outset, this Administration has continued American support for the efforts of Prime Minister Souvanna Phouma to reconstitute the 1962 Geneva Agreements guaranteeing his country's neutrality, independence and territorial integrity. In Cambodia we long tolerated a difficult military situation and encouraged negotiations when Prince Sihanouk was removed.

To date, Hanoi has rejected diplomacy and spread the conflict. The Lao government for many years, and the Cambodian government this year, have turned to us and others for assistance.

These developments left us with the choice between military options. After our one-time sweep against the Communist bases in Cambodia, we have ruled out American ground combat troops in either Laos or Cambodia for several reasons. Our fundamental Vietnam-related objectives are served by other means. In any event, we believe the two governments can survive through their own efforts, our various kinds of assistance, and that of other friends. We look to them to shoulder the primary combat responsibilities for their own defense.

Moreover, the enemy has its own problems. Despite its ability and willingness to pour thousands of troops into all three countries, North Vietnam faces certain limits imposed by manpower drain and long supply lines. Lack of indigenous support in Laos and Cambodia severely hampers Communist troop movements. And we do not assume that Hanoi's allies want Laos and Cambodia removed from the map of Southeast Asia.

Thus we did not oppose Congressional restrictions this past year on the use of U.S. ground combat forces in those countries, even though we had strong reservations about the principle of circumscribing executive authority.

Instead of deploying our troops, we have helped those countries help themselves. In Cambodia, South Vietnam's preemptive thrusts have been crucial for their mutual defense.

Three arguments are raised against these South Vietnamese operations outside their borders:

—That they spread South Vietnamese forces thin. On the contrary, by striking against the enemy's supply system and reducing the border threat, these actions contract the territory that the South Vietnamese army must defend. The alternative of inviolate enemy sanctuaries along a front of 600 miles would stretch South Vietnamese forces much more severely.

—That South Vietnam is expanding the war. Its troops have gone only where the North Vietnamese have been entrenched and violating one country's territory to attack another. It is Hanoi which expanded the war years ago.

—That our support of the South Vietnamese will draw us into wider war. If we are to reduce our involvement in Indochina, we must shield our withdrawals by backing these sweeps against potential threats. At a time when we are cutting our military presence in one country, we are naturally reluctant to send troops into neighboring ones—on grounds both of strategy and American domestic support. It would make little sense for us, while withdrawing hundreds

of thousands of ground combat troops from Vietnam, to reintroduce a few into Laos or Cambodia.

The arguments against South Vietnam's defensive actions suggest that Hanoi has the right—without provocation and with complete immunity—to send its forces into Laos and Cambodia, threaten their governments, and prepare to bring its full strength to bear on South Vietnam itself.

The choice for South Vietnam is not between limiting and expanding the war. It is between what it is doing in self-defense and passively watching the menace grow along its borders.

In time the combined populations of 28 million in South Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia, with assistance from their regional partners, should more than balance the resources of North Vietnam, with its population of 20 million. During this transition period, however, our own defensive supporting actions are important. Let me briefly review them.

Cambodia

In Cambodia we pursued the policy of the previous Administration until North Vietnamese actions after Prince Sihanouk was deposed made this impossible.

In the previous chapter on Vietnam I briefly recalled the background and results of the allied sweeps against the Communist sanctuaries which were so vital to Vietnamization. With the operations concluded, our policy for Cambodia took shape as follows:

—No U.S. ground combat personnel in the country, and no U.S. advisors with Cambodian units.

—Air missions against enemy supplies and personnel that pose a potential threat to South Vietnam or seek to establish base areas relevant to Vietnam.

—Military assistance to the Cambodian Government in amounts and types suitable for their army.

—Encourage other countries of the region to give diplomatic assistance.

—Encourage and support the efforts of third countries who wish to furnish troops or material.

The loss of the use of Sihanoukville, as well as the base areas, was a serious setback for Hanoi. For many years almost all North Vietnamese supplies for Military Regions III and IV in South Vietnam passed through the port. Accordingly, during the latter part of 1970 the North Vietnamese stepped up their efforts to reestablish sanctuaries and their attacks on the Cambodian Government. They sought either to reopen their supply lines to southern South Vietnam or to install by force a government in Phnom Penh that would accomplish the same purpose. They failed to do either, but they posed significant threats.

To deny them renewed use of these assets we helped the Cambodians defend themselves and we supported South Vietnam's operations. Substantially greater military and economic assistance was needed to support the Cambodian army, which was growing from some 40,000 to over 200,000 in a very short period of time. The quarter billion dollars that Congress has appropriated as part of the foreign assistance supplemental recognized that Cambodia was facing outright aggression, that it was doing everything possible on its own, and that our assistance was appropriate for its self-defense and to aid Vietnamization and our withdrawals from South Vietnam.

This past year there were also encourag-

ing signs of regional cooperation:

—The South Vietnamese, at Cambodia's request, continued to sweep the sanctuary areas, conduct ground operations in support of Cambodian forces, and provide air and logistic support and training.

—Other Asian countries, such as Thailand, Japan, Australia, New Zealand, and the Republic of China, supplied various forms of assistance.

—Eleven Asian nations met on their own initiative at Djakarta last spring and sought through diplomatic means to preserve Cambodia's neutrality and independence.

Cambodia is, in short, a concrete illustration of Nixon Doctrine principles:

—assumption of primary responsibility for its own defense.

—help from regional friends.

—our support through military and economic assistance.

The objective of all our activities related to Cambodia remains constant: to bar the reestablishment of secure Communist base areas that could jeopardize allied forces in Vietnam. Together with the South Vietnamese, we are trying to prevent the enemy from building up their capabilities for major offensives. Our aim is to destroy their supplies and disrupt their planning for assaults on allied forces in South Vietnam. Communist movements may require fluctuations in the level of our air activities as well as our increased material assistance. They will not deflect us from our overall course of phased withdrawal from Indochina.

Laos

On March 6, 1970, I gave the first comprehensive accounting of our activities in Laos that has ever been made to the American people. I traced the pattern of subversion and then invasion by North Vietnam. I reviewed U.S. efforts under previous administrations to help the legitimate government. When we took office, there had already been a U.S. military assistance program for six years and increasing U.S. air operations for four.

Since early 1963 the North Vietnamese have in effect conducted two wars in Laos. In the north they have kept up constant pressure against the neutralist government established in 1962 at their own urging. In the south they have occupied and fortified the Ho Chi Minh Trail area to attack South Vietnam.

In the face of these continuing North Vietnamese actions, we believed that the U.S. role we inherited remained important. Our material aid and air operations in the north were needed to support the Royal Lao Government and preserve the 1962 Geneva Agreements. In the south, Vietnamization called for continued air strikes against the enemy to protect allied forces. Since 1965 at least 630,000 North Vietnamese troops have streamed down the Trail. They have brought with them more than 400,000 weapons, over 100 million pounds of ammunition, and at least 200 million pounds of food.

Our defensive and supportive policy was outlined in the March 6 statement:

—no American ground combat forces.

—minimum American presence.

—military assistance for regular and irregular Lao forces when requested by the Lao government.

—reconnaissance flights and air operations to interdict North Vietnamese troops and supplies on the Ho Chi Minh Trail.

—logistic and air support for Lao forces when requested by the government.

Within this framework we have maintained our military aid and air operations during the past year in response to increased North Vietnamese levels of infiltration and aggression.

Southern Laos became critical for Hanoi after the allied Cambodian operations deprived it of the port of Sihanoukville and the border sanctuaries. They swelled their forces in the area by more than 25,000, captured the towns of Saravane and Attopeu, and intensively built up their supplies and their logistics network. Whereas for years southern Laos had been central to Hanoi's operations in northern South Vietnam, at the end of 1970 it was becoming the hub and crossroads of Hanoi's campaigns throughout Indochina. Almost all of its men and supplies were now flowing through this area. The strategic principles that applied to the enemy's bases in Cambodia were valid as well for southern Laos. Hanoi deepened the area's part in the Vietnam war, with direct implications for Vietnamization and our withdrawals.

The Prospects

We do not underestimate the difficulties ahead for Laos and Cambodia. Hanoi has intensified the war on these fronts and its focus is likely to remain there in the coming months.

The Lao government has already demonstrated determination to preserve its independence in the face of overt aggression, diplomatically if possible, militarily if necessary. The Cambodians also have the essential ingredients for success—national unity, maximum self-help, and the support of friends. The country's small, unprepared army is gaining both in size and ability, and the spirit of its people continues to inspire all observers. We can expect major testing of Cambodia over the coming months, but we believe that time is on its side.

Our future policy in Laos and Cambodia will follow the lines we have established. We face some very serious problems:

—At the conference table. Even if Hanoi were to negotiate genuinely about Vietnam, difficult issues remain concerning its neighbors: the removal of North Vietnamese and Viet Cong troops, the securing of South Vietnam's borders, and the reestablishment of the Geneva Agreements.

—On the battlefield. Enemy intentions and capabilities in Indochina will pose some hard choices about the deployment of allied troops as we pursue our own withdrawals. While North Vietnamese activities have subsided in South Vietnam, some of their 60,000 troops massed in southern Laos could move into South Vietnam, or into Cambodia, or against northern Laos. In Cambodia we can expect sustained enemy thrusts against the government.

—In the United States. We will have the continuing responsibility of explaining the purpose and extent of our activities in Laos and Cambodia. North Vietnamese actions could require high levels of American assistance and air operations in order to further Vietnamization and our withdrawals.

I will continue to do what is necessary to protect American men as they leave

Vietnam. Throughout I will keep the American people and the Congress fully informed.

A negotiated settlement for all Indochina remains our highest priority. But if the other side leaves us no choice, we will follow the alternate route to peace—phasing out our involvement while giving the region's friendly countries the time and the means to defend themselves.

East Asia and the Pacific

"Today, as we look to the future of the Pacific, we recognize that whether peace survives in the last third of the century will depend more on what happens in the Pacific than in any other area of the world."

Remarks Upon the Arrival of Prime Minister Sato of Japan
November 19, 1969

The home of almost half the population of the earth, second to none in the richness of its human talents and energy, possessing vast material resources, and encompassing the central land mass of the earth, Asia and the Pacific region lie at the heart of the task of creating a stable structure of world peace. Since the Second World War, it is only in this region that developments have impelled America to send her sons to war. Asia and the Pacific includes territories of the seven most populous and the three wealthiest powers, with all that implies for the vital nature of their interests. A Pacific power ourselves, our security and economic interests are inextricably involved with the future of Asia.

It is therefore essential to our national well-being that we accept the truth—and that our policies reflect the fact—that an era has ended in Asia.

BEYOND THE NIXON DOCTRINE

A new Asia is emerging. The Nixon Doctrine is only the beginning of the adjustment of the American role to an era in which the last vestiges of the postwar period will be gone.

—The old enmities of World War II are dead or dying. So are the old dependencies of the postwar era. The next decade can see the burial of both.

—Asian states are stronger. They are able and determined to play a larger role in shaping the international structure of their region.

—They are joining together in regional structures which make them more independent of, and therefore more influential on, the policies of the greater powers.

—Each of the major powers of the Pacific region—Japan, the USSR, the People's Republic of China, and the United States—is faced with difficult decisions in adjusting its policies to the new realities of East Asia. And the decisions they make will, in themselves, centrally affect the international situation in the region.

The future structure of East Asia is, therefore, not yet clear. It depends on decisions not yet made. But it is clear that it will not be subject to the dominant influence of any one state.

It will, rather, rest on two pillars: the collective interests of Asian nations acting in regional groupings, and the policies of the four major powers concerned with the region.

Each, in the next decade, must adjust its policies to the legitimate interests of the others. Out of that process, which has already begun, is being created a new

international structure in the Pacific region. The challenge for the future is to ensure that it is a structure of stability.

THE PAST—LAYING THE FOUNDATION FOR A STABLE EAST ASIA

For several decades, our approach to Asia has been rooted in conceptions, once valid, but now increasingly overtaken by time. They stemmed from our experiences, for World War II and its aftermath served to dramatize the fragility of Asia, and nowhere was the menace of the cold war more strongly evident.

Both the economies and the political institutions of East Asia were shattered by World War II. Most of the states of the region were just emerging from the trauma of colonialism. They faced the common menace of a thrusting Communist ambition, and the awesome task of attempting to handle the most grievous domestic problems with untested and unfamiliar institutions. In dealing with neither challenge could they count on any dependable relationship among themselves or with the rest of the world. Their problems threatened to overwhelm them. They were not sure they had a future, much less that it could be reached without the sacrifice of human and democratic values.

In such a situation a stable Asia was not conceivable. We therefore acted to provide the margin of time and resources which the free nations of Asia needed so desperately.

We provided the security shield which made credible their plans for their own future. Behind that shield we undertook a leading role in supporting the political and economic progress of East Asian nations. In short, we accepted the responsibility of helping to create the foundation necessary for an international structure in the Pacific region of stability and progress and security.

THE PRESENT—THE NEED FOR A NEW APPROACH

It is precisely the success of that policy that makes a new approach both possible and desirable. For the central fact of East Asia today is the remarkable political and economic growth of the area, and the justifiable self-confidence that has resulted from it.

Asia of today is vastly different from the Asia which required, over the past several decades, so activist an American role. Asian nations now generally have a strong and confident sense of their own national identity and future. They have generally established healthier relationships with each other, and with the outside world. They have created institutions of proven vitality. Their armed forces are stronger.

There is, to be sure, still a need for a strong American role. The development of Asian nations has not taken place evenly. The credibility and intensity of outside threats to their national security and integrity is greater for some than for others. Despite the general economic progress of Asia, the standards of living are still far too low, and we have more than a moral interest in seeing those standards improved. For poverty in Asia is inconsistent with our political interest in the stability of the area, and our economic interest in a prosperous Asia with which we are a natural trading partner.

However, the new strength in Asia is a fact, and it requires a different and more restrained American approach, designed

to encourage and sustain Asian regionalism, Asian self-reliance, and Asian initiatives. For those characteristics are essential to the construction of a stable international order in the region.

THE APPLICATION OF THE NIXON DOCTRINE

Thus it was that the Nixon Doctrine was first announced in the Pacific region, and has most actively been manifested in Asia. It serves the domestic imperative of restraint in our international role, without sacrificing our interests in Asia or defaulting on our obligations. It brings our own deep interest in the future of Asia into better and more permanent balance with the growing indigenous strength of nationalism in the area.

To clarify the Nixon Doctrine, I have twice sent Vice President Agnew to Asia. He has listened to the views of Asian leaders. He has reassured them that our purpose is not to withdraw from world affairs, but to establish the conditions which ensure our continued participation in them.

It is perhaps inevitable, but it is nonetheless an error, to judge the success of the Doctrine's application too narrowly by the reductions effected in the number of American military installations and personnel. Such reductions, to be sure, have been effected. They are described in detail elsewhere in this report. They include substantial cuts in the military and civilian American presence in Korea, Japan, Okinawa, Thailand, and the Philippines, as well as the more publicized reductions of our forces in Vietnam.

But these reductions cannot, by themselves, establish a more sound international structure in Asia, based more upon Asian efforts and self-reliance, dependent less upon American initiatives and resources. Such a structure is, by definition, a process involving the actions of many nations. It cannot be created by American actions alone.

In applying the Nixon Doctrine, we cannot move too fast without sapping the Asian sense of confidence and security which it is our purpose to sustain and nurture. And we cannot cut our own contributions to Asian security without providing for their assumption by our Asian friends. Thus, there is built into the decision to reduce our own presence the obligation to help our allies create the capacity to carry the responsibilities we are transferring. To do otherwise is to undercut our fundamental goal of creating a stable structure in Asia.

Korea is an excellent case in point. The maintenance of the level of U.S. forces in Korea had come to be viewed as a symbol of our commitment to the defense of that country. To a considerable extent, the symbol had become more important than the substance, for it inhibited critical examination of the threat, and of the capacity of local forces to deal with it. Yet it was clear that the situation in Korea had greatly changed since the decision was made in 1954 to maintain the U.S. military presence there at two combat divisions.

Today, the military strength of the Republic of Korea has greatly increased, and includes an impressive pool of skilled manpower. The economic picture has also changed. In 1953 the South Korean economy had been devastated by war. Today it is vigorous, and for the past four years has grown at a remarkable average rate of more than 10%.

This strength enables us and our Korean

ally to focus upon the substance, rather than the symbolic needs, of Korean defense. Thus we joined with the Government of Korea in a comprehensive review of our program of military cooperation. Together we decided that the Republic of Korea was now better able to meet its own defense needs, provided measures were taken to modernize the equipment of its existing forces.

On February 6, therefore, our two governments announced that U.S. forces in Korea would be reduced by 20,000 by June 30, 1971, and that agreement had been reached upon a program of modernization of the Korean armed forces.

Thus, the rationale for the return home of 20,000 American troops is that the Korean armed forces, *if modernized,* are adequate to carry a larger share of the Korean defense burden. Their prompt modernization requires assistance from us. The Congress has wisely seen fit to make available the initial resources needed to provide that assistance.

There will be other similar instances, for our own presence has been the central element in Asian security. The only responsible alternative to continuing to carry that full burden is to help our friends build the capacity to do the job with less assistance from us. I am sure the Congress will continue to see the wisdom of such investments.

The real progress of the Nixon Doctrine is to be seen in the ability and the desire of our Asian friends to assume more of the responsibilities we have shared in the past. Such evidence is not lacking:

—In the past decade, the Gross National Product of the non-Communist nations of East Asia has tripled from $100 billion to about $300 billion.

—A decade ago our East Asian allies had about one million men under arms. Today, that figure has more than doubled, and the quality of equipment and training has significantly improved.

—The decision of Japan to contribute 1% of its Gross National Product in governmental and private transfers to foreign economic assistance by 1975 is a singular contribution to the kind of Asia they and we seek.

—No less significant is Japan's decision to liberalize its trade and capital restrictions, thus improving the access of others to the burgeoning Japanese market, and promising, to the benefit of all, a greater participation in meeting Japan's capital needs.

—The Republic of China, five years after the termination of our economic assistance, is the source of economic assistance to 23 less developed countries. This is eloquent testimony to Asian abilities to expand creatively on the base that we helped construct.

THE FUTURE—BEYOND THE NIXON DOCTRINE

From the above, I think it is fair to conclude that we and our Asian friends are well embarked on the effort to build a new relationship in which our role is defined by the Nixon Doctrine. I am confident that our role can be kept in consonance both with our interests and with those of the increasingly self-reliant and independent Asian states.

But that is only the first phase of the adjustments which we and others will have to make in Asia. In restructuring our own posture, we have set in train the readjustment of the whole international

order in the Pacific region. For our past policies have been the heart of the general equilibrium which has been maintained for the past twenty years.

In the next decade our Asia policy will be dealing simultaneously with three phases of Asian development. In some countries, there will still be an absolute—though we hope diminishing—need for us to play a central role in helping them meet their security and economic requirements. In others, we will complete the process of adjusting our relationship to the concepts of the Nixon Doctrine. And with all countries, we will be striving to establish a new and stable structure reflecting the renewed vigor of the smaller Asian states, the expanding role of Japan, and the changing interests of the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. In the past twenty years the American people have sacrificed much, both in blood and treasure, to help set the stage where such a structure can be created in the Pacific region. It is now in sight.

The major elements of the emerging structure are clear. The nations of Asia acting in concert will play the key role. So will the individual policies of Japan, China, the Soviet Union, and the United States. But the relationship of these elements to each other is not yet clear. They will depend largely upon decisions still to be made. I would like to discuss the more salient problems involved, and their implications for American policy.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF ASIAN NATIONS WORKING TOGETHER

Asian regionalism has an essential role to play in the future structure of Asia. It is already a source of growing strength to the individual Asian nations. Through joint action, their potential influence on the future of the region far exceeds that which they can exert acting individually.

In this connection the return of Indonesia, the fifth most populous country in the world, to full participation in the regional activities of the Asian states is a signal contribution.

Some years ago an unstable Indonesia was a source of considerable concern to its neighbors. It was in a continuing state of internal tension and turmoil, and seemed a fertile ground for subversion supported from abroad. Today, under the leadership of President Suharto—who paid a State Visit to the United States in May 1970—a stable Indonesia has emerged which has reordered its goals with a sense of national purpose and direction.

But the way ahead for Indonesia is still difficult. Although it possesses motivation and enlightened leadership, it still has not recovered from the upheavals of the past to the point where it can stand alone. For the United States, the choice seems clear: to assist Indonesia in moving ahead, rather than to see it relapse into the frustrations and confusion of the past.

Accordingly, the United States has joined with other nations in the Inter-Governmental Group on Indonesia to provide the external resources necessary to complement Indonesia's own efforts. We have also helped Indonesia with a modest military assistance program intended primarily to help meet its internal security needs.

Indonesia has made good use of this assistance. Its exports have increased, its foreign exchange holdings have gone up, and rice production has improved. Most dramatically, Indonesia has cut inflation

from 650% in 1966 to less than 9% in 1970.

Reflecting this improved internal situation, Indonesia has now reached a stage where it can look to matters of broader concern. With her population of 120 million and her wealth of resources, Indonesia's full participation in the regional groupings of the non-Communist states of Asia invests them with new weight and greater potential.

Thailand, with its central geographic position and the vigor of its diplomacy, has from the beginning played an essential role in the development of regional organizations. It has also manifested a spirit of cooperation in pursuit of common interests by providing significant support for the effort to repel North Vietnamese aggression in South Vietnam. At home, the Thai have sustained their steady economic progress while coping with the additional burden of checking pockets of externally supported insurgency.

The Philippines has made a notable contribution to the "Green Revolution," especially in the development of miracle rice. It has also provided medical help to the people of other countries.

The scope and effectiveness of regionalism in Asia have now reached significant levels.

—The creation, with the United Kingdom, of the Five Power Arrangement for the defense of Malaysia and Singapore is an impressive example of Asians looking to their own security needs with their own resources. It also illustrates dramatically how important a vigorous Australian and New Zealand role will be to the future stability of the region.

—SEATO is a regional security organization which has been in existence for many years and which has contributed significantly to the maintenance of a peaceful environment. It provides a framework in which nations both inside and outside the region can work together effectively for a common purpose. SEATO also is increasingly engaged in making a non-military contribution to regional stability through fostering economic and technical cooperation.

—Similarly, the ANZUS Pact has played a useful part in helping to preserve security in the Pacific region.

—In May of 1970, the Foreign Ministers of eleven Asian states, representing 350 million people, convened in Djakarta to work out a joint policy toward the Cambodian crisis, clearly showing their determination and their ability to act in common in the interest of peace in Southeast Asia.

—The Asian Development Bank, to which the U.S. has contributed only 20% of the capital, has become an established and major source of capital and technical assistance to meet Asian needs. In 1970, the Bank had its most active year to date, approving fifty-three projects and increasing its lending by 150%. I hope that the Congress will give early approval to the proposal for an additional $100 million U.S. contribution to a Special Fund permitting the Bank to finance projects which, while meritorious, require more generous terms than those now extended.

—Political differences notwithstanding, the effort continues to develop within a regional framework Southeast Asia's single major resource—

the Lower Mekong Basin. This project has an almost immeasurable potential for the well-being of the countries of the Basin: Thailand, Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam. Along with a large number of other non-Asian states, we continue to participate actively in this massive scheme to harness the hydro-electric, irrigation, and transportation potential of one of Asia's greatest rivers. Its promise for transforming the life of the area is at least equal to the impact of TVA in our own country.

—The Asian countries have created, and are now profiting from, separate and active inter-governmental programs in education, agriculture, transportation, communications, public health, medicine, and engineering.

—The regional political associations are also showing vitality. The Asian and Pacific Council (ASPAC) is a forum of increasing importance for the joint consideration of Asia-wide problems, for it includes most of the nations of the area and stretches from Japan and Korea in the north to Australia and New Zealand in the south. The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) is a more tightly-knit group including Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, and Thailand. Significantly, the resumption of diplomatic relations between the Philippines and Malaysia, which had been suspended over a territorial dispute, was arranged under ASEAN auspices and announced at an ASEAN Ministerial meeting.

More important than the regional organizations themselves—and they are certainly important—is the new spirit which impels Asian leaders to work in concert. As in our own country, there is a new generation in Asia, with a new attitude of mind. Their leaders are impatient with the divisions and enmities of the past, and are not prepared to permit interference with the cooperation needed in the present.

Active regionalism, then, is one of the new realities of Asia. Its vigor is one of the guarantees of the influence of Asia's smaller states in the future political structure of the region. The strength which combination gives enables them to move toward such a structure with confidence in their stability and security.

JAPAN

Japan's economic growth is unprecedented. It has made her the third greatest economic power on earth. However, Japanese living standards still rank below those of many other developed countries, and there is a strong feeling in Japan that these standards must be raised—and raised rapidly.

Japan's wealth gives her a tremendous stake in the peace and stability of Asia, and the dynamism of her economy inevitably has a major impact on the entire region. In recognition of these facts, Japan has taken a major role in the regional activities of the area. As a permanent method of meeting her interests and discharging her responsibilities, however, these regional activities may not prove adequate. Moreover, Japan's position as a major beneficiary of a liberal international economic system is not consistent with her slowness in removing the restrictions which limit the access of others to her own vibrant domestic economy.

My Administration shares with the Government of Japan the conviction that our relationship is vital to the kind of world we both want. We are determined to act accordingly. But the future will require adjustments in the U.S.-Japanese relationship, and the issues involved are too important and their solutions too complicated to be viewed with any complacency on either side.

Fortunately, they are not. Both the Japanese and the American Governments regard each other with profound goodwill and mutual respect. Both are determined to show the greatest possible understanding of the interests of the other. The maintenance of that spirit of cooperation and goodwill is not only the goal of our policy toward Japan. It is also the best assurance that the policy will succeed.

In recognition of our growing interdependence and Japan's own increased stature, Prime Minister Sato and I agreed in November 1969 to enter into negotiations for the return of Okinawa to Japanese administration by 1972. I can now report that negotiations on this question, including the retention of our Okinawa bases, are progressing steadily. Our aim is to reach the specific agreements this spring, allowing us to obtain the necessary legislative support to proceed with reversion in 1972.

Last December, we and the Japanese agreed to significant realignments in our military bases in Japan, which will result in a reduction of some 12,000 U.S. military personnel over the next several months without adversely affecting our ability to meet our commitments to Japan or other Asian allies. The Japanese have announced plans for continuing qualitative improvements of their own self-defense capabilities, enabling them to provide for substantially all of their conventional defense requirements.

The United States and Japan have everything to gain from a further expansion of already close and profitable economic ties. Japan has for many years been America's largest overseas customer, and I am pleased to report that in 1970 our exports to Japan grew by some 35% to approximately $4.5 billion. This included more than $1 billion worth of products from America's farms, equivalent to the production of 10 million acres and the labor of more than 100,000 farmers. American purchases from Japan are even larger. The United States takes some 27% of Japan's exports, amounting in 1970 to almost $5.9 billion. I am glad to note that Japan has accelerated its program of liberalizing its restrictions on imports, and is also easing its restrictions on foreign capital investment. Despite the barriers Japan still maintains, direct American investment in Japan presently amounts to more than $1 billion. I expect this figure will increase as recognition grows within Japan that its own self-interest lies in providing wider investment opportunities.

The friendly competitive relationship, which properly characterizes this greatest transoceanic commerce in the history of mankind, is not without difficulties. An example is the protracted negotiations over the question of Japan's textile exports to the U.S., but I am confident we can find a solution which will be in our mutual interest.

In the important area of foreign aid, cooperation rather than competition is the watchword. Japan announced during the year that it intended by 1975 to raise its foreign assistance contribution to one

percent of its GNP. We anticipate Japan will take a leading role in international and regional aid efforts, hopefully with less emphasis on commercial financing than in the past.

We are two strong nations of different heritages and similar goals. If we can manage our extensive relationship effectively and imaginatively, it cannot help but contribute significantly to the well-being and prosperity of our two peoples and to the nations of the entire Pacific Basin.

THE PROBLEM OF CHINA

The People's Republic of China faces perhaps the most severe problem of all in adjusting her policies to the realities of modern Asia. With a population eight times greater than that of Japan, and possessing a much greater resource base, Mainland China nonetheless sees the free Japanese economy producing a gross national product two and a half times that of her own. The remarkable success of the Chinese people within the free economic setting of Taiwan and Singapore, and the contributions of the overseas Chinese to growth elsewhere in Asia, stands as an eloquent rebuttal to Peking's claim of unique insight and wisdom in organizing the talents of the Chinese people.

The People's Republic of China is making a claim to leadership of the less developed portions of the world. But for that claim to be credible, and for it to be pursued effectively, Communist China must expose herself to contact with the outside world. Both require the end of the insulation of Mainland China from outside realities, and therefore from change.

The twenty-two year old hostility between ourselves and the People's Republic of China is another unresolved problem, serious indeed in view of the fact that it determines our relationship with 750 million talented and energetic people.

It is a truism that an international order cannot be secure if one of the major powers remains largely outside it and hostile toward it. In this decade, therefore, there will be no more important challenge than that of drawing the People's Republic of China into a constructive relationship with the world community, and particularly with the rest of Asia.

We recognize that China's long historical experience weighs heavily on contemporary Chinese foreign policy. China has had little experience in conducting diplomacy based on the sovereign equality of nations. For centuries China dominated its neighbors, culturally and politically. In the last 150 years it has been subjected to massive foreign interventions. Thus, China's attitude toward foreign countries retains elements of aloofness, suspicion, and hostility. Under Communism these historically shaped attitudes have been sharpened by doctrines of violence and revolution, proclaimed more often than followed as principles in foreign relations.

Another factor determining Communist Chinese conduct is the intense and dangerous conflict with the USSR. It has its roots in the historical development of the vast border areas between the two countries. It is aggravated by contemporary ideological hostility, by power rivalry and nationalist antagonisms.

A clash between these two great powers is inconsistent with the kind of stable Asian structure we seek. We, therefore, see no advantage to us in the hostility be-

tween the Soviet Union and Communist China. We do not seek any. We will do nothing to sharpen that conflict—nor to encourage it. It is absurd to believe that we could collude with one of the parties against the other. We have taken great pains to make it clear that we are not attempting to do so.

At the same time, we cannot permit either Communist China or the USSR to dictate our policies and conduct toward the other. We recognize that one effect of the Sino-Soviet conflict could be to propel both countries into poses of militancy toward the non-Communist world in order to validate their credentials as revolutionary centers. It is also possible that these two major powers, engaged in such a dangerous confrontation, might have an incentive to avoid further complications in other areas of policy. In this respect, we will have to judge China, as well as the USSR, not by its rhetoric but by its actions.

We are prepared to establish a dialogue with Peking. We cannot accept its ideological precepts, or the notion that Communist China must exercise hegemony over Asia. But neither do we wish to impose on China an international position that denies its legitimate national interests.

The evolution of our dialogue with Peking cannot be at the expense of international order or our own commitments. Our attitude is public and clear. We will continue to honor our treaty commitments to the security of our Asian allies. An honorable relationship with Peking cannot be constructed at their expense.

Among these allies is the Republic of China. We have been associated with that government since its inception in 1911, and with particular intimacy when we were World War II allies. These were among the considerations behind the American decision to assist the Government of the Republic of China on Taiwan with its defense and economic needs.

Our present commitment to the security of the Republic of China on Taiwan stems from our 1954 treaty. The purpose of the treaty is exclusively defensive, and it controls the entire range of our military relationship with the Republic of China.

Our economic assistance to the Republic of China has had gratifying results. Beginning in 1951, the U.S. provided $1.5 billion in economic assistance. Its effective and imaginative use by the Government of the Republic of China and the people of Taiwan made it possible for us to terminate the program in 1965.

I am recalling the record of friendship, assistance, and alliance between the United States and the Government of the Republic of China in order to make clear both the vitality of this relationship and the nature of our defense relationship. I do not believe that this honorable and peaceful association need constitute an obstacle to the movement toward normal relations between the United States and the People's Republic of China. As I have tried to make clear since the beginning of my Administration, while I cannot foretell the ultimate resolution of the differences between Taipei and Peking, we believe these differences must be resolved by peaceful means.

In that connection, I wish to make it clear that the United States is prepared to see the People's Republic of China play a constructive role in the family of nations. The question of its place in the United Nations is not, however, merely a question of whether it should participate. It is also a question of whether Peking

71-234—72——21

should be permitted to dictate to the world the terms of its participation. For a number of years attempts have been made to deprive the Republic of China of its place as a member of the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies. We have opposed these attempts. We will continue to oppose them.

The past four years have been a period of internal turmoil and upheaval in Mainland China. A calmer mood now seems to be developing. There could be new opportunities for the People's Republic of China to explore the path of normalization of its relations with its neighbors and with the world, including our own country.

For the United States the development of a relationship with Peking embodies precisely the challenges of this decade: to deal with, and resolve, the vestiges of the post-war period that continue to influence our relationship, and to create a balanced international structure in which all nations will have a stake. We believe that such a structure should provide full scope for the influence to which China's achievements entitle it.

We continue to believe that practical measures on our part will, over time, make evident to the leaders in Peking that we are prepared for a serious dialogue. In the past year we took several such steps:

—In January and February of 1970, two meetings were held between our representatives in Warsaw, thus restoring an important channel of communication. The subsequent cancelling of the scheduled May meeting was at Chinese initiative.

—In April, we authorized the selective licensing of goods for export to the People's Republic of China.

—In August, certain restrictions were lifted on American oil companies operating abroad, so that most foreign ships could use American-owned bunkering facilities on voyages to and from mainland Chinese ports.

—During 1970, the passports of 270 Americans were validated for travel to the People's Republic of China. This brought to nearly 1,000 the number so validated. Regrettably, only three holders of such passports were permitted entry to China.

In the coming year, I will carefully examine what further steps we might take to create broader opportunities for contacts between the Chinese and American peoples, and how we might remove needless obstacles to the realization of these opportunities. We hope for, but will not be deterred by a lack of, reciprocity.

We should, however, be totally realistic about the prospects. The People's Republic of China continues to convey to its own people and to the world its determination to cast us in the devil's role. Our modest efforts to prove otherwise have not reduced Peking's doctrinaire enmity toward us. So long as this is true, so long as Peking continues to be adamant for hostility, there is little we can do by ourselves to improve the relationship. What we can do, we will.

THE SOVIET UNION

The Soviet Union is also a Pacific power. Like the others, it faces difficult adjustments in its Asian policy of great importance for the future stability of the area. The USSR's attitude toward Asia is dominated by two concerns. There is a tactical desire to limit our influence, and increase her own, among the non-Communist states of Asia. Of much greater

importance, however, the USSR has a vital strategic desire to secure herself and her territories against a China whose current enmity and potential growth make serious, indeed, the possibility of a future policy of irredentism.

The Soviet Union wishes to see our influence diminished, and yet fears that diminution as enhancing the possibility of expanded Chinese influence. At the same time, it has to consider that a lesser American influence could contribute to a normalization of relations between ourselves and Mainland China, and might permit and encourage a focus of Chinese energies not possible under the present realities.

There need be, in all this, no irreconcilable conflict between Soviet interests in Asia and our own. We intend in our actions to keep Soviet concerns in mind, without letting them dominate our course. We seek a stable and peaceful Asia, and there is no necessity in that concept for a clash between the U.S. and the Soviet Union.

In Asia, in the coming years, we will need great flexibility. The policies of the Asian states, both great and small, are now in an historic process of adjustment. As their decisions are made, we will need to adjust our policies to them, not only with flexibility but with virtuosity. And flexibility is not always the strongest virtue of a system dependent upon public participation for its sanction and continuity. We must meet this challenge, for otherwise our policies will be forced into a rigidity ill-adapted to the problems we will face in the changing Asia of the 1970's.

South Asia

"It is in the world interest to avoid drifting into a widening division between the have and have-not nations."

Address to the United Nations
General Assembly
October 23, 1970

American policy toward the great subcontinent of South Asia parallels that toward the East Asia and Pacific region. Our aim is a structure of peace and stability within which the people of this region can develop its great potential and their independent vision of the future. Our policy is to help these nations deal with their own problems, and to bring our activity into a stable balance with that of the other major powers with interests in the area.

In the pursuit of that goal in South Asia, however, both the nature of our interests and the condition of the region permit a sharper focus of our efforts. South Asia's fundamental problems are two: to meet the challenges of economic and political development and to turn the relationship between India and Pakistan from hostility to cooperation.

More than elsewhere in Asia, the subcontinent entered the postwar period with an established institutional structure, with a considerable reservoir of trained personnel, and with a commitment to democratic self-government and independent policies which strengthened the world's sympathy and interest in its success. Against these assets, however, were substantial liabilities. Our effort to assist the countries of the area in overcoming these liabilities has determined and still determines the structure of our policy toward South Asia.

The seven hundred million people of the subcontinent face perhaps the world's most cruel imbalance between human needs and available resources. Even with the full application of modern science and technology, with all its potential for righting such an imbalance, the problem remains severe. For India, the mere size of its population and the need for large infusions of external resources, make extremely difficult the task of organizing the society to meet its problems. For Pakistan, the difficulties are compounded by the need to harmonize the interests of two regions widely diverse in social patterns and traditions and physically separated. The smaller countries of South Asia face similar or greater barriers to progress given their limited trained manpower and natural resources.

South Asia's progress is important to us. We cannot deny our humanitarian interest in the well-being of so many people with such exigent needs. Nor can we be indifferent to the fact that a lack of progress in South Asia could encourage the polarization of the world between the developing and the industrial countries. Finally, we recognize that the unmet needs of South Asia, and its unresolved enmities, could make the area vulnerable to an undesirable level of foreign influence.

We have a deep interest in ensuring that the subcontinent does not become a focus of great power conflict. Over the past decade the major countries of South Asia have profoundly changed their relationships with the rest of the world. Pakistan has gradually moved from its position of close association with us to a complex triangular relationship, balancing her contacts with the three great powers with interests in South Asia—China, the USSR, and ourselves. India continues to follow a policy of non-alignment but of a cast significantly changed since the Chinese attack of 1962. These policy changes, by definition, affect the intimacy of our relationship with the countries of South Asia. We have no desire to try to press upon them a closer relationship than their own interests lead them to desire. Our current posture in South Asia, therefore, accords with the restraint implied in the Nixon Doctrine.

During the past year we have continued our bilateral programs of financial, technical, and food assistance. South Asia is, in fact, the largest recipient of our economic aid. We are also providing large-scale assistance to India's crucial family planning efforts. We will continue to help through those programs, and through the activities of the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank. Our effort to reinvigorate our whole system of economic aid is directly related to our desire to do this more effectively.

We have also helped deal with the consequences of one of this century's worst natural disasters. In response to the November tragedy in East Pakistan, the United States provided both immediate emergency relief and longer term aid to assist in the task of reconstruction. We are also working with the Government of Pakistan to provide greater safety for the people there in the future.

We were faced during the past year with a particularly difficult decision in regard to Pakistan's request for an exception to our general embargo on the sale of lethal weapons to the subcontinent. We decided on a one-time sale of a limited amount of military equipment. We believe that this modest exception should not upset the military balance in the area

or accelerate an arms race.

In the 1970's, it is important that South Asia be able to rely on the steadiness of our policy. We will do what we can to help the countries of the area meet their economic and social needs. Recognizing that the success of that effort will be diminished by a continued failure of India and Pakistan to establish normal relations, we will, without trying to dictate to those directly concerned, encourage more normal relations between them.

We will try to keep our activities in the area in balance with those of the other major powers concerned. The policy of the Soviet Union appears to be aimed at creating a compatible area of stability on its southern borders, and at countering Chinese Communist influence. The People's Republic of China, for its part, has made a major effort to build a strong relationship with Pakistan. We will do nothing to harm legitimate Soviet and Chinese interests in the area. We are equally clear, however, that no outside power has a claim to a predominant influence, and that each can serve its own interests and the interests of South Asia best by conducting its activities in the region accordingly.

AFRICA

"Our stake in the Continent will not rest on today's crisis, on political maneuvering for passing advantage, or on the strategic priority we assign it. Our goal is to help sustain the process by which Africa will gradually realize economic progress to match its aspirations."

U.S. Foreign Policy For The 1970's
Report to the Congress
February 18, 1970

Africa is a continental experiment in nation building. The excitement and enthusiasm of national birth have phased into the more sober period of growth.

Our historic ties with Africa are deeply rooted in the cultural heritage of many of our people. Our sympathy for Africa's newly independent states is a natural product of our traditional antipathy for colonialism. Our economic interests in the continent are substantial, and growing. And our responsibilities as a global power inevitably give us an interest in the stability and well-being of so large a part of the world.

Reflecting these close ties, Secretary Rogers last year became the first Secretary of State to visit Africa. His personal observations and experiences in Morocco, Tunisia, Ethiopia, Kenya, Zambia, the Congo, Cameroon, Nigeria, Ghana, and Liberia gave a new dimension at the highest level to our knowledge and understanding of Africa. A major result of that visit was the basic policy statement issued with my warm approval in March 1970. In that statement Secretary Rogers summarized our aim in Africa as "a relationship of constructive cooperation with the nations of Africa—a cooperative and equal relationship with all who wish it."

We recognize that it is not for us to attempt to set the pattern of relationships among the states of Africa. Only the Africans can forge national unity. Those problems having to do with the building of stable national institutions are neither appropriate for, nor amenable to, much of a contribution from us. Only the Africans themselves can do such work.

The promise of the newly independent African nations is great. But they face all the normal problems associated with independence, and some special ones stemming from historic reliance on tribal organizations not always reflected in national

boundaries drawn for the administrative convenience of the former colonial powers. Moreover, colonialism and racial injustice in southern Africa continue to frustrate the African sense of fulfillment.

These facts complicate the essential task of clothing new political institutions with authority. They make more difficult the problem of working out stable relationships among the nations of Africa, and between Africa and the rest of the world. They compound the exigent task of obtaining and applying the resources needed for economic development.

The Nixon Doctrine's encouragement of self-reliance has an immediate and broad applicability in Africa. Africa has depended less than other areas on American leadership and assistance, and its institutions and relationships were created without our providing either the impetus or the concept. In Africa, therefore, the conflict between the application of our new doctrine and the requirements of continuity are minimal. To an unusual degree, our conception of the current realities is unencumbered by the weight of previous undertakings. Our freedom of decision is not constrained by the demands, legal or implicit, of past commitments and actions.

Within the framework of African efforts, however, there are three primary needs of the continent to which we can contribute. Africa seeks peace, economic development, and justice; and she seeks our assistance in reaching those goals. It is in our interest to respond as generously as our resources permit.

PEACE

The major contribution we can make to the peace of the continent is to support the African effort to keep free of great power rivalries and conflicts. Africa's unresolved problems should not be used as a pretext for non-Africans to intervene. African needs for assistance should not be manipulated to establish an undue outside influence. The nations of Africa need tranquility and a chance to resolve their own domestic and inter-African problems. Conflict and involvement in Cold War rivalries can only bring harm to Africa and tragic delay in its progress.

For that reason, we seek no positions in Africa which threaten the interests of others. Nor can we condone activities by others which have that effect. Therefore, support for the inviolability of African borders and the integrity of African states is a cardinal point of American policy.

Clearly, our ability to adhere to this posture of restraint is dependent upon a similar posture by others. We believe that the African nations themselves are the best guarantors, as they are certainly the prime beneficiaries, of such restraint.

DEVELOPMENT

The second great African need to which we can contribute is economic development. Africa must obtain material resources and technology from abroad. Multilateral and private investment channels are, we believe, the most efficient means to effect capital development. But external resources can bring real progress only if Africa's own human resources are developed and mobilized for this effort. It is in this area that we believe our bilateral assistance programs can be most effective. We therefore hope to contribute to Africa's economic development in four major ways:

—Our bilateral assistance programs in the years ahead will concentrate on

the development of human resources—on education, population problems, and agricultural skills. In the technical assistance field, we intend to send more highly trained technicians. This will be particularly evident in the "New Direction" of the Peace Corps programs in Africa.

—But aid alone is not sufficient. African countries also need new markets. Generalized tariff preferences will help to open new markets for their manufactured goods in the more industrialized countries. I will shortly submit legislation to authorize U.S. participation in this program. We will also continue to participate in international efforts to maintain and stabilize markets for traditional exports of primary products.

—We intend to use our influence in international lending and development agencies to encourage greater assistance to Africa. In this respect we applaud the decision of the World Bank to increase its assistance to Africa threefold.

—Finally, we will actively encourage private investment in the developing countries of Africa. Private investment is the easiest and most efficient way to transfer both resources and human skills from a developed to a developing society. American investment in Africa now stands at about three billion dollars, of which more than two-thirds is in the developing area. It has been growing annually at over 12%. We expect that a high rate will continue in coming years. In African countries favored with resources and wise leadership, I have no doubt that private investment will play a far more significant role than public aid in speeding their progress.

JUSTICE

The third broad area in which Africans seek our assistance is the search for racial and political justice in southern Africa. There is perhaps no issue which has so pernicious a potential for the well-being of Africa and for American interests there. It is, for many, the sole issue by which our friendship for Africa is measured. I wish to review in all frankness our policy toward this grievous problem.

Both our statements and our actions have, or should have, made it patently clear to all concerned that racism is abhorrent to the American people, to my administration, and to me personally. We cannot be indifferent to apartheid. Nor can we ignore the tensions created in Africa by the denial of political self-determination. We shall do what we can to foster equal opportunity and free political expression instead. We shall do so on both moral and practical grounds, for in our view there is no other solution.

The United States has, therefore, reaffirmed and continued to enforce the embargo on the sale of arms to South Africa. When Southern Rhodesia attempted to sever formal ties with Britain, we closed our Consulate there. We have reaffirmed and continued to enforce the economic sanctions against Rhodesia, and we have sought ways to ensure a more universal compliance with those sanctions.

The United States also has continued its embargo on the sale of arms for use in Portuguese African territories. In support of the United Nations effort to terminate South Africa's jurisdiction over

South-West Africa, we have adopted a policy of discouraging American investment in that territory. We have sought to provide assistance and encouragement to Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland in their efforts to prove the viability of multiracial societies in the heart of southern Africa.

These measures define our policy toward the problems of southern Africa. We intend to continue these efforts, and to do what we can to encourage the white regimes to adopt more generous and more realistic policies toward the needs and aspirations of their black citizens.

However, just as we will not condone the violence to human dignity implicit in apartheid, we cannot associate ourselves with those who call for a violent solution to these problems.

We are convinced that the use of violence holds no promise as the solution to the problems of southern Africa. Neither the military nor the economic strength is available to force change on the white minority regimes. Violence would harden the resistance of the white minorities to evolutionary change. Resort to force would freeze the prejudice and fear which lie at the heart of the problem. Finally, violence would certainly hurt most the very people it would purport to serve.

The interests of the white regimes themselves surely dictate change. The United States believes that the outside world can and should use its contacts with southern Africa to promote and speed that change. We do not, therefore, believe the isolation of the white regimes serves African interests, or our own, or that of ultimate justice. A combination of contact and moral pressure serves all three.

PROGRESS

I have dwelt at length on the problems of Africa because it is to them that our policies are of necessity addressed. But it is necessary also to recognize the progress which is taking place.

The return of peace to Nigeria was the paramount African event of 1970. That event was all the more welcome to us, for the American zeal to help reduce the anguishing human cost of that conflict led to some misunderstanding and strain in our relations with the Nigerian Government. The United States views with admiration the humane and statesmanlike policy of reconciliation which Nigeria has adopted. We ourselves know the suffering and bitterness which a civil war entails. Our country emerged stronger and more united. Nigeria, too, has emerged from the challenge stronger and united, and ready to assume the significant role in Africa which her size, her resources, and her sixty million people dictate. That is a development of the highest significance for the future stability and well-being of Africa. We welcome it.

I should also mention the striking progress which has been made in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Five years of peace have transformed that country from perhaps the most tortured of African states to one of the most stable. This development vindicates the faith in a united Congo which the United States displayed in darker days. President Mobutu's visit to Washington in August served to recall the support we extended to the Congo at that time, and to reaffirm the strong friendship between our two countries which has resulted.

The Emperor of Ethiopia, unique among world leaders in the length of his reign and his contribution to independent Africa, visited the United States in October. That occasion provided an opportunity for me to review with him the role of the United States in the economic progress of that ancient land, and to reaffirm the close ties of cooperation between our two countries. Ethiopia has been a leader in Africa's creation of regional organizations. Their growing vitality is encouraging, and we hope that activities of this kind will serve increasingly as the focus for economic cooperation between African countries. We believe such a development will both promote and increase the effectiveness of foreign assistance.

THE FUTURE

The potential of Africa is great, but so are its problems. We view Africa with the strongest of goodwill, tempered by the sober recognition of the limits of the contribution which we can make to many of its problems. We look to African leadership to build the framework within which other nations, including the United States, can fully contribute to a bright African future. A peaceful, progressive, and just Africa is an exciting and worthy goal. We hope by our policies to facilitate economic progress in one part of Africa, human and social justice in the other, and peace in both.

THE MIDDLE EAST

"The Middle East is a place today where local rivalries are intense, where the vital interests of the United States and the Soviet Union are both involved. Quite obviously, the primary responsibility for achieving a peaceful settlement in the Middle East rests on the nations there themselves. But in this region in particular, it is imperative that the two major powers conduct themselves so as to strengthen the forces of peace rather than to strengthen the forces of war."

Address to the United Nations
General Assembly
October 23, 1970

Vietnam is our most anguishing problem. It is not, however, the most dangerous. That grim distinction must go to the situation in the Middle East with its vastly greater potential for drawing Soviet policy and our own into a collision that could prove uncontrollable.

There are three distinct and serious aspects of the Middle East problem, each by itself difficult enough to resolve. They cannot, however, be treated in isolation. They have become enmeshed, and each tends to exacerbate and make more intractable the others. The Middle East crisis must be recognized as the product of these three dimensions:

—*The Arab-Israeli conflict,* which for more than twenty years has festered when it has not burned. It is the core problem of the Middle East crisis, and its intensity today is undiminished.

—*Intra-Arab differences,* which focus primarily on whether a negotiated settlement of the Israeli conflict is acceptable or whether force is the only solution. There are also differences over how Arab nations should be governed, which have led more than once to civil conflict. And there are rivalries growing out of dis-

71-234—72——22

agreement about the relation of Arab states to each other in the quest for unity in the Arab world.

—*The conflict between the interests of the Soviet Union and the United States,* each of which is now more deeply than ever engaged in the Arab-Israeli conflict. Events surrounding the hostilities in Jordan in September showed how fragile are the barriers to direct great power confrontation in the Middle East.

America's interest in the Middle East—and the world's interest—is that the global structure of peace not be allowed to break down there. But this objective has to be pursued in a situation in rapid flux:

—The relationship between Middle East countries and outside powers has changed. The system of outside control that characterized the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth centuries is gone; the peoples of the Near East have achieved national independence. There is a continuing search for a new balance between the strong nationalisms of the area and outside forces.

—The character of the outside influences has changed. The nations of the Middle East must now come to terms on various levels with the technological, capital, political, and military presence of the United States; with a new projection of Soviet power; and with a new Europe establishing economic association through the Common Market with a number of nations in the area.

—The relationship among the outside powers has changed. With lines between the U.S. and the Soviet Union firmly drawn in Europe, their contest has spilled over to the south where no such lines exist and where local conflict and rapid change draw them into new competition. This takes place against a background of changes in their own global strategic relationship and changes in their respective national postures toward global involvement.

THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT

This protracted and bitter struggle lies at the heart of the Middle East crisis. Its harmful potential is, to be sure, enhanced by great power involvement. But the simple fact remains that the continuation of this conflict grievously damages the interests of all concerned:

—It has drawn the Soviet Union and the United States into close military association with the combatants, with all the danger that poses to world peace.

—It has caused the disruption of normal U.S. relations with a number of Arab countries. This, in turn, has increased the already excessive Arab dependence on Soviet support, and therefore their dangerous vulnerability to excessive Soviet influence.

—It has provided an issue which has been exploited and manipulated by radical elements to undercut the internal stability of the Arab nations.

—It has, for two decades, kept the 50 million people of Israel and the adjoining Arab nations in a permanent state of hostilities, and in constant fear of attack.

—It has forced both the Arab states and Israel to divert a tragically disproportionate share of their resources to the instruments and activities of war.

—It has condemned to squalor and to

> soul-searing hatred the lives of the Palestinian refugees, who include not only those who originally fled their homes upon the establishment of Israel, but a whole generation born and reared in the hopelessness and frustration of the refugee camps. They are the material from which history creates the tragedies of the future.

That is the outline of the situation which prevails. It is, and was when my Administration began, of deep concern to the American people.

We faced a choice. We could have elected to stand aloof from the problem, on the theory that our diplomatic intervention would serve only to complicate further an already excessively complex problem.

We rejected that course. We did so for three reasons. First, the stakes involved are too high for us to accept a passive role. Second, we could see nothing resulting from our restraint but the steady deterioration of the situation into open war. Third, it would have been intolerable to subordinate our own hopes for global peace and a more stable relationship with the Soviet Union to the local—if severe—animosities of the Middle East.

Therefore—with no illusions about the difficulty or the risks—this Administration embarked upon a major and prolonged effort to achieve a peaceful settlement of the Middle East crisis. In that effort, we have encountered in full measure the difficulties we expected. We have had disappointments as well as a limited degree of success. Because this problem is so important, and because our role is central to the chances for settlement, I wish to discuss in detail our assessment of the problem, and our efforts to resolve it.

The interests of all concerned require a settlement. The purpose of the United States has been to help the parties work out among themselves a peace agreement that each would have a stake in maintaining. We have proceeded with a sense of compassion for their concerns.

The Israelis seek recognition as a nation by their neighbors in secure circumstances. In any settlement they will seek more than simple declarations of peace and of Israel's legitimacy. They also seek physical security. For Israel, peace must be something more than a paper peace.

The Arab governments seek the recovery of territories lost during the June war, justice for those who have lost lands and homes through more than twenty years of conflict, and a sense of dignity and security that will permit them to feel no longer vulnerable to attack. Peace for them must also be real.

If these concerns are to be reconciled, three conditions must be met:

—Judgment on each side that the other is *willing* to make and live up to commitments that could produce a just and lasting peace.

—Judgment on each side that the other will be *able* to keep its commitments.

—Judgment on each side that the world community can provide realistic supplementary guarantees of whatever agreements may be reached.

The United States Initiative. Throughout 1969, the United States sought a framework for an agreed settlement through bilateral talks with the Soviet Union and in the multilateral channel of the Four Powers talks, as well as through continuing consultation with Israel, Jordan, and the UAR. We sought to work out common guidelines which Ambassador Gunnar Jarring, the UN Secretary Gen-

eral's Special Representative, could use as a catalyst for talks between the parties.

By May of 1970 these efforts were stalled. And while they had proceeded, the intensity of the conflict had again reached the critical level. Fighting was taking place daily along the Suez Canal. In retaliation, Israeli air power had reached deep into Egypt. Fedayeen attacks had provoked serious incidents on the ceasefire lines between Israel and Jordan, Lebanon and Syria. The Soviet Union had taken steps to alter the military balance in the UAR's favor. Forces opposed to any kind of settlement were increasingly assertive in many Arab countries.

Obviously, the situation was once again about to go out of control. A new approach in the search for a settlement was urgently required.

Our experience over the past year had convinced us that no serious movement toward peace was possible unless the parties to the conflict themselves came to grips with the issues between them.

On June 19, therefore, the United States launched an initiative to get both sides to:

—re-establish the ceasefire.

—observe a military standstill in an agreed zone on both sides of the Israel-UAR ceasefire line.

—agree on a set of principles as the basic starting point for Arab-Israeli talks under the auspices of Ambassador Jarring.

The essence of this proposal was described by Secretary Rogers publicly on June 25 as a major political initiative "to encourage the parties to stop shooting and start talking." The UAR, Jordan, and Israel accepted the proposal, as did the Soviet Union. Our initiative produced significant results:

—It halted the bloodshed along the ceasefire line, and thereby helped reduce national passions to a level more conducive to sober consideration of a political settlement.

—It obtained, for the first time, agreement by Israel, Jordan, and the UAR to seek "a just and lasting peace between them based on (1) mutual acknowledgment by the United Arab Republic, Jordan and Israel of each other's sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence, and (2) Israeli withdrawal from territories occupied in the 1967 conflict, both in accordance with" the UN Security Council Resolution of November 22, 1967.

However, the ultimate goal of our initiative, a serious peace negotiation, did not follow immediately. For the Soviet and Egyptian buildup of military forces along the Suez Canal continued after the ceasefire went into effect on August 7, in violation of the agreement for a military standstill. The fragile opening toward peace was further endangered in early September by the actions of Palestinian groups which attempted to force the Government of Jordan to withdraw from the effort to reach a settlement.

The situation in Jordan deteriorated into open conflict, and the subsequent intervention of armored forces from Syria created the gravest threat to world peace since this Administration came into office.

More was at stake than Jordanian policy. As always with dangers avoided, it is not easy in retrospect to demonstrate how close to greater dangers the world really came. But the prospect which

threatened can be described: If Jordan had succumbed to either internal subversion or external aggression, the danger of another full-scale Middle East war would have been at hand. With the Soviet Union so deeply involved in the military operations of the UAR, and with firm U.S. support for the survival of Israel, the risk of great-power confrontation would have been real indeed.

The United States had no responsible choice but to prevent events from running away with the ability to control them. We took a firm stand against the Syrian intervention. We acted to stabilize but not to threaten, to discourage irresponsibility without accelerating the momentum of crisis.

The Syrians withdrew, the Government of Jordan reestablished order, and a fragile agreement was reached on the future role of the organized Palestinians.

This sobering experience should demonstrate to all the parties involved the extreme volatility of the present state of affairs. The entire world has seen how precarious is the balance and how great the danger in the Middle East.

The Shape of Peace in the Middle East. It is not for the United States to attempt to set the precise terms of a Middle East peace settlement. That can be done only by the parties directly in conflict, and only by a process of negotiation with each other.

However, some of the principles and elements that must be included if a settlement is to be reached are clear and evident:

—The Arab Governments will not accept a settlement which does not provide for recovery of territories lost in the 1967 War. Without such acceptance, no settlement can have the essential quality of assured permanence.

—Israel will not agree to withdraw from occupied Arab territories, which she sees as enhancing her physical security, unless she has confidence in the permanence of the peace settlement. She also believes that the final borders to which she will withdraw must be negotiated and agreed in a binding peace settlement. She must, therefore, have confidence that no attack is forthcoming, and confidence in her acceptance by her neighbors and in other assurances.

—The lack of mutual confidence between Israel and the Arab countries is so deep that supplementary major power guarantees could add an element of assurance. Such guarantees, coupled in time with a reduction of the armed strength of both sides, can give the agreement permanence.

—No lasting settlement can be achieved in the Middle East without addressing the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinian people. For over two decades they have been the victims of conditions that command sympathy. Peace requires fruitful lives for them and their children, and a just settlement of their claims.

The immediate task is to help the belligerents construct an agreement that will achieve a workable balance between the security and recognition that Israel seeks and a just resolution, which the Arab states seek, of the territorial and Palestinian issues. Only in such a balance can peace be found.

GREAT POWER CONTEST

For over a century the Middle East has been an area of great concern to the major powers. To NATO and Europe its independence is vital, militarily and economically. Similarly the Soviet Union has important interests which we recognize.

Despite the depth of these interests—perhaps to some extent because of them—the major powers have not established a pattern of relationships with the Middle East which accommodates the interests of all. The concern caused by that fact is magnified by the instability and volatility of the region.

Any effort by any major power to secure a dominant position could exacerbate local disputes, affect Europe's security, and increase the danger to world peace. We seek no such position; we cannot allow others to establish one.

We believe that the stability of the Middle East requires establishing a balance in the activities of the various outside powers involved there. Each must be free to pursue its own legitimate interests, but within the limits imposed by respect for the legitimate interests of others and the sovereignty of the nations of the area.

On this basis, the United States sought in 1969 and 1970 to enter into discussions with the Soviet Union on the Middle East question which would have global significance for us and them, and would also contribute to making constructive peace negotiations between the Arabs and Israelis possible.

We repeatedly made clear to the Soviet leaders our desire to limit the arms race in the Middle East on a reciprocal basis:

—On February 4, 1970, I proposed to Chairman Kosygin that the United States and the Soviet Union discuss the question of limiting the arms which our two countries provide to the Middle East. The Soviets rejected this proposal as they had done similar proposals in the past.

—On March 23, Secretary Rogers announced that we would hold in abeyance a decision on Israel's request for additional aircraft, pointing out that: "Restraint will be required on the part of other major suppliers to the Middle East. No nation can pursue a policy of seeking unilateral advantage in the area if peace is to be achieved."

The Soviet Union responded by stepping up the shipment of air-defense missiles and aircraft, manned by Soviet combat crews to Egypt—the first time that Soviet combat crews have been moved to a nation outside the Communist orbit.

While indicating that the U.S. preferred restraint in the shipment of arms, I have also repeatedly stated that the military balance between the Arab states and Israel must be maintained:

—In my February 4 letter to Chairman Kosygin, I made clear that the United States would not hesitate to provide arms to Israel if they were required in order to maintain that balance.

—On July 31, I said publicly: "It is an integral part of our cease-fire proposal that neither side is to use the cease-fire period to improve its military position in the area of the cease-fire lines. All would have to refrain from . . . undertaking a military buildup of any kind in such an area."

The Soviet Union's disregard for this essential foundation for peace talks raised serious doubts about its readiness to cooperate in the effort to achieve peace.

Against this background, the United States had no choice but to take further steps to help maintain the military balance.

Throughout most of 1969 we had attempted to engage the Soviet Union in developing a basis for Arab-Israeli negotiations. Our talks with the Soviets focussed particularly on three points:

—The need for an Arab commitment to accept specific obligations in a peace agreement with Israel.

—The need for an Israeli commitment to withdraw from occupied territories as part of a binding peace which establishes recognized and secure boundaries.

—The need for both sides to enter a genuine negotiating process to work out the detailed terms of a peace settlement between them.

The Soviets have persistently called for an Israeli commitment to total withdrawal from all occupied territories. The Soviets have also called for a refugee settlement which inadequately reflects the practical human and security problems involved on both sides. The United States has recognized that any changes in prewar borders should be insubstantial, but we insist that any agreement to fix final borders must be directly linked in a peace agreement to mutually agreed practical arrangements that would make these secure. These are matters for negotiation between the parties. The Soviets have insisted, however, that the major powers make these judgments and, in effect, impose them on the parties.

In June 1970, the USSR offered further formulations on some of the obligations that all parties would undertake for preventing hostile acts from their soil and on the precise time when peace would come into effect in relation to the withdrawal of troops to final borders. But these formulations, which were modifications of earlier Soviet proposals, came belatedly and still failed to take into account the need for a negotiating process engaging the parties themselves.

The U.S. continues to welcome Soviet suggestions for a settlement. But to be serious, they must meet the legitimate concerns of not one but both sides.

NATIONALISM IN THE AREA

Apart from the Arab-Israeli conflict, a strong Arab nationalism has grown in reaction to an era of outside political control which has now ended. It is nurtured by a persistent yearning for unity among Arab nations. But traditional and ideological rivalries make it difficult for Arabs to agree on the form their unity should take. The attempts to fashion unity, therefore, sharpen tensions.

At the heart of these disputes is a fundamental ideological disagreement on how Arab society should respond to pressures for rapid modernization. As a consequence, some of the more militant forces exploit issues of anti-imperialism and Arab nationalism, even where these are not the real issues. For their own nationalist or ideological reasons, they seek to reduce the U.S. position. The ironic result of their action—if they succeeded—would be to make the area once again more vulnerable to outside domination.

Thus some political currents in the area make it more difficult for the U.S. to maintain, as we would wish to do, productive relations with nations on both sides of inter-Arab disputes. We will continue to maintain friendly relations with all the countries of the area which wel-

come our friendship. We can make a significant contribution, as we have in the past, to the development of the Arab world in the fields of education and technical training, business management, and investment. The value of the contribution we can make, and wish to make, creates a common interest in the maintenance of decent relationships which may offset pressures to disrupt them.

ISSUES FOR THE FUTURE

The search for peace—especially an Arab-Israeli settlement—and the quest for a stable U.S.-Soviet relationship that will help preserve the independence and integrity of each nation in this area will remain our top priorities. Our aim is to see an epoch begin in which strong independent nations in this area—in association with each other as they choose—relate freely and constructively with the world outside. The U.S. is prepared to consider new and fresh ways to assist in the development of the region to the benefit of both Arabs and Israelis once a real peace agreement is achieved.

In pursuing those goals, the United States will face these principal issues in the months ahead:

First, if the United States is to play a major role—as we have promised to do—in helping to bring about an Arab-Israeli settlement and provide supplementary guarantees, what should be the nature and extent of our diplomatic involvement? As I pointed out at the United Nations last October, the primary responsibility for peace rests on the nations of the Middle East. What is the proper relation between the efforts of the international community to encourage a settlement and the responsibility of the negotiating parties themselves?

Second, our bilateral relations with Arab nations are in flux. With some, formal diplomatic relations have been suspended. In others, attitudes toward the U.S. and the West are undergoing reassessment. The changing relationships in the Persian Gulf necessarily raise new issues for American policy. How do we best encourage and assist the constructive forces in the area to build a regional system of stable relationships?

Finally, there is a range of broader worldwide issues that form the background to Middle East politics. Limiting the external supply of arms to the area is one such issue. The U.S.-Soviet military relationship in the Mediterranean area is another. Beyond this, what is our policy toward the broadening commercial association which the European Common Market is establishing with nations in the area? How can we help assure the access of Western Europe and Japan to the supply of oil, and also help assure that the producing states receive fair revenues for their oil?

On some of these issues, our work is already well advanced. With others we are coming to grips for the first time. Our purpose is to resolve them in a way that helps us and every nation involved in the Middle East, including above all the states of the area, to build and strengthen the relationships—at every level—that will hold together the structure of peace.

INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC POLICY

"Peace has an economic dimension. In a world of independent states and interdependent economies, failure to collabo-

rate is costly—in political as well as economic terms."

U.S. Foreign Policy For The 1970's
Report to the Congress
February 18, 1970

Material well-being is not the only goal of men and nations. But it is one of the bases of a decent life. The tragedy of our time is that there is not enough of it. For many members of the human race it is a matter of survival; for most nations, economic advancement and prosperity are the means of liberating men and societies from the weight of deprivation and allowing them to realize their full dignity and destiny.

Economic advancement will never approach its full potential if pursued solely within national boundaries. The interdependence of national economies in the 1970's gives all people a major stake in the effective functioning of the world economy. Economic relations have thus become centrally important in international affairs. An American policy which retreated from cooperation, or which moved toward increasing the barriers to fair and equitable economic intercourse among nations, would threaten the foundations of the partnerships which are our central foreign policy objective.

The United States remains the largest single national factor in the world economy. We thus have a strong interest in minimizing the impediments to international economic transactions for domestic economic reasons as well as for the foreign policy reasons which are highlighted in this report.

The year 1970 saw significant developments in each of the three major areas of international economic policy—monetary policy, foreign assistance, and trade:

—It was one of the most tranquil years for the international monetary system in a decade.

—We unveiled a whole new blueprint for our foreign assistance programs.

—But it also became clear that we and the rest of the trading world face the most serious challenge to our trade relations in the postwar period.

In a world of more than one hundred nations, and in a field embracing so many activities and so intimately connected to both our domestic well-being and our overall foreign policy, foreign economic policymaking is extraordinarily complex. Last month, therefore, I established a Council on International Economic Policy which I will chair personally, with the Secretary of State as vice-chairman, and which will have a new Assistant to the President for International Economic Affairs, Mr. Peter Peterson, as its Executive Director. This Council will provide a clear single focus for the full range of international economic issues at the highest level. It will ensure timely consideration of issues, help achieve consistency between international and domestic economic policy and maintain close coordination with our basic foreign policy objectives. We have upgraded and streamlined our governmental machinery to reflect the great importance we attach to foreign economic policy in the 1970's.

INTERNATIONAL MONETARY POLICY

An effective world economy requires an effective monetary system, for monetary relations affect all international transactions. The basic objective of our international monetary policy parallels that of our overall foreign policy—to work with

others to build a stable system free from crises. The continued improvement in international monetary cooperation in the past few years helped make 1970 a year of relative tranquility in the monetary system, in contrast to the recurrent monetary crises which punctuated the 1960's.

The size of the United States in the world economy and the dollar's key role in the international monetary system levy a special responsibility upon us. We must manage our own economy responsibly for international as well as domestic reasons. Inflation or contraction in this country has a disruptive effect on the rest of the world economy. We intend to meet this responsibility.

In 1970, we made solid progress toward restoring stability as well as growth in the U.S. economy. Our economic policies moderated the rate of domestic inflation. Our trade surplus improved, providing a more satisfactory structure for our balance of payments. We expect to reduce inflation still further in 1971, even as our economy begins to expand again at a more satisfactory pace.

U.S. interest rates have also receded greatly from the record highs of a year ago, while interest rates in other countries have declined more gradually. We therefore no longer exert the strong pull on capital from other countries which contributed to sizable surpluses in our balance of payments on the official reserve transactions basis in 1968 and 1969; instead, a sharp reversal of short-term capital movements has temporarily but sharply increased the underlying deficit in our payments position. The continued strength of international cooperation has helped to absorb these shifts without serious impact on the monetary system, but the potential reoccurrence of such rapid and large-scale movements of funds, along with the U.S. deficit, pose important issues for the future.

Cooperation in the monetary sphere has three major objectives:

—to assure an adequate growth in the supply of international money.

—to improve the means for adjusting payments imbalances and thus relating nations' economies to one another.

—to handle large-scale shifts of liquid capital without exchange crises or losses in the ability of individual nations to pursue their own monetary policies.

The first objective means assuring satisfactory growth in the supply of internationally acceptable money and credit which is needed for financing payments imbalances among countries. An inadequate rise of such reserves can lead governments to deflate their economies unnecessarily to protect their own reserves or, more likely, to take restrictive measures which directly depress the flow of trade and investment transactions. Excesses of world reserves, in contrast, can permit deficit countries to delay too long the steps needed to correct their payments imbalances, and impart a tendency toward inflationary pressures in surplus countries as a result.

Part of the easing of tensions in the monetary system in 1970 can be attributed to the decision in 1969 to create a new form of reserve asset—Special Drawing Rights (SDRs) at the International Monetary Fund—a step I called "of profound importance" in last year's report. In 1970, member countries of the IMF joined to take the historic step of creating $3.4 billion of this truly international money. Another $2.9 billion of SDRs were

created on January 1 of this year, and a like amount will also be created in January 1972.

Even in their first year of existence, SDRs have won widespread acceptance as an integral part of the monetary system. They have been used extensively by some countries to help finance their payments imbalances. The United States both accepted and paid out SDRs to finance its payments position in 1970, and will continue to do so in the future as our payments situation requires. We look forward to further growth in SDRs, and to their further use by all countries. We look forward to the day when this product of remarkable international cooperation will become the primary reserve asset in the international monetary system.

We also welcome the sizable increase in IMF quotas decided upon in 1970. They will provide an increased pool of temporary financing for international payments imbalances. Most importantly, the quota increases—together with the SDRs—further enhance the position of the IMF at the center of the international monetary system, demonstrating the successful role which can be played by an international institution in a field where worldwide cooperation is a prerequisite for progress.

There was also some progress last year toward the second objective of international monetary cooperation—to improve the means by which widely diverse national economies can adjust to each other. Payments imbalances can be financed only temporarily; we need a constructive and orderly means of making more lasting rectifications—without forcing countries to resort to restrictions on international transactions, or to excessive inflation or unemployment at home.

An effective international adjustment process begins with effective economic policies in each country. Sound economies must then be soundly related to one another. Improved procedures by which orderly exchange-rate adjustments can contribute to this process would promote stability in the monetary system and help prevent the kind of crises that punctuated the 1960's. Canada's temporary freeing of its exchange rate in May 1970 demonstrated the potential utility of such a mechanism but also emphasized the question of whether there is a need for new international rules to govern its usage.

The international financial community wisely took advantage of the relative calm of 1970 to make an important advance toward an international consensus on such an improved mechanism. The Executive Directors of the IMF issued a report on the role of exchange rates which recognized that, within the broad context of stability in exchange rate relationships, more flexible techniques and practices could help improve the adjustment process and thus the international monetary system as a whole. Three possible improvements were singled out: a widening of the margins within which exchange rates could fluctuate around their par values; more frequent and already smaller changes in parities themselves; and temporary use of floating exchange rates, with appropriate safeguards, to effect transitions from one par value to another. We welcome continued work in this area by the IMF and other bodies, with particular attention to the possible need for amendments to the IMF Articles of Agreement to achieve the needed evolutionary improvements in the present system.

Finally, the massive shifts of short-term

capital in recent years have drawn attention to a third dimension of international monetary relations. It has become clear that very large amounts of money can be attracted to any major country whose money and credit markets are tighter than the comparable markets in the rest of the world. We need an intensive examination to determine whether there is a need to reinforce the present techniques and procedures of international monetary cooperation to enable us better to cope with such movements.

FOREIGN ASSISTANCE

When this nation first undertook foreign assistance on a peacetime basis, in the Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan of 1947, the rationale of our effort was clear. We were promoting economic recovery in Europe to help support the restoration of democratic institutions. Economic and military aid went hand in hand as means of strengthening our allies against the threat of Communist aggression. The weakness of our allies and friends after the Second World War left the major responsibility to the United States.

In the two decades since then, we moved from reconstruction to the support of development, as the geographic focus of our aid programs moved from Europe to the Middle East and then to Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The objectives of our programs also evolved as economic and social development became intertwined with security objectives, and as we provided aid to a wide variety of countries. For more than two decades our aid programs have therefore been justified with a wide variety of reasons. Americans who have debated the issue of foreign aid have been unable to find a clear answer to questions about its fundamental purpose: Was it to win us friends? Was it out of altruistic motives? Was it to stimulate political democracy? Was it to maintain a forward defense? Aid appropriations declined steadily and steeply in the 1960's—principally, I am convinced, because of our confusion of purposes, and because programs tailored to the postwar period no longer suited the changed environment.

When this Administration came into office, the United States needed a new approach. We needed a new conceptual foundation that made sense in the 1970's just as the rationale of aid in the immediate postwar period made sense then.

Therefore, in 1969—after developing the principles of our overall foreign policy—I appointed a distinguished task force of experts from the business and academic communities, chaired by Mr. Rudolph Peterson, to make comprehensive and detailed recommendations on our foreign assistance programs. On the basis of their work and our subsequent analysis in the National Security Council system, I proposed a sweeping change in our foreign assistance policy in a message to Congress on September 15, 1970.

Purposes. As the Peterson Task Force pointed out, "there is not one U.S. foreign assistance program but several. They serve different purposes and should be weighed on their individual merits." We divided them into three categories:

—security assistance, the purpose of which is to promote our national security by supporting the security of other nations.

—humanitarian assistance, which embodies the traditional compassionate concern of the American people for

victims of poverty, natural disaster, and political upheaval wherever they may be.

—development assistance, which strengthens our ties with the two-thirds of the human race in the lower income countries whose overriding national objective is economic and social development.

I therefore proposed to create separate organizational arrangements for each of these categories. This would enable us to fix responsibility and measure achievement more clearly—in order to end the confusion in our present approach which lumps all three purposes together in composite programs. The close relationships among these three types of assistance would of course remain important, and more effective coordination among them would be a key element in our new approach.

Our proposed new international security assistance program and our humanitarian aid efforts are discussed elsewhere in this report.

Let me explain the thinking behind our new programs for development assistance here.

Development Programs for the 1970's. The most important objective of the lower income countries of Africa, Asia, and Latin America—where two-thirds of humanity live—is their economic and social progress. It is their highest priority. It is the overriding commitment of most of their governments. Thus it is a subject of central importance in our relations with them. For we cannot expect these nations to join with us in building a structure of peaceful relationships unless we cooperate with them to help solve the problems which they regard as most critical to them. Nor can we expect the changes which will inevitably come in these countries to be accomplished peacefully unless we help them do so.

Our new approach to providing this development assistance is based on recognition of major historical changes in the world.

First of all, many lower income countries are today ready and able to assume the primary responsibility for articulating their own requirements, setting their priorities, and generating the bulk of the resources necessary for their own development. They are eager to do so; in fact, they demand the recognition of their right to do so.

Secondly, while the United States remains the largest single contributor to international development, the other industrial nations of the world together extend more assistance than we do.

Thirdly, international institutions—such as the World Bank group and the regional development banks—are now capable of fusing the efforts of all countries into a true multilateral partnership for development.

The new United States assistance program will be designed to realize the full potential of this broader sharing of responsibility—with the developing countries themselves, with the other industrial nations, and with multilateral organizations. This is a major application of the Nixon Doctrine.

There are two channels of development assistance—bilateral and multilateral. I announced the broad outline of a new program of foreign assistance in my message to the Congress of September 15, 1970. I will submit detailed legislation to bring about the change. I will recommend that our *bilateral* assistance be provided through three new specialized institutions:

—A new U.S. International Development Corporation will be our instrument for bilateral development lending. It will rely on the recipients of its loans to identify their own development priorities clearly and to submit sound proposals for development financing. It will work increasingly within a framework set by the international development institutions.

—A new U.S. International Development Institute will break new ground in technical assistance. It will mobilize the vast expertise of the American scientific and technological community, focusing it on development problems and matching up American skills with specific needs abroad.

—The Overseas Private Investment Corporation, which I proposed in 1969 and which came into being last month, will manage our investment insurance and guaranty programs and thus assist U.S. private firms to invest—to the extent desired by host countries—in constructive development projects in lower income countries.

I have also proposed that all donor countries cooperate for development by ending the requirement that each nation's development assistance be used only to purchase goods and services produced in that nation itself. Such untying would both increase the value of aid to the lower income countries, and reduce the frictions which develop from the inherently sensitive relationship between donors and recipients. We have submitted our specific proposals to the OECD, and active negotiations with the other member countries are now in progress. I am pleased that virtually all of the industrialized countries have agreed with our proposal in principle, and we hope and expect that actual untying will commence this year.

To be effective, full sharing of responsibility for development must be *multilateral* and worldwide. It must link the industrialized and the lower income countries in a network of cooperation. This is fundamental to our new approach to foreign assistance.

The United States will therefore channel an increasing share of its development assistance through multilateral institutions as rapidly as practicable. We shall provide our bilateral development aid largely within the framework established by these institutions. These changes will maximize the contributions of the recipient countries and the other donor countries alike, reduce the political complications of our aid, and reduce the extensive involvement of U.S. Government personnel overseas in advising governments and monitoring programs.

Accordingly, I will shortly propose that the Congress authorize an annual contribution of $320 million over the next three years as our appropriate share to permit the International Development Association to double its "soft" (low-interest) lending capacity. I have also pressed strongly for expanding American contributions to the regional development banks of which we are members—the Asian Development Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank—and we are exploring a way to provide financial assistance to the African Development Bank. These banks play a major role in helping the lower income countries to expand their trade and mutual support on a regional basis. The Congress made a start last year on an expanded U.S. investment in the Inter-American Development Bank, and I again urge the Congress to

authorize the remaining $900 million of our proportionate contribution. I also urge the Congress to authorize $100 million for our contribution to the Special Fund of the Asian Development Bank.

We have also pledged our support for other mechanisms of regional cooperation such as the Inter-American Committee for the Alliance for Progress, the new arrangements for regional integration in Latin America, the Mekong River Development Committee, and the promising links among nations in East and West Africa.

In addition to our direct support of these regional organizations, one purpose of our desire to see aid untied is to permit developing countries to use foreign assistance to purchase goods from one another in order to support greater trade among them. Indeed, our own decision to permit all developing countries to participate in the provision of commodities financed under U.S. assistance programs is already encouraging an expansion of such trade.

For trade expansion plays an important part in our new strategy for development. Developing nations wish to rely more on their own economies to provide jobs and earn the foreign exchange they need; they wish to become less reliant on aid. We share this objective with them. We have sought to enhance their trading positions by pressing for concerted action among the industrialized nations on a generalized system of tariff preferences in the industrialized markets for the exports of all of the lower income countries. I am extremely pleased that the discussions among the developed countries in 1970 produced broad movement toward a worldwide system of comparable generalized preference schemes. I will shortly be submitting legislation to authorize U.S. participation in this program.

The Downward Trend Reversed. Our foreign aid appropriation for FY 1971, signed into law last month, increases all categories of our bilateral economic assistance over last year. This follows upon an increase in FY 1970 over the level of FY 1969. Thus we are well on our way toward accomplishing one of the basic objectives which I stated in my special message on foreign assistance of September 15, 1970—to reverse the downward trend in U.S. foreign assistance.

Since I took office, appropriations for bilateral economic aid have risen as follows (in millions of dollars):

FY	Development Assistance	Supporting Assistance	Total Economic Assistance
1969.....	$878	$385	$1,263
1970.....	917	395	1,312
1971.....	1,049	570	1,619

The trend has also been upward in our contributions to the international financial institutions and other multilateral development agencies (in millions of dollars):

FY	Inter-American Development Bank		Asian Development Bank	World Bank		UNDP and Others	Total
	Hard Loans	Soft Loans		Hard Loans	Soft Loans (IDA)		
1969.....	$206	$300	$20	.....	$160	$118	$804
1970.....	206	300	20	.....	160	113	799
1971.....	387	100	20	$246	160	116	1,029

Our total economic aid, bilateral and multilateral, has now been restored to a level nearly equivalent to that of the early 1960's. This is a firm foundation for undertaking the effort that is required.

TRADE

Changed world conditions have prompted a new foreign policy and new approaches to the other areas of international economic policy. They require a fresh look at our trade policy as well.

The central issue is, simply, whether the U.S. should continue to pursue a liberal trade policy. Leadership for freer trade has been a cornerstone of our foreign policy through six administrations and 19 Congresses. For 37 years we have considered a liberal trade policy to be in the U.S. national interest. But events in 1970, particularly the failure of the Congress to enact the modest but liberal trade bill proposed by the Administration and the near passage of protectionist trade legislation instead, demonstrated graphically the challenge to this traditional course.

Whether we continue a liberal trade policy in the 1970's or not will have a profound impact at home and abroad. This Administration is committed to the principles of free trade. We recognize that our preponderant size in the world economy gives us an international responsibility to continue on this path just as we have an international responsibility to manage our domestic economy well. I am convinced that liberal trade is in both our domestic economic interest and our foreign policy interest.

Trade benefits our economy in numerous ways. Imports broaden the range of products which is available to our consumers. They help maintain the competitive incentive for our own industries to achieve maximum efficiency and productivity. This plays an important role in our effort to restore price stability as we move toward full employment.

In addition, export earnings are crucial to many sectors of the U.S. economy, particularly our agricultural community which sells one-fourth of its harvested acreage abroad and many of our highly productive industries. Our firms, workers, and farmers can maximize their prosperity only in a world in which their products can be sold as freely in other nations as they can within our own borders. We would hobble their efforts to do so if we were to impose import restrictions, because these would surely spark counter-restrictions on our own exports as well as impair the overall competitiveness of the U.S. economy.

The domestic benefits of liberal trade are reinforced by the pervasive impact of our trade policy overseas.

Because of the world's commercial interdependence, restrictions in one nation adversely affect the economic and social welfare of many others. Political repercussions within those countries inevitably follow, and the resulting cycle of recrimination and retaliation poisons political as well as economic relations:

—Liberal trade policies are fundamental to our relations with the industrialized countries of Europe, Japan, and Canada, our major trading partners. We rely on one another's markets for billions of dollars of sales annually. Our economic relations with these countries are inseparable from our political and military relations; they are a crucial element in our partnership.

—Trade policy deeply affects our rela-

tions with the lower income countries. Assured access for their exports in the markets of the industrialized nations is crucial for their successful development. Indeed, healthy trade is one of the prime goals of our assistance programs.

—It has important implications for our relations with Communist countries. Only they would benefit from a breakdown of economic cooperation in the non-Communist world and the resulting fissures in other fields.

A continued liberal trade policy, in short, is indispensable to our domestic economic health and to a successful U.S. foreign policy. A retreat from our historic policies would greatly harm those broad international interests which we can further only with others' cooperation.

But there are strong voices in this country which maintain that liberal trade policies no longer serve our national interest. They raise serious questions, though the challenge to liberal trade policies which they pose has been greatly strengthened in recent years by the abnormal increase in imports caused by our domestic inflation and the policies and practices of some of our major trading partners.

To answer these questions within the framework of a liberal trade policy, to mesh our trade policy with the world of the 1970's, we have moved on two fronts. First, the new Council on International Economic Policy will take up trade policy as one of the first priority items on its agenda. Secondly, the Commission on International Trade and Investment, chaired by Mr. Albert Williams, which I appointed last year to study the major issues of trade and investment policy, will shortly report its recommendations to me. From these two groups should emerge any new approaches which are needed.

One conclusion is already clear: Our trade policy problem is not ours alone. It is truly international in scope. We and other countries shall all move toward freer trade together or we shall all retreat to protectionism together. Restrictionist policies in one country reinforce restrictionist pleas in another and weaken the case of those who defend freedom of trade.

The U.S., of course, maintains its own range of trade restrictions, a fact which is often conveniently forgotten by those who focus on the barriers maintained by others. And, to be sure, we must be mindful of the need to mitigate the disruptive effects on particular U.S. industries which can sometimes be caused by sharp increases in imports.

But we cannot remove our barriers unless other countries are willing to eliminate theirs on a truly reciprocal basis. For those who question our traditional trade policies can often point to the practices of some of our major trading partners. Too often some of these policies have been set without regard to the interests of other countries, including the United States. Some of them have not responded adequately to requests for change from other countries, including the U.S.

This past year's events have not been encouraging for those who support a liberal trade policy. In my report a year ago, I noted three main tasks for trade policy in the immediate future:

—passage of the trade bill I submitted in 1969 which would have maintained momentum for a liberal trade policy.

—progress in the international negotiations on non-tariff barriers and impediments to agricultural trade.

—successful resolution of the inter-

national negotiations on tariff preferences.

Only the last was achieved in 1970. The failure of the Administration's trade bill and the near success of protectionist legislation in the Congress were closely related to the slow pace of the international negotiations on trade barriers. These developments make clear that other countries can no longer proceed on the facile assumption that no matter what policies they pursue, liberal trade policies in the U.S. can be taken for granted.

Thus, international cooperation is absolutely essential if we are to maintain a liberal trade policy in the United States. Our full support for the European Community continues, but its policies—including those related to the expansion of its membership, which we also support—must take full account of our legitimate economic interests. We look to the Community, as the world's largest trading entity, to assume an ever greater responsibility for the maintenance of a liberal world trading order by pursuing liberal policies itself, and by playing a more active leadership role in seeking ways to further reduce the remaining barriers to trade. Similarly, Japan should continue its rapid reduction of the trade and investment restrictions which have long been inappropriate for the second largest national economy in the non-Communist world. It is essential that all other industrialized countries cooperate in this effort as well.

In 1970, we took a number of concrete steps on our own to further our trade policy objectives. Barriers against our exports continued to fall, as tariff reductions previously agreed were placed in effect and as we continued to press for the elimination, or at least reduction, of non-tariff obstacles to trade. To keep open markets for our agricultural exports, we vigorously urged the European Community to reduce its grain prices and to avoid taking any measures which might threaten our sales of soybeans, tobacco, and citrus. We sought modifications in the agricultural policy changes proposed by the United Kingdom. We invoked our rights in the GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) against the preferential trading arrangements and changes in citrus and tobacco import policies recently initiated by the European Community. We will maintain and intensify these efforts in the year ahead.

Meanwhile we moved to cushion the adverse domestic impact of trade competition without resorting to legislated import restrictions. We tightened our administration of the anti-dumping laws to protect our industries against unfair pricing by their foreign competitors. We patiently sought a solution to our textile import problem through negotiations with the Japanese and other Far Eastern suppliers, although in this unique case we also came to support quota legislation in view of the disappointing progress in the negotiations; we maintained the voluntary restraint programs on meat and steel exports to the U.S.; and we negotiated new tariff quotas on imports of stainless steel flatware from Japan.

Pressures for legislated import restrictions have been fueled in past years by the failure to use two more positive alternatives available to us:

—the escape clause which provides for temporary relief from import competition for entire industries in cases where injury can be clearly demonstrated.

—the adjustment assistance provisions of our trade legislation, which pro-

vide financial and technical assistance to individual firms and workers injured by imports.

In 1970, we used these alternatives. I accepted the Tariff Commission's findings in all three cases in which it found injury to U.S. industries from imports. I extended tariff relief in three escape-clause cases. I ordered adjustment assistance for three industries and for a number of specific firms and groups of workers. And the trade bill which I submitted in late 1969, and supported through 1970, would have made these statutory alternatives more readily available in cases of real need without opening them so wide as to provide an avenue for unjustifiable pleas for protection.

We have therefore demonstrated that there are several viable alternatives to legislated import restrictions, and that we can and will use them effectively. We will defend U.S. trade interests vigorously. And we have therefore demonstrated that a continuation of our historic policy of liberal trade is both possible and profoundly in our national interest. But, in addition to our own actions, we must look to our major trading partners—especially the European Community, which when expanded in membership will account for almost one-half of all world trade—to take actions, and perhaps even new initiatives, which would enable us all to move decisively in this direction together.

ISSUES FOR THE FUTURE

There is a full and challenging agenda of international economic problems before us. Our success in dealing with this agenda will have a major impact on our overall foreign policy. Our goals will be to:

—found our global economic relations on a strong domestic base. International economic policy begins at home.

—improve the management of our international economic relations. We will look to the new Council on International Economic Policy to integrate our governmental efforts and blend our domestic and foreign economic policies.

—improve the means by which national economies can adjust to each other in a world of increased economic interdependence. We must work with others to solidify and further improve the world monetary system.

—help promote the development of lower income countries. We will seek Congressional approval of our new foreign assistance program and apply its principles of partnership with recipients and other donors alike.

—defend and encourage liberal trade policies abroad and at home. Fresh policies and enlightened partnership with our friends will be required to stem protectionism, solve the problems that feed it, and regain momentum toward a world of freer commerce.

PART III: THE SOVIET UNION

"The great central issue of our time—the question of whether the world as a whole is to live at peace—has not been resolved.

"This central issue turns in large part on the relations among the great nuclear powers. Their strength imposes on them special responsibilities of restraint and wisdom. The issue of war and peace can-

not be solved unless we in the United States and the Soviet Union demonstrate both the will and the capacity to put our relationship on a basis consistent with the aspirations of mankind."

Address to the United Nations
General Assembly
October 23, 1970

In my Inaugural Address, and again at the United Nations last October, I urged the Soviet leaders to join with us in building a new and constructive relationship.

I emphasized four factors that provide a basis for such a development:

—Neither of us wants a nuclear exchange.

—We both should welcome the opportunity to reduce the burden of armaments.

—We are both major industrial powers, and yet have very little trade or commercial contact with one another. Both would clearly benefit if our relationship permitted an increase in trade.

—Both are deeply involved, at home and abroad, with the need for creative economic and social change. Both our interests—and the broader world interest—would be served if our competition could be channeled more into our performances in that field.

Thus, our two nations have substantial mutual incentives to find ways of working together. We are realistic enough to recognize, however, that we also have very real differences that can continue to divide us:

We view the world and approach international affairs differently. Ideology continues to shape many aspects of Soviet policy. It dictates an attitude of constant pressure toward the external world. The Soviet Government too frequently claims that the rationale for its internal and external policies is based on universalist doctrines. In certain fundamental aspects the Soviet outlook on world affairs is incompatible with a stable international system.

The internal order of the USSR, as such, is not an object of our policy, although we do not hide our rejection of many of its features. Our relations with the USSR, as with other countries, are determined by its international behavior. Consequently, the fruitfulness of the relationship depends significantly upon the degree to which its international behavior does not reflect militant doctrinal considerations.

As the two most powerful nations in the world, we conduct global policies that bring our interests into contention across a broad range of issues. Historically, international adversaries have demonstrated a compulsion to seek every gain, however marginal, at the expense of their competitors. In this classical conception, the accumulation of gains over a period of time could alter the balance of power. This may have been realistic in the past; at least it was the essence of international affairs.

But it is folly for the great nuclear powers to conduct their policies in this manner. For if they succeed, it can only result in confrontation and potential catastrophe.

The nature of nuclear power requires that both the Soviet Union and we be willing to practice self-restraint in the pursuit of national interests. We have acted on this principle in our conduct of the SALT negotiations, in our diplomatic initiatives in the Middle East, and in our

proposals to improve the situation in Berlin. We are prepared to apply it to all legitimate Soviet interests.

Such a policy of restraint, however, requires reciprocity—concretely expressed in actions.

By virtue of its size and geography, the USSR has traditionally had important security interests in Europe and East Asia. Her undoubted status as a global power obviously creates interests in other areas where Russia has not traditionally been a factor. But the natural expansion of Soviet influence in the world must not distort itself into ambitions for exclusive or predominant positions. For such a course ignores the interests of others, including ourselves. It must and will be resisted. It can, therefore, lead only to confrontation.

We often approach negotiations with differing premises. We do not suggest that the starting point—or, indeed, the culmination—of our negotiations with the USSR be the acceptance of our views and positions. Nor do we expect to resolve issues by cajoling the Soviet leaders into solutions damaging to their national interests. We cannot be expected, however, to accept the Soviet definition of every issue, to agree automatically to the Soviet order of priorities, or to accept every aggrandizement of Soviet positions abroad as a "new reality" no longer open to challenge. The principle of mutual accommodation, if it is to have any meaning, must be that both of us seek compromises, mutual concessions, and new solutions to old problems.

The relationship between the two great nuclear powers in this decade must rise above tactical considerations. We must be prepared to face issues seriously, concretely, and in a spirit of mutual respect. Durable solutions will be those which both sides have an interest in maintaining.

We are engaged in a strategic and military competition. We both possess the capability to develop our military power and project it massively into distant areas. The last two decades witnessed the transformation of the Soviet Union from a Eurasian power to an intercontinental one. The USSR now possesses military capabilities far beyond those at the command of previous Soviet leaders.

In earlier periods our strategic superiority gave us a margin of safety. Now, however, the enormous increase in Soviet capabilities has added a new and critical dimension to our relationship. The growth of Soviet power in the last several years could tempt Soviet leaders into bolder challenges. It could lead them to underestimate the risks of certain policies. We, of course, continue to weigh carefully Soviet statements of intentions. But the existing military balance does not permit us to judge the signficance of Soviet actions only by what they say—or even what we believe—are their intentions. We must measure their actions, at least in part, against their capabilities.

It is of the utmost importance that the new strategic balance of the 1970's and our interest in strategic stability not be misunderstood. Confrontation may arise from a mistaken perception of the posture of an adversary. Such a mistake can lead to a failure to appreciate the risks and consequences of probing for advantages or testing the limits of toleration. We believe that this was involved to some degree in the events which led up to the Middle East crisis last year.

It may also have been a factor in Soviet naval actions in the Caribbean in the fall of 1970. There the Soviet Union took new steps which could have afforded it the ability to again operate offensive

weapons systems from this Hemisphere. That would have been contrary to the understanding between us. Only after a period of discussion did we reaffirm our understanding and amplify it to make clear that the agreement included activities related to sea-based systems.

In our relations with the USSR there should be no misconceptions of the role we will play in international affairs. This country is not withdrawing into isolation. With the Soviet Union, we want a relationship in which the interests of both are respected. When interests conflict, we prefer negotiation and restraint as the methods to adjust differences. But, when challenged, the United States will defend its interests and those of its allies. And, together with our allies, we will maintain the power to do so effectively.

A New American-Soviet Relationship

Mutual restraint, accommodation of interests, and the changed strategic situation open broad opportunities to the Soviet Union and the United States. It is our hope that the Soviet Union will recognize, as we do, that our futures are best served by serious negotiation of the issues which divide us. We have taken the initiative in establishing an agenda on which agreement could profoundly alter the substance of our relationship:

—*SALT*. Given the available resources, neither of us will concede a significant strategic advantage to the other. Yet the temptation to attempt to achieve such advantage is ever present, and modern technology makes such an attempt feasible. With our current strategic capabilities, we have a unique opportunity to design a stable and mutually acceptable strategic relationship.

We did not expect agreements to emerge quickly, for the most vital of interests are engaged. A resolution will not be achieved by agreement on generalities. We have put forward precise and serious proposals that would create no unilateral advantages and would cope with the major concerns of both sides.

We do not yet know what conclusions the Soviet Union will draw from the facts of the situation. If its leaders share our assessment, we can unquestionably bring competition in strategic weapons under control.

—*Europe*. With our allies, we have entered into negotiations with the USSR to improve the Berlin situation. Arrangements which in fact bring an end to the twenty-four years of tension over Berlin would enable us to move beyond the vestiges of the postwar period that have dominated our relationship for so long. A broader era of negotiations in Europe then becomes possible.

Progress toward this goal also could be obtained through a successful agreement on mutual reduction of military forces, especially in Central Europe where confrontation could be most dangerous.

—*The Middle East* is heavy with the danger that local and regional conflict may engulf the Great Powers in confrontation.

We recognize that the USSR has acquired important interests and influ-

ence in the area, and that a lasting settlement cannot be achieved unless the Soviet Union sees it to be in its interest.

We continue to believe that it is in the Soviet interest to support a reasonable settlement. The USSR is not, however, contributing to that end by providing increasingly large and dangerous numbers of weapons to the Arab states, or by building military positions for its own purposes. We are prepared to seek agreement with the USSR and the other major powers to limit arms shipments to the Middle East.

We have not tried to lay down a rigid order of priorities within this agenda. It is a fact of international politics, however, that major issues are related. The successful resolution of one such issue cannot help but improve the prospects for solving other problems. Similarly, aggressive action in one area is bound to exert a disturbing influence in other areas.

An assessment of U.S.-Soviet relations at this point in my Administration has to be mixed. There have been some encouraging developments and we welcome them. We are engaged in a serious dialogue in SALT. We have both signed the treaty to prohibit nuclear weapons from the seabeds. We have both ratified the treaty on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. We have entered negotiations on the issue of Berlin. We have taken the first step toward practical cooperation in outer space.

On the other hand, certain Soviet actions in the Middle East, Berlin, and Cuba are not encouraging. Taken against a background of intensive and unrestrained anti-American propaganda, these actions inevitably suggest that intransigence remains a cardinal feature of the Soviet system.

Yet these events may have provided a basis for future progress in our relations. Properly understood, they illustrate the altogether incommensurate risks inherent in a policy of confrontation, and the marginal benefits achievable by it.

Against this background it is an appropriate moment to take stock of our relations, and to weigh the decisions necessary for further progress.

The Soviet leaders will be reviewing their own policies and programs in connection with the 24th Congress of their Party. This report sets forth my own assessment of our relations with the USSR, and the principles by which we propose to govern our relations in the future. I have outlined the factors that make for common interests and suggested an agenda of outstanding opportunities:

—a more stable military relationship for the next decade.

—a peaceful settlement of the Middle East conflict.

—an agreed framework for security in Europe.

We are under no illusion that these are easy tasks. But, as I said in my address to the United Nations:

"In the world today we are at a crossroads. We can follow the old way, playing the traditional game of international relations, but at ever-increasing risk. Everyone will lose. No one will gain. Or we can take a new road.

"I invite the leaders of the Soviet Union to join us in taking that new road . . . ."

PART IV: SECURING NATIONAL INTERESTS

—Strategic Policy and Forces
—General Purpose Forces
—Security Assistance
—Arms Control

Introduction

The first responsibility of the President is the security of the Republic. Recognizing the danger of our times, and the costs of modern defense, the people and their Congress make available to the President vast resources to meet that responsibility. Each Administration, however, is greatly dependent on the decisions of its predecessor.

For in the field of national security, each Presidency is a link in a chain. Each Administration inherits the force in being. The long-range investments made by earlier Administrations define the ability to change that force in the near term.

I am deeply conscious that my decisions with respect to defense policy will profoundly affect the ability of my successors to ensure the nation's safety. I recognize that I cannot know, and can only imperfectly conceive, the crises which my successors may have to face. I, therefore, intend to forge a strong link in the chain.

We have used the National Security Council system to strengthen the process of defense planning. We have examined our defense problems within the total context of the domestic and international political and economic environments. These studies have given us the basis for a new assessment of our national priorities.

Our priorities must reflect our pressing domestic problems. They do. In Fiscal Year 1972, our overall defense expenditures, including those resources committed to Vietnam, will require a smaller share of our Gross National Product and the Federal Budget than in any year since 1950.

It needs to be understood with total clarity, however, that defense programs are not infinitely adjustable. Nor is each adjustment downward of equal significance. It is an error—and it is potentially the ultimate error—not to recognize those facts as imperative guides to national priorities. For there is an absolute point below which our security forces must never be allowed to go. That is the level of sufficiency. Above or at that level, our defense forces protect national security adequately. Below that level is one vast undifferentiated area of no security at all. For it serves no purpose in conflicts between nations to have been almost strong enough.

Our current level of security expenditures is adequate to provide the forces necessary to protect our vital interests. It must be kept that way.

Strategic Policy and Forces

Strategic forces, both offensive and defensive, are the backbone of our security.

—They are the primary deterrent to strategic attacks against us or our allies.
—They face an aggressor contemplating less than all-out attacks with an unacceptable risk of escalation.
—They are essential to the maintenance of a stable political environment within which the threat of aggression or coercion against the U.S. and its allies is minimized.

Our strategic forces must be numerous enough, efficient enough, and deployed in such a way that an aggressor will always

know that the sure result of a nuclear attack against us is unacceptable damage from our retaliation. That makes it imperative that our strategic power not be inferior to that of any other state. Thus I am committed to my pledge to keep our strategic forces strong. I am equally committed to seeking a stable strategic relationship with the Soviet Union through negotiations. There is no inconsistency between those goals; they are in fact complementary.

THE STRATEGIC BALANCE

Last year I reported on a new strategic policy for the 1970's. In assessing the changed strategic relationship, we faced the following realities:

—Until the late 1960's, we possessed strategic forces that provided a clear margin of superiority.

—In the late 1960's, however, the balance of strategic forces changed. While our forces were held at existing levels, the Soviet Union moved forward vigorously to develop powerful and sophisticated strategic forces which approached, and in some categories exceeded, ours in numbers and capability.

By any standard, we believe the number of Soviet strategic forces now exceeds the level needed for deterrence. Even more important than the growth in numbers has been the change in the nature of the forces the USSR chose to develop and deploy. These forces include systems—particularly the SS–9 ICBM with large multiple warheads—which, if further improved and deployed in sufficient numbers, could be uniquely suitable for a first strike against our land-based deterrent forces. The design and growth of these forces leads inescapably to profound questions concerning the threats we will face in the future, and the adequacy of our current strategic forces to meet the requirements of our security. Specifically:

—Does the Soviet Union simply seek a retaliatory capability, thus permitting the pursuit of meaningful limitations on strategic arms?

—Or does the Soviet Union seek forces which could attack and destroy vital elements of our retaliatory capability, thus requiring us to respond with additional programs of our own, involving another round of arms competition?

The past year has not provided definitive answers. Clearly, however, the USSR, over the past year, has continued to add significantly to its capabilities.

OPERATIONAL UNITED STATES AND SOVIET MISSILES

	1965	End 1969	End 1970
Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles:			
United States	934	1054	1054
USSR	224	1109	1440
Submarine-Launched Ballistic Missiles:			
United States	464	656	656
USSR	107	240	350

By the mid-1970's we expect the Soviets to have a force of ballistic missile submarines equal in size to our own. Furthermore, the Soviet Union has continued to make significant qualitative improvements in its strategic forces. These include new and improved versions of their Minuteman-size SS–11 missile, continued testing of multiple warheads, research

71–234—72——23

and testing of ABM components, and improved air defense systems.

An additional source of uncertainty is China's possession of nuclear weapons. China continues to work on strategic ballistic missiles and, by the late 1970's, can be expected to have operational ICBM's, capable of reaching the U.S.

On the other hand, the Soviet Union in the past few months appears to have slowed the deployment of land-based strategic missile launchers. The significance of this development is not clear. The USSR could be exercising self-restraint. Its leaders may have concluded, as we have, that the number of ICBM's now deployed is sufficient for their needs. Or, the slowdown could be temporary and could be followed, in due course, by a resumption of new missile deployments. The delay could mean that the Soviet Union is preparing to introduce major qualitative improvements, such as a new warhead or guidance system. Finally, the slowdown could presage the deployment of an altogether new missile system.

We will continue to watch Soviet deployments carefully. If the USSR is in fact exercising restraint, we welcome this action and will take it into account in our planning. If it turns out to be preparatory to a new intensification of the strategic arms race, it will be necessary for us to react appropriately.

THE DOCTRINE OF STRATEGIC SUFFICIENCY

Our policy remains, as I explained last year, to maintain strategic sufficiency. The concept of sufficiency is not based solely on debatable calculations and assumptions regarding possible scenarios of how a war might occur and be conducted. It is in part a political concept, and it involves judgments whether the existing and foreseeable military environment endangers our legitimate interests and aspirations.

Specifically, sufficiency has two meanings. In its narrow military sense, it means enough force to inflict a level of damage on a potential aggressor sufficient to deter him from attacking. Sole reliance on a "launch-on-warning" strategy, sometimes suggested by those who would give less weight to the protection of our forces, would force us to live at the edge of a precipice and deny us the flexibility we wish to preserve.

In its broader political sense, sufficiency means the maintenance of forces adequate to prevent us and our allies from being coerced. Thus the relationship between our strategic forces and those of the Soviet Union must be such that our ability and resolve to protect our vital security interests will not be underestimated. I must not be—and my successors must not be—limited to the indiscriminate mass destruction of enemy civilians as the sole possible response to challenges. This is especially so when that response involves the likelihood of triggering nuclear attacks on our own population. It would be inconsistent with the political meaning of sufficiency to base our force planning solely on some finite—and theoretical—capacity to inflict casualties presumed to be unacceptable to the other side.

But sufficiency also means numbers, characteristics, and deployments of our forces which the Soviet Union cannot reasonably interpret as being intended to threaten a disarming attack. Our purpose, reflected both in our strategic programs and in our SALT proposals, is to maintain a balance, and thereby reduce the likelihood of nuclear war. Insofar as we can do

so by unilateral decisions, we seek to obviate the need for costly, wasteful, and dangerous cycles of strategic arms deployment.

Defensive in its essence, the decision to pursue a policy of strategic sufficiency rather than strategic superiority does not represent any lessening of our resolve not to permit our interests to be infringed. The doctrine of sufficiency represents, rather, an explicit recognition of the changed circumstances we face with regard to strategic forces. The United States and the Soviet Union have now reached a point where small numerical advantages in strategic forces have little military relevance. The attempt to obtain large advantages would spark an arms race which would, in the end, prove pointless. For both sides would almost surely commit the necessary resources to maintain a balance. We have deliberately chosen to tailor our policy to fit these realities. But we are also taking measures in other categories of military power to prevent a gap from developing in our military posture.

We hope that the Soviet Union will likewise recognize these realities, and that its force buildups are ending. It should be under no illusion that we will not respond to major quantitative and qualitative improvements which threaten to upset the strategic balance.

In pursuing our policy we have started a number of studies within the NSC framework to refine further our understanding of the strategic relationship and the number and type of forces required to maintain sufficiency. These continuing studies are important because even with numbers held constant, the relative strategic position can change through modernization and technological advances and through differing concepts for employment. In the past year, we have therefore, examined with particular care three aspects of our strategic force which are central to the concept of sufficiency—the survivability, the flexibility, and the mix of our existing forces.

The survivability of our forces. Our strategic forces must be such that the Soviet Union knows that even an all-out surprise attack will involve unacceptable costs. The survivability of our retaliatory forces is therefore essential. Without it, the Soviet Union, in some future crisis, might be tempted to strike first, or to use military or political pressure in the belief that we were effectively deterred.

Survivability of our retaliatory forces can be assured in a number of different ways:

—by increasing the number of offensive forces to insure that a sufficient number will survive a surprise attack.

—by defending ICBM's and bombers with air and missile defenses.

—by hardening our existing missile silos.

—by increasing the mobile portion of our strategic forces.

—by adding multiple independently targetable warheads to missiles to allow each surviving missile to attack more targets and hence not be defeated by a single ABM interceptor.

In seeking to improve the survivability of our forces, we have deliberately adopted measures designed to demonstrate our defensive intent. For example, because proliferating our offensive forces risks an increase in Soviet forces and a new phase in the arms race, we have not increased the number of our missiles and bombers. Instead, we have relied on alternatives such as hardening missile silos and deploying missile defenses. Our de-

ployment of MIRV's serves the same purpose. They do not have the combination of numbers, accuracy, and warhead yield to pose a threat to the Soviet land-based ICBM force.

With the programs we have undertaken, the bulk of our retaliatory forces are currently secure from attack and should remain so in the near future. However, continuing Soviet deployments and improvements—in particular, the large SS–9 missile with accurate independently targetable multiple warheads—could threaten the survivability of the land-based portion of our forces. That would not, of course, be an acceptable situation. We will, therefore, keep this matter under close review. We will, as a matter of the highest priority, take whatever steps become necessary to maintain the assured survivability of our retaliatory capabilities.

Flexibility—the responses available to us. We have reviewed our concepts for responses to various possible contingencies. We must insure that we have the forces and procedures that provide us with alternatives appropriate to the nature and level of the provocation. This means having the plans and command and control capabilities necessary to enable us to select and carry out the appropriate response without necessarily having to resort to mass destruction.

The mix of forces. For several years we have maintained three types of strategic forces—land-based ICBMs, bombers, and submarine-launched missiles. Each is capable of inflicting a high level of damage in response to a nuclear first strike. Taken together they have an unquestioned capability of inflicting an unacceptable level of damage. This concept takes advantage of the unique characteristics of each delivery system. It provides insurance against surprise enemy technological breakthroughs or unforeseen operational failures, and complicates the task of planning attacks on us. It complicates even more the longer range planning of the levels and composition of the opposing forces. If the effectiveness and survivability of one element were eroded, the Soviet Union could choose to concentrate its resources on eroding the effectiveness and survivability of the others. This would confront us with serious new decisions, and we will therefore continue to review our forces in the light of changing threats and technology to ensure that we have the best possible mix to meet the requirements of sufficiency.

While this review of the sufficiency of our strategic posture has taken place, we have also continued to seek agreement on a strategic balance with the USSR at the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT). I will discuss in greater detail elsewhere in this report the progress of those talks.

THE FORCES FOR SUFFICIENCY

Last year, I announced my commitment to maintain our existing strategic forces with relatively little change. The grounds for this decision were that:

—Sharp cutbacks would not permit us to satisfy our sufficiency criteria and were unwarranted in view of the continuing growth of Soviet forces. Unilateral reductions could—paradoxically—eliminate any Soviet incentives for an agreement to limit strategic arms. They would also raise serious concerns among our allies, particularly in NATO.

—On the other hand, sharp increases in our forces, unless spurred by new

Soviet deployments, might lead the Soviets to misunderstand our intentions, and might force them into new strategic investments they would otherwise eschew. The prospects for reaching agreement to limit strategic arms might be irreparably damaged.

During the past year, I have continued this policy of deliberate restraint. Our programs have been as follows:

—We started to improve the survivability of our Minuteman force by increasing the hardness of Minuteman silos, thereby making them less vulnerable to nuclear attack. We also are continuing the deployment of Safeguard defensive sites to protect our Minuteman.

—We are adding multiple independently targetable warheads to some of our strategic missiles. This action also contributes to stability since it helps ensure a credible retaliatory capability. Without such a system in our future arsenal, the possibility of a Soviet preemptive strike against our strategic forces, combined with strong Soviet defensive forces, would make questionable the assured penetration of a sufficient number of weapons from our retaliatory capability. With multiple independently targetable warheads, each of our surviving missiles will have the capability to attack a number of targets, thereby enhancing our ability to penetrate enemy defenses.

We consider these measures to be essential to maintain the sufficiency of our strategic posture in the light of increases and improvements in the Soviet strategic forces.

To insure that our forces will remain sufficient in the future we will continue research and development on appropriate measures and systems to enhance the survivability and effectiveness of our strategic offensive and defensive forces.

In light of the negotiations on strategic arms limitations, we are acting with great restraint in introducing changes in our strategic posture. We will avoid steps which make it more difficult for the Soviet Union and ourselves to reach an agreed structure of strategic stability. At the same time, we must be prepared to take necessary steps to maintain the sufficiency of our strategic forces should an agreement not be reached within the near future.

BALLISTIC MISSILE DEFENSE

When I announced the Safeguard ABM program, I promised that "each phase of the deployment will be reviewed to insure that we are doing as much as necessary but no more than that required by the threat existing at that time." The Defense Program Review Committee has just completed a thorough review of Safeguard against the background of SALT, our strategic policy, changes in the Soviet capability, and the Chinese development of strategic forces.

—While it appears that the Soviets have slowed the increase of their missile systems, the evidence is far from unambiguous. Nor is it clear that even at present levels of Soviet forces, future qualitative improvements would not endanger our ICBM forces.

—The potential for qualitative improvements and numerical increases in Soviet forces poses a serious threat to our land-based strategic forces in

the absence of agreed arms limitations on both defensive and offensive forces.

—Attacks might also be directed against our national command authorities and gravely endanger our capability to respond appropriately to the nature, scale, and source of the attack.

—We still face the disturbing possibility of accidents.

—Finally, before this decade is over, the Chinese will have the capability to threaten some of our major population centers.

These developments persuade me of the wisdom of our initial decisions to take the necessary preliminary steps for Safeguard ABM deployments. I am convinced that we must plan to continue our Safeguard program for the present.

At the same time, we have actively discussed with the Soviet Union limitations on defensive as well as offensive strategic weapons. Some limits on ABM systems are essential to any SALT agreement. We have taken this into account in our planning.

Last year Congress approved varying levels of work on the four Safeguard sites designed primarily to protect our Minuteman missiles.

I will continue a Safeguard program designed to provide maximum flexibility in the conduct of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks. We are doing nothing which precludes any possible agreement at SALT. Our specific plans for the coming year will be announced by the Secretary of Defense.

At the same time, we have no explicit statement from the USSR as to the reasons for the leveling-off of the ICBM deployments, nor any guarantee that the apparent slow-down will continue. Moreover, the Soviet Union has been pursuing qualitative improvements which could threaten our retaliatory forces. With all the will in the world, we may be unable to secure limitations in the SALT discussions. In view of that possibility, I deem it essential that we continue with the minimum program of work on ABM.

Our strategic forces constitute the foundation of our nation's security. We maintain these forces, in sufficient size and character, to achieve our objective of deterrence. While we intend to maintain whatever forces are necessary to insure our deterrent, we also intend to pursue every reasonable avenue of negotiation that might end the strategic arms race—a race that contributes nothing to the real security of either side.

General Purpose Forces

The change in the strategic situation in recent years profoundly enhances the importance of our general purpose forces. The Soviet Union's build-up alters the character of the strategic threat. China also is developing strategic forces, though her current capabilities are still quite limited.

With this shift in strategic realities, our potential adversaries may be tempted by the use or the threat of force below what they consider the level of general nuclear war. General purpose forces, therefore, now play a larger role in deterring attacks than at any time since the nuclear era began.

In last year's report, I pointed out that after intensive review I had decided to maintain general purpose forces adequate to deter or, if necessary defend against, a major threat to the interests of the U.S. and its allies in Europe or Asia; and si-

multaneously to cope with a minor contingency elsewhere. This decision reflected our assessment of certain new factors that I outlined in last year's report:

—"the nuclear capability of our strategic and theater nuclear forces serves as a deterrent to full-scale Soviet attack on NATO Europe or Chinese attack on our Asian allies;

—"the prospects for a coordinated two-front attack on our allies by Russia and China are low both because of the risks of nuclear war and the improbability of Sino-Soviet cooperation. In any event, we do not believe that such a coordinated attack should be met primarily by U.S. conventional forces;

—"the desirability of insuring against greater than expected threats by maintaining more than the forces required to meet conventional threats in one theater—such as NATO Europe;

—"weakness on our part would be more provocative than continued U.S. strength, for it might encourage others to take dangerous risks, to resort to the illusion that military adventurism could succeed."

GUIDELINES FOR GENERAL PURPOSE FORCES

In this past year, we have continued to shape our general purpose forces to those concepts. Our guidelines were the following:

—Both the USSR and the Chinese have substantial forces that can be rapidly reinforced. Our capabilities thus must rest on our allies' strength, strong U.S. overseas forces, and the availability of credible reinforcements. We could not hide deficiencies from a potential enemy; weakness in conventional forces invites conventional attack.

—To serve as a realistic deterrent, our general purpose forces, together with those of our allies, must be such as to convince potential enemies that they have nothing to gain by launching conventional attacks.

—To deter conventional aggression, we and our allies together must be capable of posing unacceptable risks to potential enemies. We must not be in a position of being able to employ only strategic weapons to meet challenges to our interests. On the other hand, having a full range of options does not mean that we will necessarily limit our response to the level or intensity chosen by an enemy. Potential enemies must know that we will respond to whatever degree is required to protect our interests. They must also know that they will only worsen their situation by escalating the level of violence.

—It is our policy that future guerilla and subversive threats should be dealt with primarily by the indigenous forces of our allies. Consistent with the Nixon Doctrine, we can and will provide economic and military assistance to supplement local efforts where our interests are involved.

—Our forces will be developed and deployed to the extent possible on the basis of a common strategy with our allies and a common sharing of the defense burden.

Since these forces are crucial to our support for regional defense organizations, they are discussed more fully elsewhere

in this report, particularly in the sections on Europe and Indochina. In addition, the Secretary of Defense, in his Defense Report to the Congress, will describe in detail specific measures we have taken and the progress we have made.

DESIGNING OUR GENERAL PURPOSE FORCES

Our major effort over the past year has been to develop a military posture consistent with these strategic guidelines and adequate to protect our overseas interests.

Europe. During 1970, the NATO Alliance concentrated on a thorough review of its defense posture. The central question was what strategy and mix of conventional and theater nuclear forces was best suited to the defense of the Alliance when both the U.S. and the USSR have the capabilities for mutual nuclear devastation. The review reflected the fact that Europe is moving through a time of change, and that the relationship of NATO and Warsaw Pact military forces can have a significant effect on the outcome of political negotiations.

Thus, we had to consider carefully not only the forces already deployed in Europe, but the capabilities the NATO Alliance maintains for rapid mobilization and reinforcement, and the probabilities of receiving early warning. The commitment of our own strategic forces to the Alliance deterrent, of course, was not in question.

For our part, we reviewed the contribution of United States ground, air, and naval forces. Together with our allies we concluded that:

—We should not decrease our present forces, nor should any other ally.

—The basic Alliance strategy would require maximum flexibility to deal with the full range of possible attacks.

—A realistic deterrent against conventional attacks required a substantial conventional forward defense capability.

—Important qualitative improvements would have to be made by all allies to offset the continuing improvements by the Warsaw Pact.

Asia. The situation in Asia differs significantly from that in Europe. The People's Republic of China has substantial military forces. But those forces pose a more limited and less immediate threat in Asia than do the forces of the Soviet Union in Europe. Chinese nuclear capabilities are still in an early stage of development. At the same time, our allies in Asia have not yet fully developed their own defense capabilities.

Taking account of these facts, we have reviewed general purpose force requirements in Asia. Our review indicates that we can meet our collective security objectives while placing greater reliance on our allies for their own defense. The growing strength of our allies has already resulted in a reduction of the level of our general purpose forces stationed in the region.

In all areas. The primary role of our general purpose forces is to deter and, if necessary, cope with external aggression. If aggression occurs, the use of our forces will be determined by our interests, the needs of our allies, and their defense capabilities, which we are seeking to improve. It is clear, however, that the Soviet Union's strong and balanced conventional capability enables it to project its military power to areas heretofore beyond its reach. This requires us to maintain balanced and mobile ground, sea, and air forces capable of meeting challenges to

our worldwide interests.

This may impose new requirements and new burdens in the coming decade. We would prefer that rivalry with the USSR be contained through self-restraint, mutual respect for interests, and specific agreements. But I am determined that our general military posture will remain as strong as the international situation dictates.

AGENDA FOR THE FUTURE

While maintaining a realistic deterrent, we will further adjust our general purpose forces in response to changing circumstances. Our attention, for example, will be focused on:

—*Manpower.* Our ultimate goal is to meet our military manpower requirements without resort to the draft. In the meantime, we are working on reform of the selective service system. We have adopted a new method of selection to ensure a more equitable spreading of the burden of military service, and reduce to a minimum the uncertainties associated with the draft. Draft calls have been substantially reduced. As Vietnamization progresses, and our program of upgrading the rewards of the career service takes effect, we hope to make further reductions.

—*NATO.* We and our NATO Allies have agreed to improve the quality of alliance forces. In 1971, we will move to concrete programs for improving NATO's conventional capabilities, and insuring modern and sufficient strategic and theater nuclear forces.

—*Asia.* We will, with our allies, determine how best to help them improve their defensive capabilities. This will enable us to deal with the allocation of resources between U.S. forces and increased assistance in the area.

—*Defense Review.* We have defined new strategic doctrines for our nuclear forces and for our general purpose forces. But we must continue to refine our assessments of the implications of our strategies for our force composition. This will be a continuing task of this Administration.

We will also be taking measures to increase the efficiency and effectiveness of our defense establishment. The Secretary of Defense is reviewing the proposals of the Blue Ribbon Defense Panel on the organization and management of the Department of Defense. He has implemented many of them, and is preparing his recommendations to me on others. These matters will be covered fully in the Secretary's Defense Report to the Congress.

SECURITY ASSISTANCE

"The overwhelming evidence of the last 25 years—from the Marshall Plan to Vietnamization—is that a systematic program that helps other nations harness their own resources for defense and development enables them to take on the primary burden of their own defense."

Message to the Congress
Proposing Supplemental Foreign
Assistance Appropriations
November 18, 1970

The Nixon Doctrine requires a strong program of security assistance.

When Communist nations promoted the theory and practice of "wars of national liberation," particularly in the

71-284—72——24

1960's, the United States saw this as a threat to us and our allies and responded energetically. We offered advice, training, resources, reform programs, and new theories and techniques of counterinsurgency.

During those years, direct involvement was deemed appropriate in some cases. The United States, indeed, sometimes acted as if defense against conventional or guerrilla aggression anywhere in the world was principally an American responsibility. But it is not in our interest or that of our friends to act as if their security is more important to us than it is to them.

The effectiveness of American assistance depends on the will and the effort of the threatened country or region. Unless a country mobilizes its own resources, the effect of our assistance can only be limited. The best way to prevent insurgency is to meet economic and social imperatives; the best way to control it is a determined security effort by the country itself. Nothing we can do is an adequate substitute for a government supported by its people and for a nation unified and determined to defend itself. If they do make that effort, our assistance can make a crucial difference—to their security and world stability.

Security assistance has been an important aspect of United States foreign policy for nearly 25 years. Today it is more important than ever, for without it our effort to share responsibilities more widely with our friends and allies cannot succeed. As Secretary Laird has pointed out: "Many nations are willing and able to provide manpower for their own defense but lack the means to convert it to well-trained and properly equipped armed forces." Our materiel and training can enable nations whose security is important to us to deal with threats against them and to help each other to do so.

But it is not simply a matter of helping friends and allies to do more for themselves. Particularly in the areas of the world where we are reducing our manpower, we must make resources available to help them complete the transition with us. In some cases this will require substantial assistance during the period of adjustment. This is central to our new approach to American foreign policy in the 1970's.

By fostering local initiative and self-sufficiency, security assistance enables us in some instances to reduce our direct military involvement abroad. An effective security assistance program will lessen the need for and the likelihood of the engagement of American forces in future local conflicts. Thus it will ease the burdens upon the United States. But at the same time it signals to the world that the United States continues to help and support its allies.

We have addressed the specific issues and programs of security assistance with the care that befits its importance to our new foreign policy. The Peterson Report treated the purposes and structure of security assistance programs in its comprehensive analysis of U.S. foreign assistance in the 1970's. We gave specific emphasis in our FY 1971 programs to important needs of friends and allies who are shouldering the burden of their own and regional security. The passage by the Congress of the appropriation I requested a year ago, and the overwhelming support for the supplemental request I submitted last November, demonstrated fulfillment

of our own responsibility.

The most significant individual country programs are discussed in the regional chapters of this annual report. The budget I presented last month, Secretary Rogers' forthcoming review of foreign policy developments, and Secretary Laird's Defense Report treat these programs in detail.

This year I will present to the Congress the design of a new International Security Assistance Program. It will be reorganized to gear it more effectively to the purposes of the Nixon Doctrine:

—It will clearly separate out our security assistance from other forms of assistance to enhance the integrity and effectiveness of each.

—It will pull together all types of security assistance into one coherent program. This will make it possible to coordinate them more efficiently and to exercise stronger policy guidance and program direction.

—It will place increasing emphasis on fostering the self-reliance of those with whom we are engaged in a cooperative effort. We will encourage them, and give them the technical assistance needed, to determine their own requirements and to make the hard decisions on resource allocation which a meaningful security posture demands.

This is a program for the 1970's, building on partnership in the security sphere and responding to new conditions and the lessons of recent history. We look to the day when our friends and allies are free from threats to their security and able to concentrate their energies and resources—and our assistance—on the constructive tasks of economic and social development.

Arms Control

". . . through negotiation we can move toward the control of armaments in a manner that will bring a greater measure of security than we can obtain from arms alone."

The President's Message to the Congress
Transmitting the Ninth Report of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency
February 26, 1970

The world has no more urgent interest than reducing the danger of war, and above all, nuclear war. This creates responsibilities for all nations, but particularly for the nuclear superpowers.

The control of armaments is not a new issue in this decade or the postwar period. Man has long sought to create the mutual trust and techniques to limit and reduce arms. The historical record has been tragic. Arms control has generally foundered because it failed the test of international crises—nations could not resolve the very issues that stimulated weapons competition. At the same time, political settlements were threatened by arms rivalry—nations could not define levels that did not stimulate ever new competition and thus new antagonisms and insecurity.

PROGRESS TO DATE

In an age of great technological change and enormous nuclear power, we face even larger challenges. This Administration is dedicated to the limitation and reduction of arms. We are proud of our accomplishments.

Preventing the Spread of Nuclear Weapons. The worldwide reach of scientific knowledge enables virtually any nation in time to acquire nuclear weapons. Last year, the United States ratified the treaty to halt further proliferation of nuclear weapons. More than 100 nations have either signed or ratified this treaty, and negotiations to implement its verification procedures are in progress. If all nations act on its principles and abide by its obligations, the incentive for any additional nation to acquire nuclear arms will recede.

Preserving Peace in New Frontiers. Modern technology has opened up the vistas of outer space and the ocean depths for mankind's benefit. But it has created as well the temptation to exploit these new environments for military gain. We and other nations have acted to prohibit nuclear weapons in outer space. This Administration took the initiative to negotiate a treaty banning weapons of mass destruction from the seabeds. The United Nations overwhelmingly approved the treaty this fall, and I will soon submit it to the Senate.

Curbing Biological and Chemical Threats. Modern science has spawned the most deadly means of biological and chemical warfare. This Administration has moved on several fronts to reduce this threat:

—The United States renounced all use of biological and toxin weapons and first use of lethal and incapacitating chemical weapons. Our biological and toxin research will be confined to small programs solely for defensive purposes. I have approved a plan to destroy stockpiles of these agents and associated munitions. We announced the conversion of one major biological facility to the investigation of the health effects of certain chemicals.

—On August 19, 1970, I submitted to the Senate the 1925 Geneva Protocol banning the use in warfare of chemical and biological weapons. If ratified, the United States would join 95 other nations, including all the major powers, in supporting this treaty.

—In the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament in Geneva, we will urge further international control over the biological and chemical means of war.

STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION TALKS (SALT)

The most important area in which progress is yet to be made is the limitation of strategic arms. Perhaps for the first time, the evolving strategic balance allows a Soviet-American agreement which yields no unilateral advantages. The fact we have begun to discuss strategic arms with the USSR is in itself important. Agreement in such a vital area could create a new commitment to stability, and influence attitudes toward other issues.

A New Method of Preparation. In previous arms control negotiations our usual practice was to develop a single proposal, based on what would command a consensus among diverse views in the bureaucracy. This frequently led to rigidity in the negotiations; unless the other side adopted an almost identical stance, the talks deadlocked. Time and energies were then consumed in re-negotiating a position within our government.

I concluded that we needed a new approach—to give us a firmer grasp of the issues, to provide maximum flexibility in negotiations, and to speed up the overall negotiating process. Because flexibility

is a virtue only within a framework of clear purpose, I ordered the most comprehensive study of weapons systems bearing on the negotiations.

We assigned the analytical tasks to a special NSC group, the Verification Panel. It first examined the various weapons sytems to determine the effect of conceivable limitations on our current and projected military programs, their effect on Soviet programs, and—on the basis of this analysis—the strategic situation ensuing from particular weapons limitations.

The Panel looked as well at verification. Confidence that obligations are being adhered to is a basic requirement for stable arms control agreements and should be of equal concern to both sides. We made a detailed analysis of our ability, and the measures needed, to verify compliance with each agreement. We also studied counteractions if we detected a violation, and whether we could take them in time to protect our security.

The result was the development of individual "building blocks" for all offensive and defensive weapons. We can combine these blocks in various clusters of limitations and reductions to produce alternative proposals for the negotiations.

This enables us to respond quickly and meaningfully to any Soviet counter-proposals; at home we are not the prisoner of bureaucratic jockeying to come up with an agreed response. The focus in our dialogue, either with the USSR or within our own government, can be on substantive issues.

Differing Perspectives. We made major efforts to understand the position of the Soviet Union. Of all possible areas for negotiation, limitation of strategic weapons requires the greatest such efforts, for no nation will maintain an accord which it believes jeopardizes its survival.

This task of developing an equitable agreement is greatly complicated by our differing strategic positions and perspectives.

Even within the United States, and no doubt in the USSR, there are widely divergent views over the key elements of an effective and credible strategic posture. The technical issues are highly complex, and the political and strategic considerations engage our vital interests. It would be surprising, therefore, if there were not also large initial differences between the U.S. and the USSR.

The composition and level of our respective strategic forces reflected different geographical factors and historical development. This posed a major problem of establishing an equivalence between weapons systems with dissimilar characteristics and capabilities:

—Our deployments of offensive missile launchers were completed by 1967; the USSR continued to build different types of land-based ICBM's and a nuclear-powered missile submarine force that will equal ours within three years at current rates. The USSR has constructed a large ICBM, the SS–9, for which the U.S. has no counterpart. Deployed in sufficient numbers and armed with the multiple independently targetable warheads (MIRV's) of sufficient accuracy, this missile could threaten our land-based ICBM forces. Our MIRV systems, by contrast, do not have the combination of numbers, accuracy, and warhead yield to pose a threat to the Soviet land-based ICBM force.

—The USSR has a large force of intermediate and medium range ballistic missiles. We do not. On the other

hand, our alliance commitments and their regional military programs caused us to base our tactical aircraft abroad; we also retain air power on carriers.

—The USSR has deployed an Anti-Ballistic Missile defense system, thus far in the Moscow area. We have initiated an ABM program based on different strategic principles and missile systems.

Our analysis indicated critical areas of prospective strategic instability:

—Offensive systems have clearly developed to a point where certain further improvements, as well as increased launcher deployments, could pose a threat to land-based missile retaliatory forces and thus threaten stability.

—Instability also could develop through the unchecked extension of defensive capabilities. One side might believe that its defenses could clearly limit the damage it might suffer from retaliation, and therefore that it was in a position to strike first.

We took these factors into account in shaping negotiating positions for SALT. There have been three phases so far, alternating between Helsinki and Vienna: Helsinki I (November 17–December 22, 1969); Vienna I (April 16–August 14, 1970); Helsinki II (November 2–December 18, 1970). The negotiators are now slated to reassemble in Vienna on March 15.

THE COURSE OF SALT NEGOTIATIONS

There has been speculation both here and abroad concerning the talks. Progress has been facilitated by our agreed policy of privacy with respect to the negotiating exchanges. I will, of course, respect that agreement. I am, therefore, free to discuss only the general character of the talks and underlying issues which have emerged.

We believed that progress could best be made if the initial exchanges encouraged agreement on the definition of the subject matter and the nature of the issues. Thus, we did not launch discussions in the traditional manner of hard, detailed proposals that might lead to early deadlock, each side supporting its opening position. Instead, we explored some general concepts of strategic stability and related them to the issues posed by limiting individual weapons systems. Our negotiating team, ably led by Ambassador Gerard Smith, reviewed our analysis, explaining how we thought agreements might evolve and their verification requirements.

This essentially exploratory approach, which included a general treatment of verification, enabled each side to gain greater understanding of the other's thinking. There was broad consensus on certain general strategic concepts. At the same time there were clear differences on whether certain systems should be included in discussions of an initial agreement.

Both sides proceeded in a thoughtful, non-polemical manner. Calm, reasoned dialogue produced a common work program for future sessions.

In the later phases of the talks, we moved from an analysis of issues to a discussion of concrete measures. Initially, the U.S. suggested possible approaches involving both numerical and qualitative limitations on strategic offensive and defensive systems, including MIRV's. We also put forward an alternative comprehensive approach which would not constrain MIRV's, but would involve

reductions in offensive forces in order to maintain stability even in the face of qualitative improvements.

The Soviet Union, for its part, submitted a general proposal which diverged from ours in many respects, including a major difference on the definition of strategic systems.

When it proved difficult to make progress on the basis of the initial approaches and proposals, our preparatory work enabled us to move rapidly to a modified approach taking account of Soviet objections. Our approach incorporated alternative provisions for either limitation or a total ban of ABM. Modified proposals were put forward by the Soviet Union as well. On some issues, our views coincided or were quite close; on others there remained important differences. In many respects, Soviet suggestions on various aspects of offensive and defensive limitations lacked the specificity and detail to permit firm conclusions about their overall impact.

SALT Issues For the Future. We have been able to move from preliminary exploration of substantive issues to concrete negotiations in a fairly short period. The dialogue has been serious and businesslike. The rate of progress, however, has been influenced by differing perspectives.

This Administration has established and enunciated a concept of strategic sufficiency. We have reflected this concept in the nature and number of our strategic forces and the doctrines for their employment. All these aspects of our posture are fully aired in each year's budgetary process. As I have pointed out in the section on Strategic Forces, Soviet deployments make us uncertain whether the USSR has made a similar national commitment to strategic equilibrium.

There also remain specific differences that have gradually emerged in our exchange of proposals. These involve what an agreement should cover and how it should be verified.

—We have approached the question on what armaments to include in an initial agreement with different definitions. While recognizing that a variety of offensive systems could be construed as strategic, we believe that priority should go to those that form the core of offensive threats, ICBM's, SLBM's, and heavy strategic bombers.

—The USSR has broadly defined "strategic" offensive weapons as those that can reach the other side's territory. These terms include our theater nuclear delivery systems including those on aircraft carriers. But our carrier and land-based air forces abroad are essential components of integrated theater defenses created under alliance commitments in response to common threats. On the other hand, the Soviet approach would not include limitations on its own theater nuclear forces, including their own medium or intermediate range missiles. During the course of the negotiations we have been making efforts, in consultation with our allies, to take account of this difference in perspective.

—There has also been a difference over whether a separate agreement limiting ABM's alone would be in our mutual interest. The U.S. believes that to be stable and satisfactory, an agreement should include limitations on both offensive and defensive systems.

—As I said last year, the requirement

for adequate verification of any agreement is essential to both sides. We have not yet found a way to overcome certain differences. They are particularly difficult in connection with our attempts to limit or ban MIRV's or ABM's. We will continue working on solutions to these problems in future negotiations.

In light of these complex issues and our differing approaches, we are neither surprised nor discouraged that progress has not been more rapid. The discussions have produced the most searching examination of strategic relationships ever conducted between the United States and the USSR. Each side has had the opportunity to explain at length the particular strategic concerns caused by the present and prospective posture of the other. Both sides know better how an agreement could deal with these concerns.

The Soviet position has not been presented in the detail that ours has, but the negotiations have reached a point where views are better understood and the basis of an agreement may be emerging. Further progress is therefore possible when negotiations resume.

We need to determine how comprehensive an agreement is feasible. On the one hand, even a relatively modest accord would create a stake for both sides to preserve progress and build upon it with further agreements. Moreover, it could influence attitudes towards issues outside SALT. On the other hand, if all the effort that has gone into SALT were to produce only a token agreement, it could be counterproductive. There would be no reason to be confident that this could serve as a bridge to a more significant agreement. Therefore, we shall strive for an initial agreement which is as broad and comprehensive as possible. It must deal with the interrelationship between offensive and defensive limitations.

Two principles should be recognized. The strategic balance would be endangered if we limited defensive forces alone and left the offensive threat to our strategic forces unconstrained. It would also be dangerous, however, if only offensive forces were restrained, while defenses were allowed to become so strong that one side might no longer be deterred from striking first. To limit only one side of the offense-defense equation could rechannel the arms competition rather than effectively curtail it.

We also have to clarify the relationship between the process of negotiations—which may be protracted and involve several stages—and actions taken during the talks, and even after an initial agreement. It is clear that restraint is essential. If the Soviet leaders extend their strategic capabilities, especially in ways that increase the threat to our forces, we would face new decisions in the strategic field.

Last summer, in a press conference on July 30, 1970, I stated what appeared to me to be the only alternatives:

"We can either continue this race in which they continue their offensive missiles and we go forward with our defensive missiles, or we can reach an agreement. That is why at this point we have hopes of attempting to find, either on a comprehensive basis, and lacking a comprehensive basis, a selective basis, the first steps toward which the superpowers will limit the development of and particularly the deployment of more instruments of destruction when both have enough to destroy each other many times over."

I retain that hope and in this report reaffirm my commitment to its fulfillment.

At this stage what is needed are political decisions to move towards an agreement on the basis of an equitable strategic relationship. We have taken this decision.

MUTUAL AND BALANCED FORCE REDUCTIONS IN EUROPE

Last year I indicated that we needed to study carefully mutual force reductions in Europe as one of the most fruitful areas for East-West dialogue. Accordingly, I directed that our government reinforce the preliminary work done in NATO with an intensive analysis of the issues in an agreement to reduce NATO and Warsaw Pact forces.

Problems. In many respects this subject poses even more complex problems than strategic arms limitation:

The principal objective should be a more stable military balance at lower levels of forces and costs. Therefore, reductions should have the effect of enhancing defensive capabilities, so as to diminish the incentives for attacking forces. Even if defensive capabilities were not actually improved, force reductions, as a minimum, should not create offensive advantages greater than those already existing. Yet, reductions would tend to favor offensive capabilities, since attacking forces could concentrate while reduced defensive forces were compelled to spread along a given line.

Achieving reductions that leave the balance unaffected or, preferably, improve stability, raises a number of intricate technical problems. For example, how do we establish equivalency between opposing forces? This is already difficult enough with respect to strategic arms limitations which involve relatively few weapons systems. In reducing conventional ground and air or tactical nuclear forces a great variety of national forces and materiel would have to be considered. Furthermore, there are marked differences in the equipment, organization, and strength both within and between the opposing NATO and Warsaw Pact forces.

Preparations. Following the pattern developed for SALT, we first assembled detailed data on manpower, conventional weapons, tactical nuclear weapons, and aircraft for both sides. We compared them in areas ranging from a narrow zone in Central Europe to ones extending up to the Western USSR. We had to determine:

—the current balance of forces for each category. We could then evaluate the new military equation if various forces were reduced in different degree, and gauge when one side might gain a unilateral advantage.

—our ability to verify levels of all forces so that we can confirm reductions.

—the measures needed to detect increases in the manpower or equipment of reduced forces.

Our preliminary analysis pointed up a central problem. The Warsaw Pact can mobilize and reinforce more rapidly than NATO, primarily with divisions from the USSR. Thus, in judging force reductions we must consider not only the balance of standing forces but what each side could do following various periods of mobilization and reinforcement. There are two broad approaches to reductions:

—proportionately equal ones applying the same percentage of reductions to both sides.

—asymmetrical ones in which reductions by the two sides would be made in differing amounts in different

categories so that one side would make larger cuts in one category in return for larger cuts by the other side in another category to create a stable military equation at lower force levels.

The first has the advantage of simplicity but would tend to magnify the effects of any imbalances which exist at the outset. The second, because of its complexity, would pose difficult analytical and negotiating problems, but would have the advantage of providing a firmer basis for a stable relationship between the two sides. We are studying these questions with our allies.

Our preliminary conclusions suggest that the pattern of the SALT negotiations might be valid as an approach to discussions of mutual force reductions in Europe. Rather than exchanging concrete proposals at the outset, we could first explore major substantive issues and their relation to specific problems. Within this common framework we could move to more detailed discussion of individual issues. This building block approach could resolve the complex technical issues and lead to an agreement.

Conclusion

It is essential that the United States maintain a military force sufficient to protect our interests and meet our commitments. Were we to do less, there would be no chance of creating a stable world structure.

But it is an illusion to think that the ideal guarantee of security—for ourselves or for the world—rests on our efforts alone. While maintaining our strength, therefore, we are also making a sustained effort to achieve with the Soviet Union agreement on arms limitations. Only a designed balance of armaments can ensure security that is shared and equitable, and therefore durable.

It is for that reason that we have defined our security requirements in terms that facilitate arms control agreements. The doctrine of strategic sufficiency is fully compatible with arms limitations. So too are the role of our conventional forces and the purpose of our security assistance.

Our goal is security—and if others share that goal, it can be assured through mutual design, rather than mutual exertion. It will, in any event, be maintained.

PART V: THE WORLD INTEREST

—The United Nations
—Global Challenges

The United Nations

"As the United Nations begins its next quarter century, it does so richer in the experience and sobered in its understanding of what it can do and what it cannot; what should be expected and what should not.

"In the spirit of this 25th Anniversary, the United States will go the extra mile in doing our part toward making the UN succeed. We look forward to working together with all nations represented here in going beyond the mere containment of crises to building a structure of peace that promotes justice as well as assuring stability, and that will last because all have a stake in its lasting."

Address to the United Nations
General Assembly
October 23, 1970

International cooperation has always been both a human dream and a human

necessity. This is more true in our time than it has ever been before.

The dream is important. Mankind aspires to lasting peace, and since its founding twenty-five years ago, the United Nations has symbolized this profound wish. But while the realization of the dream remains elusive, the necessity of international cooperation for other purposes has become imperative. For the march of technology has pressed upon the world an increasing number of exigent problems which can only be solved by collaboration among governments. As a result, the United Nations' role in facilitating international cooperation has taken on a new importance.

THE PRESERVATION OF PEACE

The major task for the world community is, of course, the preservation of peace. The need for an instrument which could further this purpose was the prime motivation behind the founding of the United Nations. The UN's ability to fill this role, however, is dependent to a considerable extent on cooperation among the major powers; and a somber fact of recent history is the failure of the victorious allies of World War II to maintain their cooperation. This being true, a crucial development would be joint recognition by the United States and the Soviet Union of a common interest in strengthening the UN's peacekeeping capacities. On October 23, before many of the world's Chiefs of State and Heads of Government assembled at the UN, I called on the USSR to put our relations "on a basis consistent with the aspirations of mankind" and to join with us in developing "practical means that will enable the United Nations to move decisively to keep the peace."

Even if UN peacekeeping efforts cannot be perfected in the world as it is, they can certainly be improved. Peacemaking in the past has depended essentially on improvisation. There were, and are, no general understandings on how these operations are to be directed or financed. One result has been that the UN has developed a large financial deficit as some countries have refused to pay their share.

We believe that a major effort should be made to reach an agreement on reliable ground rules for peacekeeping operations. Discussions are going forward directly with the Soviet Union and in a special UN Committee on this subject. One major issue is the degree of latitude which the Secretary General would have in conducting day-to-day operations, once the Security Council has authorized an undertaking. We believe he needs adequate authority to manage peacekeeping operations under the broad political supervision of the Council. While these problems have been difficult, discussions are continuing.

THE NEED FOR RESTRAINT

Because the stresses of the Cold War have limited the ability of the Security Council to play an energetic role in alleviating political crises and preserving the peace, much of the political agenda at the UN has flowed toward the General Assembly. But the operations of the Assembly have shortcomings related to the strains of a rapid growth in membership and demands for actions beyond the capacities of the United Nations.

States have traditionally addressed

their foreign policies to problems affecting their own concept of their national interests. National policies were sustained, and to some extent defined and limited, by the resources which states were willing and able to commit. With all its faults, this process imposed a degree of discipline and realism upon foreign policy goals.

At the UN this pattern has been modified. Many states find themselves involved in political problems in which their own interests are very often not importantly engaged and their ability to obtain information is limited. Without self-discipline, this can easily lead the organization to adopt positions which cannot command the resources or the support required for attainment.

There are, of course, advantages in detachment, in having problems considered by a community as a whole rather than by the parties directly involved. But for this advantage to be maximized, more self-restraint is needed on the part of member states. UN members contribute best to the maintenance of peace when they examine issues on their merits instead of voting as blocs along geographical or ideological lines. And it should be remembered that problems cannot always be solved by the simple formula of choosing the middle ground between conflicting claims. To assume that justice is necessarily a middle point is to encourage adversaries to move toward extremes.

The UN does in fact mirror much of the world's social turmoil, national conflicts, and ideological differences. It has to its credit substantial accomplishments in peacekeeping, in social and economic betterment, and in drafting principles of international law. It will be strengthened to the extent that its members foreswear unrealistic rhetoric and concentrate on using the UN constructively to settle rather than publicize disputes. The UN must not become the forum where differences are exacerbated by intemperate advocacy.

HUMAN BETTERMENT

Another major function of the United Nations is to promote economic and social development. Its basic instrument for this purpose—the UN Development Program—has achieved a good record in providing technical experts and technical training to the underdeveloped countries, and in helping them survey the investment potential of their natural resources.

However, the Program has encountered two basic problems. First, its resources fall short of the job to be done. Second, even at its present level of operations, its capacity to operate efficiently is strained to the utmost. It needs to adopt improved managerial practices.

During the past year, two actions in the UN set the stage for remedying these inadequacies:

—In October, the General Assembly adopted the strategy for the Second Development Decade, which began in January 1971. The strategy set goals, the basic one being an average growth rate of 6% in developing countries, and an action program covering the spectrum of economic and social development. An important element was the affirmation by developed countries, including the United States, of efforts to achieve an aid target of the transfer of resources, government and private, equal to one percent of Gross National Product.

—In December, the General Assembly

approved a series of steps to improve the capacity of the UN development system to handle larger resources effectively. These reforms should ensure much tighter coordination within each recipient country of the activities of the various UN agencies.

These recommended reforms are most encouraging. We look forward to their rapid and effective implementation, which we view as a concrete test of the ability of the UN family of organizations to mold itself into a more effective instrument. Precisely because we attach great importance to the UN's role in development, we intend to apply high standards in judging its performance. The work of the United Nations and its specialized agencies is too vital to permit good intentions to substitute for accomplishment.

THE NATURE OF OUR PARTICIPATION

We intend to view the UN realistically, to face clearly what it can and cannot do, and to encourage its fullest employment on those problems of the world to which it can effectively contribute. It would be unrealistic to ignore the fact that the United Nations is not functioning as effectively as it might. But it would be equally unrealistic to view that situation as acceptable. For the United States has a transcendent interest in a more effective United Nations.

Success breeds success. If international cooperation succeeds in producing creative solutions to some of the world's pressing needs, the fabric of that cooperation will itself be greatly strengthened. This could have long-term effects beyond the solution of individual problems. For it could bring closer that lasting and general peace which has so far eluded our grasp.

We recognize that the nature of our own participation in the United Nations and its family of organizations is a central element in their health and effectiveness. In the past, particularly in the specialized agencies, our financial contributions have been too large a part of our total contribution. We intend to participate more fully in the future. We will urge that the utility of international activities be judged by the good that comes out of them rather than the good intentions that go into them.

We look forward to the report of the President's Commission for the Observance of the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the UN. This group of distinguished American citizens has, since last July, been studying means to enhance the effectiveness of the United Nations, and to improve U.S. participation therein. The fruit of their deliberations will receive the most serious study by my Administration.

GLOBAL CHALLENGES

The United Nations was, and is, a child of the mid-Twentieth Century. It stemmed from the perception that modern problems required a new pattern of interchange to supplement the older processes of diplomacy. Human institutions evolve in response to felt needs, and some of our most serious international needs have only recently become evident. For mankind now shares a number of new and urgent problems, which stem from the contrast between man's progress in the technological arts and his shortcomings in achieving a stable organization for international cooperation. The world has grown small, and we live increasingly in what has been described as a "global village".

The world now has community problems such as the population explosion, the uses of the oceans and seabeds, maintenance of a healthy natural environment, control of drug abuse, deterrence of airplane hijackings, and cooperation in the use of outer space.

In last year's report, and in my two speeches to the General Assembly, I suggested these problems as appropriate for UN attention. The UN has made useful beginnings on most of them, and marked progress on some. These developments are discussed in the following section of this report, along with the measures taken outside the UN. These global problems are not, of course, the exclusive property of the UN, but it is uniquely qualified to focus the energies and attention of the world on them.

I want to take particular note of one instance in which the UN did precisely that in 1970, and on a matter of the deepest interest to the American people. In October, I asked the General Assembly to express "the world interest" in the human rights of prisoners of war. I urged the Assembly to press all adversaries in the Vietnam conflict, and all other conflicts, to honor the Geneva Convention. In December, the General Assembly passed a resolution that fully met that request. This did not, of course, effect the release of our prisoners now in North Vietnam's hands, but it does bring to bear on North Vietnam the full weight of world opinion in favor of decent treatment of those prisoners. And the UN Resolution specifically called for the repatriation of seriously ill or wounded prisoners, and of all prisoners who have endured a long period of captivity. The American people, I am sure, share my gratitude to the eleven states who stood with us in sponsoring this resolution, and the fifty-five others whose support led to its passage.

THE FUTURE

In the 1970's, the United Nations faces both a challenge and an opportunity. For the member states there is a challenge to prove themselves capable of using the UN framework to meet the common needs of the international community. For the UN itself, there is an opportunity to mold itself into the efficient instrument for international cooperation which the times require.

The United States will try to meet the challenge, and to help the UN seize its opportunity.

Global Challenges—The New Dimension in Foreign Affairs

"Across this planet let us attack the ills that threaten peace.

"In the untapped oceans of water and space, let us harvest in peace."

Address to the United Nations
General Assembly
October 23, 1970

It was a poet who expressed the profound political truth that the world has become a frail spaceship and that the people of the earth are its passengers. The technology which inspired that concept has also brought with it a degree of global interdependence which differs from the past not only in degree but in kind.

For our progress mocks us. The more we have succeeded in controlling our environment, the more our environment needs to be controlled. The more means we have devised to improve the quality of

human life, the more that quality of life needs protection from the means we have devised.

Along with its vast contribution to our well-being, technology has given us the common capability to pollute the earth's oceans and air. It has increased the incentives for nations to assert, and attempt to enforce, territorial claims to the oceans so immoderate as to endanger the ancient right of freedom of the seas. It has brought the ability to tap—or to ravage—the resources of the sea and the ocean floor, to the vast benefit—or to the huge harm—of mankind.

These are examples of problems in which every country has a deep national interest, but which, as a practical matter, are simply not subject to satisfactory resolution by national means. They are matters on which the nations of the world must subsume their narrower interests in a broad and generous concept of the world interest. For without such an approach, we will not find the solutions which both the world interest and the national interests require. Without such an approach, we cannot fully harness the capacity of technology to meet these global challenges.

Thus there has come into being a new dimension in the foreign policy of the United States, not as a matter of choice and deliberate action on our part, but as a reflection of the demanding realities of the world in which we live. Foreign policy has, of course, always aimed at serving the nation's security and well-being. What is new is the fact that we now face an increasing range of problems which are central to our national well-being, but which are, by definition, global problems, or problems which can only be dealt with effectively on a global scale.

In addressing these problems a narrow calculation of national interests is inadequate. For viewed from that perspective, the nations of the world do sometimes have conflicting interests of a real and substantial nature. Of greater import, however, is our shared and transcendent interest in the livability of our common home, the earth. To these problems, and the opportunities they present, that interest must be our guide and the guide of others. The nurturing of that interest has now become a prime task of American leadership.

During the past year, this new dimension of our international activity has been evident at the United Nations, in a number of its associated organizations, in various regional activities, and through frequent bilateral contacts with many nations around the world. It is encouraging that the international community is showing an increasing willingness to grapple with these problems. But the fact remains that the time available for finding a solution to many of them is perilously short. I want to review our attitude toward some of the more salient issues, and the steps that are being taken by the international community to meet those issues.

THE ENVIRONMENT

No nation can keep its pollution to itself. Wastes discharged into the air and water in fact befoul a common resource. Restraint on the part of individual states, however laudable and necessary, is inadequate to the problem, for in the absence of international action, competitive economic pressures will severely limit national abilities to require the costly

measures needed to protect the environment. A broad international approach is therefore necessary.

In the United Nations, this country has joined with most other nations of the world in preparing for the 1972 Stockholm Conference on the Human Environment, which will consider the whole range of environmental problems. We are also participating in discussions on the environment with such diverse groups as the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (the nations of both Eastern and Western Europe), the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (the developed nations of the Free World), NATO's new Committee on the Challenges of Modern Society (our Atlantic allies), and the Inter-Governmental Maritime Consultative Organization (the major shipping nations).

These activities are developing a consensus, reflected last year in the call by the NATO/CCMS Conference on Oil Spills for an end to intentional discharges of oil and oily wastes into the oceans by the middle of this decade. The Prague Conference, called by the Economic Commission for Europe, will play an important role in promoting East-West cooperation on environmental problems. The growing international concern is also reflected in our bilateral discussions with countries such as Canada, Japan, France, Germany, Spain, and Sweden with whom we have a variety of arrangements on environment matters.

The vigor of these efforts must increase, however, for we consider it essential that the international community take at least the following measures within the near future:

—identification of pollutants and other ecological hazards which are dangerous on a global scale.

—establishment of an effective world monitoring network to keep track of these environmental dangers.

—initiation of a global information system to facilitate exchange of experience and knowledge about environment problems.

—establishment of internationally accepted air and water quality criteria and standards.

—development of international guidelines for the protection of the environment.

—achievement of comprehensive international action programs to prevent further environmental deterioration and to repair the damage already done.

—development and improvement of training and education programs to provide the skilled capability to meet the environmental challenge.

THE OCEANS

The oceans cover two-thirds of the earth. Man's use of this common asset is now undergoing a transformation. New techniques exist or are being developed which will lead to a vastly increased exploitation of the mineral and living resources of the oceans, including the mineral riches of the world's seabeds.

It is, frankly, not yet clear whether this fact will prove a boon to mankind. There is at present, no authority, international or otherwise, which can ensure the orderly and rational exploitation of these resources. That fact, plus the vast potential wealth at stake, gives cause for deep concern. There is a clear world interest in this matter, and there is a clear danger that, unless it is asserted in time, it may

be lost in the confusion of unbridled commercial and national ambitions.

A closely related problem relates to the age-old right of freedom of navigation on the high seas. Traditional usage and current international law have proved to be inadequate barriers to claims which generate international tensions and endanger the rights of all to use the oceans. The claims of some nations now extend 200 miles seaward. The temptation to assert and defend such claims can only increase as technology provides new means to profit from exclusive rights to the ocean's surface.

In the past year the United States has taken the initiative in moving the world toward an equitable resolution of these two problems, while they are still soluble.

On May 23 I set forth an oceans policy which called for both a system of international regulation for the deep seabeds, and a new agreement on the breadth of territorial seas.

Our proposal for the seabeds would divide the ocean floor into two basic categories:

—Coastal states would maintain their rights to the natural resources of the seabeds up to the point where the high seas reach a depth of 200 meters.

—Seabeds under the remainder of the high seas would be regulated by an international regime. However, coastal states would license exploration and exploitation of resources as trustees for the international community beyond the 200 meter depth line to a further line which would embrace the continental margins.

As I said at the time: "The regime should provide for the collection of substantial mineral royalties to be used for international community purposes, particularly economic assistance to developing countries. It should also establish general rules to prevent unreasonable interference with other uses of the ocean, to protect the ocean from pollution, to assure the integrity of investment necessary for such exploitation, and to provide for peaceful and compulsory settlement of disputes."

In August, our Government submitted to the UN a draft treaty suggesting in detail how such a system would work. We are seeking a system which fully protects the interests of the less-developed countries in the ocean resources, as well as the interests of those nations which now possess the technological capacity to exploit them. Such an arrangement is both fair and practical. For these resources are a common heritage of mankind, and their benefits should be shared by all. And the world is unlikely to give its sanction to arrangements which do not ensure a wide sharing of those benefits. The mineral royalties involved will eventually be very large. Earmarking them for international purposes—particularly the development of the poorer nations—could be a tremendous step forward toward a solution to one of the world's most grievous problems.

On the territorial seas issue, we have proposed a new law of the sea treaty, which would establish a twelve-mile limit for territorial seas adjacent to a nation's coasts and would provide for free transit through and over international straits. It would also provide for conservation of the living resources of the high seas and recognition of the special interests of the coastal states over these resources.

These ideas were extensively discussed at the UN last fall. The U.S. initiative

was widely welcomed as a step toward organizing necessary international negotiations. In December, the General Assembly passed a constructive series of resolutions on the oceans. Most important of all, the General Assembly called for an international conference on the law of the sea to be held in 1973.

At that Conference, the world will have an historic opportunity. Resources of enormous potential value can be placed under an international authority to be used for the benefit of all mankind. And three problems heavy with the possibility of conflict among nations—differing national claims to the ocean's surface, the seabeds, and fishing rights—can be resolved to the benefit of all.

We recognize the difficult and complex issues involved, but we are determined to make every effort to ensure the success of the 1973 Conference. That success would represent a signal victory for the world interest, and a convincing demonstration of the ability of the world community to meet its common problems.

POPULATION CONTROL

One of the greatest threats to the well-being of mankind is the burden of excessive population growth. If things continue as they are, this planet, which at the beginning of the century supported about 1.6 billion lives, and which now supports—often inadequately—some 3.7 billion lives, will be called upon to sustain about 7.5 billion human beings by the end of this century. Already, there are many areas of the world where population growth makes improvements in standards of living intolerably slow, if not impossible. And this is most often true where living standards are lowest. The world is already experiencing a population explosion of unprecedented dimensions. We are, in short, in a rush toward a Malthusian nightmare. That surely is not our destiny.

Therefore, while respecting fully the rights, the consciences, and the responsibilities of other nations, we have taken steps on three fronts to help curtail the growth of world population. First, in line with my statement on population in July of 1969, the United States has embarked on a major effort to support private decisions that will slow the growth of our own population. Second, the United States has given active support to the work of the United Nations agencies in this field. We have again pledged to match contributions from other countries to the United Nations Fund for Population Activities, this time up to a total of $12.5 million for 1971. Third, when it is requested of us, we extend technical and financial assistance to the family planning programs of developing nations.

INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION AGAINST CRIME

The need for international cooperation to solve certain types of criminal problems has become increasingly clear in recent years. The explosion in international travel and intercourse has had the unintended effect of greatly reducing the ability of national societies alone to control such old criminal activity as the illegal narcotics traffic, and such new criminal forms as hijacking and terrorist attacks on diplomats.

The Narcotics Problem. Narcotics addiction has been spreading with pandemic virulence. Although the severity of the problem varies widely from country to

country—and is currently worse in the United States than in many countries—this affliction is spreading rapidly and without the slightest respect for national boundaries. No country is immune, and any country could be next.

There is, therefore, a strong world interest in joint action to eliminate the illegal narcotics traffic. And such cooperation is necessary, for the production and manufacture of narcotics and dangerous drugs is immeasurably easier to control than their illegal passage across national frontiers. Effective law enforcement efforts can, in fact, prevent the illegal production of most narcotics drugs, for production in quantity requires activities difficult to conceal. On the other hand, the mere scale of international movement of people and goods makes it impossible for a country to insulate itself from illegal traffic in drugs.

The control of illegal narcotics, therefore, requires an integrated attack on the demand for them, the supply of them, and their movement across international borders. To that end, the United States has actively sought international cooperation to control the production and distribution of narcotics. Our efforts have taken many forms.

We have worked closely with a large number of governments, particularly Turkey, France, and Mexico, to try to stop the illicit production and smuggling of narcotics.

In September 1970, a special session of the UN Commission on Narcotic Drugs met, at our request, to invest the international community with a sense of urgency about this problem. This meeting produced a resolution including recommendations for short and long term international action against drug abuse. These recommendations were subsequently approved by the UN's Economic and Social Council. This will bring to bear on this problem the whole array of talents and energies of the UN specialized agencies.

The short run program will concentrate on such matters as strengthening international drug control bodies, increasing technical assistance to countries that seek to improve their controls over drugs and their law enforcement capabilities, and improving research on drug abuse. To provide funds that otherwise would be unavailable for the immediate programs, a UN Special Fund for Drug Control was established. For the longer term, the UN Secretary General has been asked to develop a plan for the provision of new economic opportunities for poppy growers, and the education and rehabilitation of addicts.

In another initiative strongly supported by the U.S., a conference on psychotropic substances met in Vienna earlier this year. We are hopeful that a treaty with widespread adherence will emerge which will bring under international control a number of these dangerous substances—such as the amphetamines, barbiturates, hallucinogens, etc.—not hitherto subjected to such regulation.

The United States will be submitting shortly specific proposals to strengthen the existing Single Convention on Narcotics Drugs. In essence our amendments would provide to the International Narcotics Control Board mandatory powers where it now has only the power to request voluntary compliance.

Clearly, our Government has acted vigorously in the last year to stimulate international energies on this problem. An excellent start has been made, and we

intend to intensify our efforts against the scourge of narcotics and dangerous drugs.

Hijacking. In 1970, the world-wide implications of this problem were dramatically illustrated by the hijacking to the Middle East and the subsequent destruction of four aircraft, and the attempt to force political actions upon governments as the price for the safe return of the innocent passengers. In addition to the continuing series of hijackings of Western Hemisphere aircraft to Cuba, this problem also cropped up behind the Iron Curtain with the hijacking of Soviet and Eastern European aircraft.

These events have brought the world to an awareness of the fragility of the network of international air traffic. Great as is its contribution to our well-being, it is singularly vulnerable to abuse at the hands of the irresponsible and the malevolent. The world cannot afford to permit the boon of air travel to become the tool of criminals.

Fortunately, the events of last year brought a near universal recognition of that fact. The International Civil Aviation Organization is the focus of the general readiness to deal with the problem of air piracy. With the United States playing an active role, a new treaty was drawn up and signed at a conference called by ICAO which met at The Hague at the end of the year. It recognizes aircraft hijacking as a crime, whatever the motives behind it, and ensures that hijackers will be subject to prosecution or extradition if apprehended on the territory of contracting states. I will submit this convention to the Senate shortly, and I hope the United States will be among the first to ratify it. Once that has been done, we intend to exert every effort to ensure the widest possible international acceptance of this convention, for we consider it a significant step forward.

However, we think that additional action is necessary. It should include international agreement to suspend air services to countries which refuse to cooperate in the release of hijacked aircraft and the punishment of hijackers. An agreement should cover other acts of interference with civil aircraft, such as sabotage. We intend to be vigorous in pursuing such agreements.

The Kidnapping of Diplomats. Terrorist groups in several countries have now adopted the practice of kidnapping foreign officials and ransoming them for political and judicial concessions from their own government. Kidnapping is, of course, a crime in any nation, but in this particular form it is, in addition, a direct and serious challenge to the integrity of the machinery of international life. For its very purpose is to endanger the friendship between nations, and to use the international tension that results from such kidnappings to blackmail governments.

The international community needs to recognize this crime for what it is, an assault upon international amity and cooperation. We need an agreement between the nations of the world which will guarantee the punishment of those who commit such crimes, wherever they go and whatever motives they profess. As in the case of aircraft hijacking, we need to make certain that there is no profit in such a crime, and no sanctuary for those who commit it.

The Organization of American States has adopted a Convention characterizing these acts as common crimes irrespective of motive and providing for the extradition or prosecution of the perpetrators of these offenses. This was a useful step in

organizing the moral pressure of world disapproval and in acknowledging the general world interest in preventing such crimes. More is needed, however, and the United States will continue its efforts to build a firm international consensus on this matter.

ASSISTING THE VICTIMS OF DISASTER

Natural and man-made disasters continue to afflict mankind, and to call forth from the peoples of the world a generous and noble response. This compulsion to help when tragedy befalls others is evidence of the sense of common humanity which binds us together and which, in times of stress and great need, transcends the political and other issues which divide mankind.

During the past year, the earthquake in Peru, the typhoon and tidal wave in Pakistan, and the civil wars in Nigeria and Jordan were events which generated this common instinct to alleviate human suffering.

Modern technology has greatly affected both the world's desire and ability to provide disaster assistance. Modern communications are such that disasters of scale are known around the world almost immediately, and in a form which powerfully arouses the instinct to help. And modern transportation is such that aid can be effectively brought to bear in a very short period of time.

These facts underline the inadequacy of the present arrangements for coordinating international assistance to disaster victims. Once disaster strikes, the need for help is by definition a matter of great urgency. The local authorities are inevitably too overwhelmed with other tasks to deal individually with each prospective donor. Nor is there any reason to expect that local authorities at the scene of a disaster will be experienced in dealing with tragedies of such scale. It is unrealistic, in such a situation, to expect of them the experience or the detachment required to assess the need quickly and comprehensively. They should not be additionally burdened at such a moment with the task of drawing up a coordinated program for obtaining and distributing what is needed. Some single authority, in concert with the local government, should do that, and should also take on the task of dealing with all those who wish to assist to ensure that their assistance is in the most useful form.

The need for such an arrangement is, I think, clear. The victims of natural disasters are entitled to it, as are the private and government donors whose only desire is to help but who cannot, individually, ensure that their efforts have the maximum utility. The world's ability to help has been transformed by modern technology, and it is time that the world organize its efforts on an international scale and with the full benefit of the considerable experience which, unhappily, we have had with such events.

The United Nations General Assembly has indicated its desire to deal with this problem. Last year it adopted a resolution calling for the Secretary General to submit recommendations for disaster relief planning. We welcome this development and will cooperate fully with the appropriate authorities of the UN and of other countries in the development of a more rational approach by the world community to disaster relief. We hope, before the year is out, to have taken the modest organizational steps necessary to insure that the world's response to disaster

victims is characterized in the future by high efficiency as well as great generosity.

PROTECTION OF ENDANGERED SPECIES

It is hardly tolerable that mankind should permit, much less cause, the extinction of fish and wildlife species. Yet, for a number of species, that is the stark prospect. For two reasons, international cooperation is required to prevent it. First, these creatures move without respect to national boundaries and cannot, therefore, be completely protected through national action. Second, the economic demand in other countries for wildlife species, both living animals and their products, has often nullified the protective efforts of individual nations of origin.

Our Endangered Species Conservation Act of 1969 was a singular step forward in this field. To be fully effective, however, there must be similar controls in other countries. In the next year, therefore, the United States will propose and seek broad adherence to an international convention on conservation of endangered species.

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Science and technology are central to the problems of national defense, to the vigor of our own and the world economy, and to the improvement of the quality of life on this planet. They are basic tools in the effort to narrow the gap between the richer and the poorer nations.

Basic research is the source of the knowledge from which scientific and technological benefits flow to mankind. Research is one of mankind's great adventures. Its rules are as unequivocal and uncompromising as the laws of nature. Research is a unique and universally understood medium of discourse among those who practice it.

It is settled U.S. policy to encourage international cooperation in basic science. I have requested additional funds for our basic science agency, the National Science Foundation, to enable it to intensify its international activities. The Foundation already administers several bilateral programs of scientific cooperation (with Australia, Japan, Italy, and the Republic of China). Others are beginning. Among these are our programs of cooperation with Romania and Yugoslavia, which are important fruits of the revitalized political relationship we now enjoy with those two countries.

Closely allied to basic research is our national policy on technology exchange. The United States' preeminence in both fields faces us with a policy question as to how far we should share the fruits of our research and technology. There are obvious security implications in many technological developments, for example in the nuclear and space fields.

One approach for serving this security interest is the "Maginot Line" concept which attempts to restrict the transfer of expertise to other nations. It is based on the view that technological preeminence is a national asset to be guarded jealously from others. Another approach is to view our preeminence as an asset to be invested in building effective partnerships with other nations to create a world pattern of open sharing of scientific and technological knowledge.

Only the latter is a viable policy. For human knowledge is not truly subject to being hoarded. As I said in last year's

report, "In an era when man possesses the power to both explore the heavens and desolate the earth, science and technology must be marshalled and shared in the cause of peaceful progress, whatever the political differences among nations." It is only through the broadest possible exchange of information that the interests of mankind can be assured, and over the long run we stand to gain as much as any nation through such exchanges. For we, more than most, are able to absorb and make use of new knowledge. Obviously, there will be some areas where restrictions are essential. Our policy, however, is to keep those areas as circumscribed as possible, and to take the leadership in encouraging the exchange of scientific and technological information.

The Space Frontier. Space is the clearest example of the necessity for international scientific cooperation and the benefits that accrue from it. The world community has already determined and agreed that space is open to all and can be made the special province of none. Space is the new frontier of man, both a physical and an intellectual frontier.

Our leading role in space is not only a reflection of our scientific and technological capacity. It is equally a measure of an older American tradition, the compulsion to cross the next mountain chain. The pressurized space suit is, in a very real sense, today's equivalent of the buckskin jacket and the buffalo robe. Apollo 14 is the latest packhorse, and its crew the most recent of a long line of American pioneers.

As mutual help and cooperation were essential to life on the American frontier, so it is on the frontier of space. It is with that sense that we approach the sharing of both the burdens and the fruits of our space activity.

Space is already a matter of broad international cooperation. We have some 250 agreements with 74 countries covering space cooperation.

And space has already been put to the service of man in the new global communications systems and in weather monitoring systems. But this is only a beginning. Space is the only area of which it can literally be said that the potential for cooperation is infinite.

We have opened virtually all of our NASA space projects to international participation. I have asked NASA to explore in the most positive way the possibilities for substantial participation by Western Europe, Japan, Canada, and Australia in our post-Apollo programs. The result is uncertain, for there are very real difficulties to be solved. We will continue our efforts to meet these problems, for a successful international program of space exploration could set a precedent of profound importance.

I have also directed NASA to make every effort to expand our space cooperation with the Soviet Union. There has been progress. Together with Soviet scientists and engineers we have worked out a procedure for the development of compatible docking systems.

In January we reached a preliminary agreement with the Soviet Union which could serve to bring much broader cooperation between us in the space field. I have instructed NASA and the Department of State to pursue this possibility with the utmost seriousness.

A New Step in Nuclear Energy Cooperation. In the field of peaceful nuclear energy, over the years there has developed

a broad network of international relationships. This began with research cooperation between governments and now includes exchanges of information, fuel supply contracts and support of the International Atomic Energy Agency as well as sales of United States products and services.

As the demand for nuclear energy has increased, so has the demand for the enriched uranium to fuel power reactors. The United States supplies the fuel for many foreign programs, under safeguards and with adequate compensation. However, with the increased utilization of nuclear power, other countries with advanced programs understandably are reluctant to be totally dependent upon us, or upon anyone else, for enriched uranium to meet their power requirements.

This critical issue and its significance for our policy on non-proliferation have been under careful review. In our concern for safeguarding nuclear technology, we cannot ignore the legitimate desires of our allies for a certain independence in their energy supplies, and our own intrinsic interest in multinational cooperation in this field.

Having carefully weighed the national security and other factors involved, we have undertaken consultations with the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy of the Congress concerning ways in which the United States might assist our allies to construct a multination uranium enrichment plant to help meet future world demands.

An International Center for Systems Analysis. Our National Academy of Sciences is also actively working with the Soviet Union and other countries to establish a Center for the application of systems analysis techniques to the complex problems of advanced societies. This international, non-governmental institution, would initially bring together scholars from some eight nations of East and West to apply the most sophisticated analytical tools available to the major problems of contemporary civilization.

Better Use of Technology in Foreign Assistance Activities. No more severe task faces the developed world than facilitating the economic and social progress of the less developed nations. The role of science and technology can be crucial to success, and we need to organize our effort in this field more effectively.

My proposals to the Congress to reorganize our foreign assistance programs will, therefore, reflect the higher priority we intend to give to cooperation with the developing countries in the transfer and application of technology. It will include legislation to permit the establishment of machinery specifically designed to work with recipient countries on their own needs for research, and technological training and development.

The problems—and the opportunities—created by science and technology dominate an increasing share of our international activity. The problems we can no longer ignore, and can solve only through international cooperation. The opportunities we are determined not to miss, and can realize only through international cooperation. Taken together, these challenges constitute the new dimension of our foreign policy and of international life. The greatest importance

attaches to our performance in this new dimension, for upon it rests much of the hope for a better future.

PART VI: THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL SYSTEM

"The NSC system is meant to help us address the fundamental issues, clarify our basic purposes, examine all alternatives, and plan intelligent actions. It is meant to promote the thoroughness and deliberation which are essential for an effective American foreign policy."

U.S. Foreign Policy For The 1970's
A Report to the Congress
February 18, 1970

Upon my inauguration, I reestablished the National Security Council as the principal forum for consideration of foreign policy issues and created a system of supporting committees to serve it. Chaired by the President and comprising the Vice President, the Secretaries of State and Defense, the Director of the Office of Emergency Preparedness, and others at my invitation, the Council provides a focus at the highest level of our government for full and frank discussions of national security issues. Of course, I also consult the Secretaries of State and Defense and other senior advisors individually to obtain their views on national security issues.

Too often in the past our foreign policy machinery was the captive of events. Day-to-day tactical considerations occupied our time and determined our actions. Policy emerged from a narrow rather than conceptual perspective. The National Security Council system helps us concentrate on purposes and develop policy in the context of our long-range goals.

The Process

Creativity, systematic planning, and thorough analysis are given special emphasis. It is every concerned agency's obligation to contribute information and analysis and to present and argue its position. Only in this way can I be certain that the full range of views and reasonable options has been explored.

The system helps us to bring together all the knowledge available and to bring to bear the best analytical thought of which we are capable:

—Analysis and decision must rest on the broadest possible *factual base.* There must be a common appreciation of the facts and of their relevance.

—Coherent policy needs a *conceptual framework.* Where do we want to go in the long run? What are our purposes? Our analysis must bring out all reasonable interpretations of the facts, and treat the facts in the framework of longer-range trends and our objectives.

—I have made sure that my *choice* is not limited to ratifying or rejecting bureaucratic compromises which submerge differences to accommodate varying interests within the government. I insist that the facts, issues, and conceptual framework for decision be presented together with alternative courses of action, their pros and cons, and costs and consequences.

The Structure

The NSC system is designed to marshal all the resources and expertise of the departments and agencies of the govern-

71-234—72——25

ment. The National Security Council is the apex of the system. It is here that the final refinement of studies conducted at lower levels provides a common framework for thorough deliberation. The Council's discussions assist me by illuminating the issues and focusing the range of realistic choice before I make my decision.

The supporting interagency groups of the system do the preparatory work before consideration of major issues by the Council:

—*The Interdepartmental Groups,* each chaired by an Assistant Secretary of State, are the system's basic subgroups for policy analysis. They are organized on a geographic or functional basis, and include membership from all appropriate agencies. They do the basic studies and develop the range of choices. In some instances ad hoc groups, each chaired by a representative of the appropriate agency at the Assistant Secretary level, are established to deal with specific policy issues.

—*The Vietnam Special Studies Working Group* is a specialized group for assembling and analyzing factual data on the Vietnam countryside, the economic situation, and other factors affecting Vietnamization. It has investigated specific topics which bear on our negotiating efforts, such as the security implications of alternative ceasefire proposals.

—*The Verification Panel,* a senior group at the Under Secretary level, performs the basic technical analysis to help develop choices and proposals for strategic arms limitation, approaches to mutual and balanced force reductions in Europe, and other major arms control subjects.

—*The Defense Program Review Committee,* also at the Under Secretary level, deals with the major issues of defense policy, posture, and budgetary support. It integrates our consideration of the strategic, international political, and economic implications of defense programs. And it relates our defense programs and resource requirements to overall national priorities and the federal budget.

We made changes in the NSC system this past year in the light of experience, primarily to provide a higher-level focus and integration below the National Security Council itself. Two principal groups were raised from the Assistant Secretary to the Under Secretary level. Because the responsibilities of officials at the Under Secretary level transcend specific geographic or functional areas, they are able to view issues in broad perspective; they can draw more fully upon the complete resources of their respective agencies to assure that the entire spectrum of arguments and alternatives is exposed.

—*The Senior Review Group* directs and reviews the policy studies prepared by the Interdepartmental Groups and Working Groups. It sees to it that these studies present the facts, the issues, the arguments, and the range of choice, before the studies are considered by the President and the National Security Council.

—*The Washington Special Actions Group* develops options for implementation of decisions during crises. In 1970, the WSAG had to deal with such situations as Cambodia, the

Middle East, and Jordan. In each case, it laid the groundwork for reasoned decisions to prevent crises from expanding and threatening our interests and the peace.

The success of any policy depends largely on effective implementation by the responsible departments and agencies. The *Under Secretaries Committee,* chaired by the Under Secretary of State, links the process of policy formulation to the operations of the government. Through interagency review and coordination, it helps to ensure that decisions are carried out consistently with policy and uniformly throughout the foreign affairs community. It also recommends to me alternative operational steps to implement broad policy decisions; it develops the details, for example, of our positions in certain important negotiations within the guidelines laid down by the National Security Council.

Illustrations

1970 saw many examples of our new analytical process at work:

The Indochina Ceasefire Proposal. My October 1970 proposal for a ceasefire in Indochina was the result of months of study. The Vietnam Special Studies Working Group first made detailed analyses of the military situation in each of the military regions of South Vietnam. It examined the pattern of control in the countryside under present and foreseeable conditions. With this background the group studied possible formulas for establishing and verifying a ceasefire, and the likely impact of various forms of ceasefire on the military situation, the control of the countryside, and Vietnamization. At the same time, the Interdepartmental Group for East Asia analyzed the implications for negotiations of the various ceasefire proposals and sought to determine the likely position of the other side.

These separate studies were then integrated and reviewed by the Senior Review Group. After discussion in the National Security Council, I chose a formula which offered more hope as a basis for negotiation over a formula which offered the greatest apparent advantage to our side. The detailed studies which were made will provide the necessary back-up if the other side indicates a willingness to talk seriously about a ceasefire.

NATO Strategy and Forces. As described in the Europe chapter of this report, a thorough review of NATO's strategic alternatives was essential. We and our allies needed a realistic Alliance defense strategy, and we had to know the nature and numbers of U.S. and allied forces required to support the strategy. This was the only way to develop the basis for deciding on force levels and the allocation of the defense burden within the Alliance.

The Defense Program Review Committee examined the comparative strengths, mobilization capabilities, logistic support, and dispositions of Warsaw Pact and NATO forces. These analyses were used to develop alternative strategies. The Committee also examined approaches to Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions in Europe, in terms of their possible effects on alternative NATO defense postures. Meanwhile, the Interdepartmental Group for Europe studied the political implications of alternative defense decisions for our relations with Western Europe and for East-West relations.

These two study efforts, integrated

through the Senior Review Group and the Defense Program Review Committee, provided the National Security Council with a realistic range of options for a U.S. position on Allied strategy and on the size of our own forces in Europe. After the Council review, I reaffirmed our support for the Alliance's present defense strategy, and our intention to retain our present strength in Europe and to strengthen our NATO-committed forces.

Arms Control. The NSC Verification Panel built on the base developed last year in preparation for the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT). It kept up-to-date our technical analysis of the relative capabilities of specific weapons systems and our capacity to verify different types of limitation. This gave us the building blocks for assessing different combinations of specific limits.

Our National Security Council and NATO reviews of Alliance defense strategy highlighted the need for more intensive study of approaches to Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions in Europe. The Vertification Panel is treating this question with the same careful analytical approach which has served us well in preparing for SALT.

The Middle East. The Near East Interdepartmental Group and the Senior Review Group reviewed the situation in this troubled region continuously over the past year. We sought an understanding of the requirements for longer-term stability in the area; we sought a range of choice for near-term U.S. policy steps, such as the major initiative of last summer which led to the Middle East ceasefire.

When the situation in Jordan deteriorated in September and external intervention threatened, the Washington Special Actions Group followed the situation and its implications for us closely. Realistic options were developed to help contain and end the crisis. Because the broader issues of the Middle East had been under continuing study, we were able to address the issues in Jordan not solely in terms of the immediate crisis but in the broader context of the region and our longer-term interests and objectives.

Procedures are meant to serve purposes; they are not ends in themselves. We believe the system helps us challenge old ideas, deliberate thoughtfully, and coordinate effectively. It has promoted creativity and orderliness without developing a bureaucratic existence of its own.

We recognize that while inadequate procedures can lead to bad decisions, even good machinery cannot guarantee good ones. History will judge us by the wisdom of our policies, not the process leading to them. But our strengthened NSC system is providing crucial support.

CONCLUSION

Our new course of partnership in the world can only be steered with the sustained understanding of the American people.

With our allies and friends, first of all, we are deepening a partnership that provides the dignity and the stimulus of an increased role.

To those who have been our adversaries, we offer a partnership on the paramount world interest—to rid the earth of the scourge of war.

For all nations, we visualize a partnership that will make this planet a better place to live.

And for the American people, we seek a partnership of purpose.

Just as America will listen more to

others abroad, so must Americans listen more to each other at home. We have a responsibility to debate the means of achieving our foreign policy goals. But these turbulent years have taught us not so much that we must know the right answers, but that we should ask the right questions. We, therefore, have an even greater responsibility to discuss the goals themselves and, together, understand the new character of America's involvement in the world.

This partnership at home must include the advice and support of the Congress. Charged with constitutional responsibilities in foreign policy, the Congress can give perspective to the national debate and serve as a bridge between the Executive and the people.

Our new direction abroad and our new approach at home are parts of a whole. Both rest on the belief that decisions are made better when they are made by those most directly concerned. At home as well as abroad, we seek to distribute responsibilities more widely, so that new partnerships flourish in which all contribute their ideas as well as their energies.

The essence of any kind of partnership is mutual respect.

We will build that mutual respect with our friends, without dominating them or abandoning them.

We will strive for that mutual respect with our adversaries, without compromising our principles or weakening our resolve.

And we will dedicate ourselves to that mutual respect among our own people, without stifling dissent or losing our capacity for decisive action.

In America this calls for tolerance that leads to understanding, not for sentimentality that clouds perceptions. It means as well that compassion is a more profound guide than righteousness. Leaders and the public alike must pursue their goals with a sense of interdependence.

Such qualities will enable us to bring Americans together and, in so doing, help to bring the world together.

NOTE: The text of the above item was issued by the White House in the form of a 235-page booklet entitled "U.S. Foreign Policy for the 1970's: Building for Peace; A Report to the Congress by Richard Nixon, President of the United States, February 25, 1971."

On the same day, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing on the report, held on February 23, 1971, by Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs.

76 Remarks at the Swearing In of George Bush as United States Representative to the United Nations. *February* 26, 1971

Mr. Vice President, Members of the Congress, members of the Cabinet, and all of our distinguished guests today:

We are gathered here to swear in a new Ambassador from the United States to the United Nations. In swearing him in, I am glad to see that not only are members of the Cabinet here and other distinguished guests but Members of the Congress with whom he has served.

I have been reminded this morning of an anecdote from history by the chairman

of the Ways and Means Committee, Chairman Wilbur Mills, with whom I have just had breakfast, along with the ranking member, John Byrnes, which I think is very appropriate in view of the fact that former Congressman Bush, now to be the Ambassador to the United Nations, was a member of that very distinguished committee.

Chairman Mills pointed out that William McKinley at one time had been defeated for office in Ohio running for the Congress on the issue of the tariff. He had been a member of the Ways and Means Committee and had gotten on the wrong side of that issue, on the liberal side, incidentally, as a matter of fact liberal trade policies, and had been defeated.

Two years later, however, William McKinley went on to be elected as Governor of Ohio, and then went on to be elected as President of the United States.

Now, I don't know whether Chairman Mills was suggesting that defeat, therefore, was good for George Bush and that his future may be somewhat like William McKinley's.

I do, however, think it is appropriate to say that George Bush, a man who has served with such distinction in the House of Representatives, who ran for the Senate of the United States and was not successful, is still now available for public service at the very highest level, as Ambassador to the United Nations, a post that has been held with such distinction by Ambassador Yost during this Administration and by predecessors in the past.

The fact that one door has been closed for him opens another door, a door of service for him and also for the United States of America, a representative of whom we can all be proud, representing the United States and working in the cause of peace in the United Nations in the years ahead.

For that reason, at this time I am very proud to present him for the purpose of having him sworn in in this position, to wish him well, and to say on this occasion that the United Nations, the organization to which he will be accredited, has the support of the United States.

There are those who look at the United Nations record over the last 25 years and appropriately point out that the world still has a lot of problems and a lot of crises. Cabot Lodge [1] used to say, "Let us suppose that we had not had the United Nations. How many more problems and how many more crises would we have had?" And, of course, he is exactly right.

We do not expect our new Ambassador and all of his colleagues at the United Nations to solve all the world's problems in its next 25 years at the United Nations any more than it did in the past 25 years. But the world will be safer; the world will be a better place in which to live because of what dedicated men like George Bush do at the United Nations.

Now, Mr. Justice Stewart, an old friend of the Bushes, will swear in the new Ambassador.

[At this point, Associate Justice Potter Stewart of the Supreme Court administered the oath of office. The President then resumed speaking.]

Incidentally, I just want to be sure that I see that the record is clear with regard to the now Ambassador Bush. When I told the little story about Wilbur Mills, I am not suggesting what office you should seek and at what time. [*Laughter*]

AMBASSADOR BUSH. *Mr. President, Mr. Vice President, distinguished members of*

[1] Henry Cabot Lodge, United States Representative to the United Nations 1953–60.

the Cabinet, including my new boss, Secretary Rogers, distinguished Members of Congress, including my two teachers, Wilbur Mills and Johnny Byrnes, and other distinguished guests:

This is indeed a great honor for me, of course, and I recognize the heavy responsibility of this job. One can't help but read the President's statement of yesterday, the comprehensive statement, on foreign affairs, and not be brought face-to-face with some of the tremendous problems that will be facing me in this new role, and our very competent staff at the U.S. Mission at the United Nations. But I can think of no greater challenge today.

I am told, Mr. President, it will be a very frustrating experience.

I have just returned from 2 weeks visiting the international organizations around the world. But I don't suppose that anything worthwhile is not difficult, and I don't suppose anything worthwhile will not have its frustrations.

Yesterday I attended my first Four Power meeting, sitting in with my very able predecessor, Ambassador Charles Yost. I had a taste, I guess, of what will be forthcoming.

But, I think, given the confidence of the President and the Secretary in the United Nations that the President has expressed today and, I think, given the changing directions in the world and the things that are going on, I can think of nothing that will be more exciting, on a day-to-day, minute-to-minute, hour-to-hour basis, than working for peace at the United Nations.

Thank you, Mr. President, for this great honor.

THE PRESIDENT. I know that you will all want to congratulate the new Ambassador and Mrs. Bush. Mrs. Nixon and I will join them in the Grand Hall to receive you, for those who have the time to do so.

I understand some early morning refreshments are available there.

The Ambassador will have to get used to the later refreshments that he has later in the day. [*Laughter*]

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:07 a.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House.

77 Remarks on Accepting the Adams Portraits for the White House Collection. *February 26, 1971*

MRS. NIXON. Good afternoon. It is a great pleasure for me to welcome all of you here to the East Room. This is one of the most important days in the history of the White House, because we have two life portraits of John Quincy Adams and Louisa Catherine Johnson, his wife, and they are to be presented today.

To show our appreciation and interest in continuing to add to the White House collection of important American paintings, we have not only invited the Adams descendants but also members of the Historical Society of the White House, the members of the present and previous Committee on the Preservation of the White House and Mrs. Kennedy's Paintings Committee.

The President and I are most grateful to all of you who take an interest in this house and help us try to make it the best one in America.

We have over a million and a half visitors here every year. They come to see

all the beautiful objects which have historical meaning. So we are so pleased that they are going to get to see the Adams portraits beginning tomorrow morning.

We are grateful to Mr. John Quincy Adams, of Dover, Massachusetts, for his very generous gift of the valuable portraits to the White House collection. We are especially pleased to have the one of Mrs. Adams because there was not one of her in the White House until this time.

I should like today to greet Mrs. Arthur Adams, who is the mother of the donor and also the mother of the Governor of Massachusetts.

Would she take a bow, please?

It gives me great pleasure at this time to introduce Mr. John Quincy Adams, who is a great-great-grandson of President John Quincy Adams and a great-great-great-grandson of John Adams. No other family in American history has provided both a father and a son as Presidents.

Mr. Adams.

MR. ADAMS. *Mr. President, Mrs. Nixon, distinguished friends of the White House:*

When John Quincy Adams arrived at the President's House in 1825, after a bitter campaign which he finally won not in the electoral college but in the House of Representatives, this Mansion soon to be called the White House stood largely by itself. It was surrounded by farm buildings, stables, sheds, tool houses, and dairies. Cows grazed nearby; sheep kept the grass from getting out of hand. Pennsylvania Avenue was a dust bowl in the summer and no doubt a quagmire of mud in the winter and spring. There was neither plumbing nor running water in the building, and things were, by today's standards, Spartan, to say the least.

But to a puritanical New Englander, the son of a Yankee farmer turned lawyer, this wasn't so bad. After all, during the last few months of his father's term in office, Abigail, the first First Lady to live here, hung her laundry in this, the famous East Room.

Complaining bitterly in a letter to her sister that she much preferred Philadelphia, Abigail wrote, "Not one room or chamber is finished of the whole. It is habitable by fires in every part, 13 of which we are obliged to keep daily or sleep in wet and damp places."

We hope that things are a little better now. [*Laughter*]

Ours was a rural society in the 1820's. The President traveled back and forth to Boston by coach and by ship unannounced and uncomfortable. When his father, John Adams, died in Quincy, on July 4, 1826—by extraordinary coincidence the same day his friend Thomas Jefferson died and, again, to the day, the 50th anniversary of the Declaration they labored over in Philadelphia—it took 5 days for the news to get to Washington.

John Quincy Adams was unquestionably a man of brilliant intellect, stubborn, aloof, courageous, bound by principle and not by expediency. In short, a statesman but not a politician. Underneath it all he had a warm heart but he certainly did his best to hide it, and in this case his best was very good indeed.

Incredible as it may seem in an era of television and press conferences, he made only two public speeches during his entire 4-year term in office. I have often wondered why it was that in succeeding generations of the family nobody has been able to win a substantial victory—political victory. Certainly, there has been ability and courage and vision to wrestle with the great issues of the day. Some

were determined and seemingly had the ambition. My grandfather ran for Governor of Massachusetts five times, for instance, but he never made it.

I am afraid the answer is that they were simply unable or refused to allow themselves to develop an ability to communicate effectively with the man in the street. We may have been strong on principle with all its virtues, but I am afraid we haven't been able to accept the fact that Madison Avenue, like it or not, is almost as necessary a part of the political process as a sound background in the classics and a keen sense of history.

This failure to face the world as it is, and not as we would like to have it, has been, I feel, a tragedy. Somewhere among the bright younger generation—and there are some of them in this room today—I hope we will again produce a young man or maybe, who knows, a young lady, who will make it to this house on his own, to paraphrase Winston Churchill.

Ladies and gentlemen, these two portraits have been in the family for 150 years. We have kept them with quiet pride on the walls of our houses in Boston, in Quincy, and lately in Dover. While we treasure them and we always will, they belong here together, in the house and in the public gaze that neither of them enjoyed, for all Americans to view.

We hope you will agree that they are quite outstanding, especially the charming one of Louisa Catherine.

And now, on behalf of all Adamses and with great pride in the memory of our distinguished ancestors, we present these Gilbert Stuart masterpieces to the American people, to our First Families, and to all who visit this, the President's house.

MRS. NIXON. I am glad to have a pretty First Lady for the White House.

I remember when I went to the National Gallery, to see the John Quincy Adams portraits, I had a wonderful companion who told me so many interesting stories. I have asked him to come here today. He is a great authority on the Adams family, and he is portraits editor of the Adams Papers, author of the book "Portraits of John and Abigail Adams," and author of the volume "Portraits of John Quincy Adams and His Wife."

It gives me much pleasure to present Mr. Andrew Oliver.

MR. OLIVER. *Mr. President, Mrs. Nixon:*

Although John Quincy Adams sat for more than 60 portraits, there are only three pairs of oil portraits of himself and his wife, and this pair was the last of the three to be painted.

In 1794, when John Quincy Adams, age 27, was sent abroad by Washington as Minister to The Hague, his mother, Abigail, extracted his promise to send her a miniature of himself, which he did in 1795, and she wore it on her bracelet.

A year later he became engaged to the second of the seven daughters of the well-to-do merchant Joshua Johnson. Nothing would satisfy Abigail but to have a likeness of her future daughter-in-law, so she, too, was painted in miniature, and the little portrait sent to Abigail, which, with that of her son, have always been kept together and are even now on display together in the diplomatic reception rooms of the Department of State.

In 1797, they were married. Almost immediately afterwards, her father failed in business; fled to America to avoid his European creditors. To her, appearances suggested that in Adams, her father had simply found a promising young man and married off his penniless daughter in the

71-234—72——26

nick of time. This fear long haunted her.

Shortly after their marriage, Adams was sent as Minister to Berlin where they lived for 4 years. Then in 1801, on the election of Jefferson as President, Adams was recalled to America, and Louisa had to run the gauntlet of all her husband's Adams and Quincy kin who thronged about to view the half English, London-bred wife of their young relative. She was aghast.

"Had I stopped into Noah's ark," she wrote, "I do not think I could have been more utterly astounded."

In 1809, President Madison appointed Adams Minister to Russia where he and Louisa lived for upwards of 5 years. And when he was called to Ghent to negotiate the treaty to end the War of 1812, she followed later alone with her 7-year-old son on a 40-day carriage journey across the wintry wastes of northern Europe to join him.

Life was sometimes a trial. She had, however, a brief and happy respite in London, when in May 1815, her husband, treading in his father's footsteps, took up his post as Ambassador to the Court of St. James. It was then that the second pair of portraits was painted by Charles Robert Leslie.

Then after Adams' recall again to America in 1817 to serve as President Monroe's Secretary of State, this pair of portraits were commenced. Adams and Louisa dropped into Stuart's studio in Boston one morning, and she persuaded him to sit for his portrait for their children. And presumably he agreed to do so if she would.

In his diary Adams wrote, "I sat for Stuart before and after breakfast and found his conversation very entertaining as it has been at every sitting, his own figure is highly picturesque with his dress always disordered, taking snuff from a large round tin wafer box holding half a pound, which he must use up in a day. He considers himself beyond all question the first portrait painter of the age and tells numbers of anecdotes concerning himself to prove it. And his conclusion is not very wide from the truth."

Adams' only comment on his portrait was that, "Stuart was much satisfied with what he has done, but I cannot exactly say the same."

His cousin, Ward Nicholas Wilson, however, saw the pair just before they were finished and with a keen critic's eye commented that Stuart had never given greater proof of his talents or done more justice to the precise likeness of those they were intended to represent.

But Louisa, with a weakness we all share about pictures of ourselves, had a different opinion. "It speaks too much," she said, "of inward suffering and of a half-broken heart to be an agreeable remembrance."

Yet her son Charles later wrote of the picture, "Her face wears a sorrowful appearance too common to her but I shall value that picture as presenting something of her appearance in those days, for hereafter there will be nothing, and I love to think of her as she was in the midst of her gaiety and her prosperity."

And we at this distance can see at a glance that in her portrait, Stuart did live up to his own ingenuous claim to be the first portrait painter of the age.

This period was one of Louisa's happiest. She won the etiquette war of Washington which reached the level of Cabinet discussion in 1819 over whether Cabinet wives or Congressmen's wives should pay first calls on each other.

And she became famous for her parties,

the most spectacular of which, long remembered as Mrs. Adams' ball, was held for General Jackson in 1824, on the ninth anniversary of the Battle of New Orleans, at which some 1,000 persons danced their way into the wee hours of the morning.

In 1829, after 4 years in the White House, for a moment she believed they would go back to Quincy and live out their lives in the peace and quiet of country life. But as it turned out, Adams was on the threshold of another and great career. We are all familiar with his 15 courageous years in the House of Representatives and his fatal stroke at his desk in the House in 1848. Where could death have found him but at his post of duty?

His career has been eloquently summed up in a few words. He served his country in every department of public occupation. He was Minister to five great powers in succession. He negotiated and signed the Treaty of Ghent, the Commercial Treaty of 1815, the French Treaty of 1822, the Prussian Treaty, and the treaty which acquired Florida from Spain. He was Senator, Representative, Foreign Minister, Secretary of State, and President. And he breasted the stormy waves of the House of Representatives at the age of 80.

When he died in the Capitol, he left no purer or loftier fame behind him, but he left a devoted wife who survived him 4 long years. And we have an affectionate picture of her by her grandson Henry Adams.

"Little Henry," he wrote, "first remembered her from 1843 to 1848 sitting in her paneled room at breakfast with her heavy silver teapot, sugar bowl and cream jug. By that time she was 70 years old or more, Louis Seize, like the furniture, thoroughly weary of being beaten about a stormy world, more remote than the President, but more delicate.

"To the boy she seemed a fragile creature, singularly peaceful, a vision of silver gray, presiding over her old President and her Queen Anne mahogany; an exotic, like her Sèvres china; and of great deference to everyone and affection to her son Charles, but hardly more Bostonian than she had been 50 years before on her wedding day in the shadow of the Tower of London."

Now in a later and different century, through the generosity of another John Quincy Adams, strictly in keeping with Adams' tradition of the primacy of country before personal considerations, and after a lapse of more than 140 years, we here today can welcome back the first John Quincy Adams and his wife to their house, the President's house, to the White House, to what the President and Mrs. Nixon have so graciously said, "All Americans might call our house."

MRS. NIXON. Thank you very much. That was just great, reliving a little bit of history.

I am going to get your books and read them because I think they must be very fine.

Now, since we are accepting the pictures of the sixth President of the United States and his wife, I thought it appropriate that the 37th President make the acceptance remarks.

THE PRESIDENT. *Mr. Adams, Dr. Oliver, all of our distinguished guests:*

I, of course, make many appearances in my role as President of the United States, and each differs somewhat. Let the record show this is the first time my wife has ever introduced me, and I am very happy.

I, as most Presidents happen to be, am

a student of history in the spare hours that I have, one or two a week. And as a student of history I was fascinated, as I am sure all of you were, by the remarks of John Quincy Adams and also of Dr. Oliver.

The difficulty is that after hearing their remarks there is so very little that I can add because, as I was running mentally through my own mind what I planned to say, they ticked off virtually everything that John Quincy Adams had done during his life.

But not quite everything, because it would be impossible in the brief space of time that each of them had for the life of this very remarkable man to be described.

Let me begin at the end, then go to the beginning, and then perhaps put it in the perspective of the times in which we live.

When John Quincy Adams died, as Dr. Oliver pointed out, he had a stroke on the floor of the House of Representatives, and among those who were there and saw him on that day was Abraham Lincoln, serving in his first and only term as a Member of the House.

After he had the stroke, he was moved to the Speaker's room and 2 days later there he died. I do not recall exactly what his last words were, but I think I can paraphrase them. It was something like this: My life on earth is finished, but I am content.

And well he could be content, not simply because his life had been a long one but because, of perhaps all of the men who have served as President of the United States, it was the most complete life in terms of the areas of service: United States Senator, Congressman, diplomat for 37 years, President of the United States, and the whole history of America from the time of its beginning until the time of his death.

He was born 7 years before the Revolution, but at 14 years of age—and let all young Americans note this—before he finished Harvard he was Secretary to the American delegation which negotiated the treaty ending the Revolutionary War, which began a long diplomatic career of very great success.

Here was a man who was in Moscow at the time that Napoleon's armies came through Russia and finally were turned back not so much by the Russian armies, but by the weather.

Here was a man who later was in Paris and saw Napoleon when he came back from Elba.

A man who negotiated many treaties—as Dr. Oliver has pointed out, the one ending the war in 1812—and one, and this little historical note should be added, who served as Secretary of State in President Monroe's Administration, and in that capacity, at least according to an authority as respected as Carl Sandburg, probably had more to do with the concept and the execution of the Monroe Doctrine than President Monroe himself.

And then who, after serving as President of the United States, did not quit, but went back and served in the House, and even there rendered a service that probably would not have been rendered had he not been there.

There was a gag rule then in the House of Representatives. For 8 years he fought it. The first time the vote overwhelmingly was against him. But he was a persistent man, and after 8 years the gag rule was abolished.

So he could well say at the end of that life, looking back over the history of his country and the history of his service,

President, Congressman, Senator, Secretary of State, diplomat all over the world representing his country: My life on earth is finished, but I am content.

There is a little vignette which tells us something about this man, which perhaps, as the John Quincy Adams of today has already alluded to: the fact that he was shy, the fact that he perhaps may not have had the ability to communicate with people generally that many in political life are supposed to have, but a man who had a very warm heart.

Among his antagonists in the House of Representatives was Alexander Stephens, a very brilliant man, sometimes bitter, but extraordinarily eloquent. Lincoln, in his 2 years, said that Alexander Stephens made the best 1-hour speech he had ever heard made in his whole life up to that time.

Alexander Stephens, as we know, later went on to be Vice President of the Confederacy. But Adams, despite the fact that he and Stephens were on different sides of the great issue of slavery, had the ability to communicate across that chasm of difference and to retain a friendly relation.

He also had a capacity to express himself perhaps not so well in speeches—and maybe two speeches in 4 years is enough for any President, may I say—but an extraordinary capacity to express himself sometimes in bits of poetry.

One day after a bitter debate he wrote a poem and sent it across the aisle to Alexander Stephens. What Adams said to Stephens on that occasion I think is worth reading in this ceremony today:

"We meet as strangers in this hall, but when our task of duty is done, we blend the common good of all and melt the multitude into one.

"As strangers in this hall we met, but now with one united heart, whate'er of life awaits us yet, in cordial friendship let us part."

That Adams legacy is something we all could well remember today, and for that and many other reasons we are proud to have in this house, which belongs to all of the American people, our house as we often describe it—which means yours and ours together—these two portraits.

There is one, incidentally, as you know, of John Quincy Adams hanging in the White House, painted at a time when he was 78 years of age. And this is when he was 51 as Secretary of State. And, of course, the first one of the fifth First Lady.

So joining Mrs. Nixon, we express our appreciation to the Adams family, one of the really great American families, for their generosity. And the gratitude of the Nation goes to them for making it possible for millions now to walk through these rooms, to think of the past and, as they look at these portraits and see this man, they will think of a man who has seen more of American history and has participated more in it, in more capacities, than any President in history.

MRS. NIXON. And now I invite you for refreshments in the State Dining Room and for a chance to visit with you, too.

Thank you for coming. And thanks to all the Adams family for parting with their treasures. Thank you.

NOTE: The exchange of remarks began at 3:02 p.m. in the East Room at the White House.

78 Message to the Congress Transmitting First Annual Report on the Availability of Government Services to Rural Areas. *March* 1, 1971

To the Congress of the United States:

I am transmitting today the first annual report on government services to rural America, as required by the Agricultural Act of 1970.

Much of the information is about fiscal year 1970, since we do not have all the information in yet on the 1971 fiscal year. However, even the changes over our first full fiscal year in office showed important gains in the Federal Government's concern for the well-being of rural areas.

As examples, in fiscal 1970, we increased Federal support for waste treatment grants in rural areas by 174% over the previous year, and increased manpower development grants in such areas more than 50%.

We have long recognized that much of the housing in rural America is substandard—in fact about half of all substandard housing is in rural America. We have made real gains in this area. While our 1970 rural housing loan efforts increased 56% over 1969, in 1971 we will have increased these loans another 88%, to an annual amount of over one and a quarter billion dollars.

The report documents other major strides toward improving services to those millions of our people who live outside metropolitan areas.

It is my hope that our next report will show far greater progress. This is because I earnestly hope it will follow passage of some of the initiatives I urged in my State of the Union Message. These new initiatives include:

—Revenue sharing which, in the upcoming budget, can provide $16.1 billion in funds to flow from Washington in such a way that much real decision-making would be moved back to the States, cities and rural communities of America.

I have proposed not only $5 billion in unrestricted, general revenue sharing, but over $11 billion in various "special revenue sharing" grants. Among these is special revenue sharing for "rural community development." Originally budgeted at a level of $1 billion, I can announce today that we have found it possible to make available $100 million more for this important purpose. Furthermore, nearly all the other special revenue sharing funds, for manpower development, for education, for transportation, for law enforcement, and even in some cases for urban community development, will have significant benefits for rural America.

—A major reorganization of the civilian agencies of the Federal Government. The purpose is to make Federal program operations work better for the individual citizen and his community. The complaints most frequently heard about Government are that it is too costly; that it fails to match performance to promise; that it is too far from people; that there is nothing the individual person can do about it. We intend to reduce the cost of Government in Washington; to organize it for performance; to return government to the people; to give the people the opportunity to do something about it, by bringing government back to where the people are.

Under our reorganization, economic and community development would be accorded high priority—the objective

being to maintain and develop viable communities of all sizes.

—My proposed welfare reform. In this needed change of our welfare system, many Americans in rural areas would benefit immediately, while strong incentives would be created to move those able to work into productive employment.

Not only would this reform assist many families operating on small farms and working in the rural communities of this country, but we know it would also help revitalize the economy of rural areas.

—My proposed comprehensive health strategy. My recent special message on health sets forth proposals to provide minimum national health insurance standards for all Americans, regardless of where they live, or what their income. At the same time, my proposals recognize that even with these improvements in the power to *purchase* medical care for all, they would be frustrated without assuring that care can be *supplied* where it is needed.

There is a shortage of doctors and medical personnel in this Nation; but there is also a problem of distribution of medical services. Those in remote rural areas often feel this lack more acutely than those in inner cities. We mean to provide Federal assistance to guarantee that the sick and injured in the rural sectors of America have the opportunity for the same high quality care that is available to Americans in other places. To help bring such services to rural areas, we propose to establish new area health education centers in medically underserved areas, and expand programs to encourage doctors, nurses, and physicians' assistants to serve in scarcity areas.

It is gratifying to be able to report to you that this administration is demonstrating its commitment to the restoration and enhancement of the vitality of rural America.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
March 1, 1971

NOTE: The report is entitled "Report to the Congress on the Availability of Government Services to Rural Areas" (19 pp. plus appendixes).

On the same day, the White House released a fact sheet on the report.

79 Remarks to a Joint Session of the Iowa State Legislature in Des Moines. *March 1, 1971*

Governor Ray, Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, Mr. Chief Justice, members of the Legislature, members of the Supreme Court, Senator Miller, all of our distinguished guests on this very special occasion:

As Governor Ray has indicated, this is my first visit to Iowa as President of the United States. And I am honored that it takes place here in an address to the Legislature of the State of Iowa.

I should point out that Vice President Agnew has made a visit to Iowa since we came into office. You may recall that in a speech that he made in Des Moines on November 13 [1969] he received quite a bit of national publicity. I was talking to him on the phone yesterday about my pending visit to Iowa, and he suggested that if I really wanted to make major news that I might address myself to the subject of the news media when I ap-

peared before this group.

As a matter of fact, that is the most risky idea the Vice President has advanced since he invited me to play golf with him a few weeks ago.

I want you to know that I appreciate this invitation both to share with you a few of my thoughts about America's future and to reaffirm my own strong conviction that in the State capitals of America there is a wealth of wisdom and compassion and understanding of the great needs that confront our Nation's people.

This is my first appearance before a legislative body since I delivered my State of the Union before the Congress of the United States—and I am especially pleased that it is before this legislature, which I note was recently cited by the Citizens Conference on State Legislatures as one of the best in the Nation. I congratulate you for getting that kind of recognition.

In that address, I outlined six great goals for America, and I urged the Congress to join in bringing about a new American revolution, a peaceful revolution, in which power was turned back to the people, in which government at all levels was refreshed and renewed and made truly responsive to the people of this country.

It is especially appropriate that that appeal to the Congress should be followed by this, the first appearance as President of the United States I have had an opportunity to make before a State legislature. For as we consider the changes that are needed in American government, we must remember that we have not one chief executive in America, but many; not one legislature, but many—and that each of these is a vital part of the American system.

One of my key proposals to the Congress is that we make a $16 billion investment in renewing State and local government by sharing Federal revenues without the cumbersome restrictions that now follow Federal funds. I have noted that this legislature has already expressed its support for the principle of revenue sharing. I have also proposed a sweeping reorganization of the Federal Government itself to make it more responsive to the needs of the people.

Together, these changes can give us, can give us all here in Iowa and across this great Nation, better government, but they have a special meaning, these proposals have, to what we call rural America.

First, in terms of dollars, I am announcing today that I am increasing by an extra $100 million the amount that I originally proposed in special revenue sharing for rural community development. That brings the total to $1.1 billion for the coming year. This is 24 percent more for rural development programs than is being made available to the States under existing categorical grants this year.

The direct dollar benefit to rural America is obvious. In addition, rural America will share substantially in general revenue sharing funds, and also in special revenue sharing for manpower, education, transportation, and law enforcement. And all of these, of course, cut across all of America, whether it is rural or urban or a mix of the two.

Funds for urban community development will also go in part to urban communities, like the city of Des Moines, in largely rural areas.

A second reason that these changes that

I have offered have special meaning to rural America is that one of their chief purposes is to give each State in this country and each community greater freedom to decide for itself those questions that directly affect its own future. If the lessons of the past decades mean anything to us, they mean that as power has been concentrated more and more in Washington, D.C., as decisions have been increasingly made by remote control, the special needs of our rural communities and of the great heartland of America more and more have either been neglected or even gone unrecognized.

I want those decisions that affect rural America made by people who know rural America. And the people who know a place best are the people who live here. To put it bluntly, I believe that legislators in Iowa in this capitol know better than bureaucrats in Washington, D.C., what is best for Iowa.

Now, it is fashionable in a lot of quarters these days to scoff at State and local government, to speak of its corruption and its inefficiency and all of the other problems that seem to confront it at this time. But to those who sneer at State legislatures, at city councils, at any level of government other than that in Washington, I say that they do not know the American people or the American system.

I reject completely the contention that you cannot trust State and local government. The patronizing notion that a bureaucratic elite in Washington knows best what is best for people everywhere is completely alien to the American experience.

The honesty and efficiency of government depends on people. Government at all levels—at the Federal level, the State level, the local level—has good people and bad people. And the way to get more good people into government is to give them more opportunity to do good things, not just at the Federal level but at the State level and at the local level as well.

You know and I know how much dedication there is in State capitals, how much of a desire to do the right thing—and how much frustration there is with restrictions and the redtape that Washington so often imposes, also with the tightening squeeze upon needs and resources.

Like other State legislatures, you confront here in Iowa enormous problems.

As in the case of most of our States, I know that you are wrestling now with ways of avoiding the prospect of a deficit this year. And that is true of a majority of the States in this Nation this year. I know how heavy the burden of State and local taxes has become.

I was thinking of that in retrospect as I was preparing my remarks for this occasion. I entered public life as a freshman Congressman from California almost 25 years ago. And since then I have been in and out of government all of that time, a little more in than out.

But in that 25 years, I have noted what has happened. Listen to these comparisons: Today, we find that State and local expenditures are 12 times as high as they were just 25 years ago; property taxes are six times as high as they were 25 years ago; and State and local debt is nine times as high as it was just 25 years ago.

Now, against that background, let's look at the double mismatch we have here: As the Nation grows, as the economy expands, needs grow fastest at the State and local level, while revenues grow fastest at the Federal level. And at the same time, experience shows that the Federal Government, as all of you know if you have had anything to do with the income tax

collectors, is very good at collecting revenues and often very bad at dispensing services.

So it makes elementary good sense to turn over some of the money collected by the Federal tax system to meet State and local needs.

It makes good sense because people on the scene are often the best judges of what those needs are.

It also makes sense because our people need relief from the mounting burden of State and local taxes.

Here in Iowa, with our revenue sharing program, let me tell you what it would do for you. It means you would make a choice. Your choice could be to increase services, if you desire to do so, or to avert a deficit, if you desire to do so, or perhaps to increase appropriations for the agricultural land tax credit, if you desire to do so.

The point is you make the choice as to what should happen to those revenues. And you would choose according to your best judgment of the needs and wishes of the people of Iowa. And that is the way it should be here in Iowa and in every State in this country.

Let me also say a word about my proposal to reorganize the Federal Government—and particularly as it affects the farmer.

One of the automobile companies has recently been using the advertising slogan—you have heard it on television and radio—"You've changed. We've changed." But when we look at the farmer and the way the Federal Government is organized, it is a very different story. The only way to state the case, sadly enough, is that he has changed and we have not. The farmer is a man of many talents now—he is a businessman, a technician, a scientist—often a man who makes his living in more lines of work than farming alone. The term "agribusiness" is often used here in Iowa, in my own State of California, to describe this great, new, powerful instrument of American agriculture, which has made America first in the world in productivity in agriculture; first in the world in terms of this very important fact: that the housewife in America, the best fed country in the world, pays less of her budget for food than in any country of the world.

This is an indication of what the farmer has done for America.

And when the farmer and American agriculture has done that, when it is the most productive of all of the various phases of our economy, certainly American agriculture and the American farmer deserve a fair share of America's increasing prosperity.

But now let's take it a little beyond that farmer. Let's look at the rural community in which he lives or here, the city where the farmer comes from time to time.

We find that that rural community is becoming increasingly diversified in its economic base, in its land use, in its population patterns. While all this has gone on, we have sat in Washington with the same Department of Agriculture that we have had there since 1862.

Oh, changes have been made in the organization. New functions have been added. But the Department of Agriculture, as far as its mission is concerned, is the same as it was then when the problems were very different. "You've changed and we haven't"—this could become the epitaph for rural America, for the countryside where the Nation's roots are. But to be able to say that you have changed and so have we—that could be the keynote for a new surge of vitality and prog-

ress on the farms, on the ranches, and in the towns and the open lands across this Nation.

It comes to a question of whether farmers and others in rural America want an Agriculture Department for its own sake or whether what they really want are things like better farm prices, better technical assistance for agricultural problems, wider development opportunities in rural communities, better schools, better roads, and so on. I think, of course, they want the latter; they want the results.

Under the present setup, only one Cabinet department represents the farmer in what he wants. And under my proposed reorganization, four cabinet secretaries—half the Cabinet—will be speaking up for the farmer when his diverse interests are at stake. I submit this is not less representation, but more; it is more effective representation because the rural interest of America will be represented wherever decisions are being made that affect that interest.

I recognize that I speak today before a bipartisan group. These proposals, I submit to you, are not made as Republican proposals or as Democratic proposals. I have offered them in a bipartisan spirit. In Washington, I met with all of the Republican Members of the House and the Senate and all the Democratic Members of the House and Senate at breakfasts after the State of the Union in order to present them in that bipartisan spirit.

That is why today as I speak to you I seek not partisan support, but bipartisan support, for these proposals cut to the heart of our hopes for progress in America, not just this year, not just next year, but for the balance of the decade and the balance of the century. This Nation at the beginning developed a Constitution and a form of government that has survived magnificently for 190 years, not because that Constitution was developed out of partisan debate—oh, there was debate all right, but it was not on party lines; it was on the great issue of what is best for this new country, and out of this came a Constitution and a system of government which we have been very proud to have since that time.

That is what we need today as we look at the new problems of America and new ways to meet those problems.

I have met with many groups in the past few weeks, just as I am meeting with this group today. I have talked with them about these proposals for reform and renewal of government in America. And I have told them that I know there are many objections that people will raise to this proposal and that proposal and the rest—and objections should be raised. That is the way to refine a proposal, to make it better, to make it more effective in reaching those goals that we all want to reach.

But I have told these people, those who object, that when they have an objection, I challenge them to answer this one question: I say let the first person who thinks that we ought to keep things as they are stand up and defend the status quo—I have yet to have a single taker.

Now, I realize that many, and particularly many in government—and I am proud to be, as you are proud to be, a man who is in government—I think many in government throughout the land were somewhat shocked or taken aback when I used the colloquial expression that a majority of the American people today are fed up with government. That doesn't mean just Government in Washington. But it means government at all levels.

But we know it's true. And here are the reasons: They are fed up with government because they think it costs too much; they think it doesn't work; and they think they can't do anything about it.

What I have proposed is designed to meet these needs—to cut the cost of government, to make it work, and to give the people a greater chance to determine what kind of government they want.

Now that is a goal above partisanship. It is the goal that I submit to the Iowa Legislature and ask for your support. People know that we need a change. They know that what may have been right 20 years or 30 years or even 40 years ago may not be right today.

They know that like any living thing, government in America has to change and develop; it has to adapt itself to new circumstances. It has to be made to meet the demands of our people, as those needs exist in today's America, so that the farmer, the worker, the taxpayer, the housewife—for everyone in America—government can do a better job.

America's great strength lies precisely in its great diversity—in the fact that our States and communities are different, that we don't all fit in the same mold, and that each of us has his own ambitions, his own desires, his own individuality. The essence of freedom is to give scope to that individuality, respect to that diversity.

And when I talk about returning power to the people, I am talking about just that—about letting people make their own decisions in their own lives and in the lives of their own communities.

Because, you see, I have faith, as I am sure you have, I have faith in the people of America, and faith in people is what the American system of government was all about in the beginning. And it is what it is all about today.

Here in the heartland of America, we can see the heart of America is good, that the people deserve our faith. We became a great nation because the Nation's founders had the courage to place their faith in people, because, having that faith, they established institutions that allowed the people to prove themselves worthy of it.

And now the time has come, one of those great watershed periods in the history of a nation when we return to that faith, we return to renew those institutions and, by so doing, to lead America to a new birth of greatness—a greatness not simply as the richest nation or the strongest nation but a greatness that springs from the unshackling of people themselves.

We meet today at a time when America's involvement in the longest and most difficult war in our history is coming to an end. It is time to turn the great energies of our people to the works of peace in this last third of the 20th century.

And at this time, I invite you to join with me in beginning a national renewal, in fitting our government to the times we live in, in strengthening our government at the State and local level, in forging a new partnership that can give us prosperity with peace, progress with unity, and freedom with diversity.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:34 a.m. in the State Capitol.

Lt. Gov. Roger W. Jepsen was president of the Iowa State Senate; William H. Harbor was speaker of the House of Representatives; and Theodore G. Garfield was chief justice of the State Supreme Court.

An advance text of the President's remarks was released on the same day.

80 Reply to Reporters' Questions About the Bombing in the United States Capitol. *March 1, 1971*

I DON'T HAVE any new information on it that has not already been disclosed. We have had warnings with regard to the bombings of the White House, the bombings of the Capitol, and so forth. We must not allow this kind of an incident to close these great public buildings to the people. That is the message that I got from the Attorney General, and Hugh Scott, and other leaders.

These warnings will occur and incidents of violence will occur. But the Capitol and the White House belong to the American people. And if we can provide proper security without repression so the people can continue to go to those buildings—I think the fact that the Attorney General has now offered to the Congress the training for the Capitol Police force that we have given to the Executive Protective Service at the White House is very important.

You know, we have a million and a half visitors at the White House every year. And somebody has suggested it would be very easy for a visitor to come into the White House with a big bag or a shopping bag or something like that or any receptacle which was not too obvious, go into a restroom, leave it there, and the place would blow. But that is one of the risks.

The main thing—the greater risk is to close these buildings, to be too afraid of this. That is what violent people want. They want to frighten public officials and the American people into the place where we will not have the open buildings, the open society that we do have. They would like to keep the President in Washington rather than come out in the country.

Well, it won't work.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:30 p.m. on arrival at the Fort Des Moines Hotel in Des Moines, Iowa.

The explosion occurred early in the morning on March 1, 1971.

81 Remarks to Farm Media Representatives Attending a Briefing on Domestic Policy in Des Moines, Iowa. *March 1, 1971*

Members of the Cabinet, and all of the distinguished members of the press and radio and TV who are here at this meeting:

I hope we haven't delayed you too long, but I told Herb [1] before the meeting began that having traveled through this part of the country and visited virtually every city, I guess every city that is represented here, I did want to have the chance to at least say hello to each of you before the meeting began.

My own participation will have to be brief due to the fact that tonight we are giving a dinner for the astronauts; the last astronaut team and all the astronauts, as a matter of fact, will be guests of honor

[1] Herbert G. Klein, Director of Communications for the Executive Branch.

tonight—those that are available. And so to get back to Washington, to get dressed, to get the dinner ready and so forth, of course, requires a very short timetable.

But we have here a group of my colleagues in the Administration who will be able to talk very candidly and, I think, very helpfully and constructively to you on some of our initiatives in the whole field of rural development and the programs for rural America.

I think I can best introduce my own remarks here by putting what will follow in perspective, first, by beginning with American agriculture.

Usually when an individual comes to talk about rural America, he is expected to talk only about the farmer. Now, of course, the farmer is the most important part of rural America. The farmer, and American agriculture, is the foundation upon which the balance of rural America is built.

When we speak of rural America, however, in the conversations and briefings that you have here today, we are speaking of that part of America in which the cities or towns are 50,000 or less, and where the county in which the city or town is located has a population density of 100 or less [per square mile], including, of course, the city.

This is done not from the standpoint of any arbitrary number, but for the purpose of attempting to get—as I will indicate in my own remarks and as will be further followed up by the other speakers—attempt to focus on a problem that has not adequately been focused upon in previous years.

Second, when we look at rural America in terms now of the most important aspect of rural America, to wit, the farmer, and all that he contributes, we realize, as I tried to say to the Iowa Legislature today, that American agriculture is, when we consider this huge productive economy of the richest nation in the world, it is in truth our greatest asset. We hear so often about the problems of American agriculture. We hear so often about the fact that the farm programs cost too much and this and that and the other thing.

But let's look at a few figures, figures that are worth repeating even to you group of experts.

First, we have a productivity commission that has just been set up, set up for the purpose of getting better productivity throughout the whole of American life, in industry, in government, and in all of its aspects.[2]

Sitting on that productivity commission, for example, are Secretary Romney and Secretary Stans and Secretary Hardin. All of us have had the chance to look at the problems of industry and its various aspects. Some of our industries, for example, like the steel industry, finds itself no longer as competitive as it used to be because the most modern steel plants in the world today, for example, are in Germany and in Japan.

And other industries, like in the field of radios, the thing that you are very interested in, we find there that foreign imports are a very great problem. It is significant to note that today there is not

[2] The National Commission on Productivity, established by the President in July 1970, issued a policy statement on September 7, 1971. A White House announcement of the policy statement is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 7, p. 1249). On the same day, the White House also released the transcript of a news briefing on the policy statement by George P. Shultz, Director of the Office of Management and Budget and Chairman of the Commission.

a table model radio that you can buy in any store in America that is made in the United States of America. Reason: The industry, insofar as that particular type of production is concerned, is no longer competitive.

Now, that doesn't mean that America is ready to become a second-class country economically, from the standpoint of business or in any other way. It simply means that in the world in which we live, as the other great industrial nations—the great industrial nations of Europe, and Japan in Asia—as they have recovered from the ravages of World War II, as they have developed their own economies, that they have become highly competitive in a number of ways.

There is one area, however, where the United States is far ahead, where we have an advantage over every other nation of the world, and it is in the area of agriculture.

It was interesting to note—and I think, George [Secretary Romney], that you and Maury [Secretary Stans] and Cliff Hardin were all as impressed as I was with the fact that a group of businessmen who were on the productivity commission and the productivity council made the point that American agriculture, in terms of growths and increases in productivity, had the best record of any segment of the American economy.

Now, what does that mean? First, it means that American agriculture is highly competitive in the world. Proof: Last year, one-fifth of everything produced and grown in America was exported. This year, one-fourth of everything grown in America was exported.

Another indication of proof is that at a time when we are having problems with our balance of payments, with keeping our export balances up as compared with the imports that come in, we exported last year $7.2 billion worth of agricultural commodities.

We were able to export them because agriculture is highly competitive and highly efficient in the United States of America.

And, of course, the best proof in terms of the housewife in America is this: We hear a lot about the costs of food, and, of course, the farmer is concerned as he might well be concerned about the decline in farm income.

Parenthetically, we are glad to note that at least while farm income isn't as high as farmers naturally would want it to be, and while it cannot be said that farmers share adequately in America's increasing growth in productivity, at least farm income, according to Cliff Hardin, at least the situation is better now than it was 2 or 3 months ago.

And we trust that that trend will continue.

But let's look at it in terms of the American housewife. We all know that we are the best fed people in the world. We also know that as far as the American housewife is concerned, she spends a smaller percentage of her budget on food than any other housewife in any major country of the world, or for that matter, in any other country in the world, I think I could safely say.

Therefore, these facts which need to be brought home to the American people, not just a group of sophisticated farm experts, as you are all experts, but need to be brought home to people in the cities as well as on the farms, as to what we owe to the strong, vibrant, highly productive farm economy, indicate what our stake is to keep it productive. One, it is

important to our balance of payments. Two, it is important to maintaining the high standard of living that we enjoy in this country, to make it possible not only for us to have the best fed people in the world but also to be able to export much abroad and to use, where we find it feasible, to use our farm products very effectively in terms of our foreign policy.

And so leaving that note, and now moving to the broader subject, here we see the farmer, highly productive, an enormous asset to this country; we see him with problems, with his income not as high as it should be in terms of his contribution. And here we see also the problem of where the farmer lives—the cities, the towns of rural America.

Now let me be quite candid. And I say this knowing that I am being covered not only by farm editors and people writing columns or speaking on radio or television primarily to farm audiences but with a pool in this room who will carry these remarks to cities as well, because I say the same thing to the cities that we say on the farms, and naturally that is as it should be.

But I think that the important thing that we have to bear in mind here is that there has been some criticism of the Administration's new initiatives in terms of revenue sharing, and our other new programs, on the ground that it shortchanges the cities in favor of rural America.

I want to meet that criticism head on. It does not shortchange the cities. As George Romney, who is the head of the Department of [Housing and] Urban Development, will tell you, our new programs for revenue sharing provide as much for any city or county as presently is being provided, and more for most, and that over all this country it is approximately over a 20 percent increase.

However, what is novel and what is new in our approach this year is that for really the first time we are putting emphasis on an area which has really been too much at the short end of the stick: the forgotten area of the American economy, rural America.

Let's look at rural America for a moment. Again, we look at the facts and the figures and what do we find? Over half of the substandard housing in America is in rural America. Approximately half of the unemployment and underemployment is in rural America and approximately half of those below the poverty level live in rural America.

And when one tries to set the city against the county, or the city against the country, this is of course a self-defeating operation, because what really ends up is simply this: that the problems of rural America today, the problems of lack of opportunity, the problems of poverty, the problems of underemployment or unemployment, the problems of substandard housing, the problems of rural America today will become the problems of urban America tomorrow unless we change the climate in rural America.

And so that brings me to the reason why in the new revenue sharing proposals, at my insistence, we put additional funds in the area of rural problems. Those funds will be described to you by Mr. Harper[3] and by others who will be briefing you.

I pointed out in my address to the legislature that the total that will go specifically for rural development is

[3] Edwin L. Harper, Special Assistant to the President.

$1,100 million. However, rural America will share in funds which are in other packages, funds for education in special revenue sharing, funds for housing, and other areas.

But insofar as rural development specifically is concerned, there is an amount of $1,100 million. What is important to note about this is that this is a 25 percent increase over the funds that all of existing categorical programs specifically directed toward rural America would produce.

Now, why this emphasis? The why I have already, I think, indicated. It is essential that this part of America, which has not received the fair treatment and the equal treatment that it should receive, get that treatment. Because what happens is that two-thirds of the counties of this country, rural counties, are emptying out of people and emptying out of promise. And where do they go? They move into the great cities and they create there enormous problems.

Approximately 40 percent of the people of this country, as we look toward the end of the century, and perhaps over 50 percent, will be living in three great complexes in the Boston to Washington complex, in the Chicago to Pittsburgh complex, and in the Pacific Coast complex running from San Diego to San Francisco.

What needs to be done is for us to recognize that if this is the kind of America we want, then let's face up to what the problems will be.

There are varying estimates on how much the population of the United States will increase between now and the end of the century. Some say 100 million; some say 60 million.

Well, let's take 70 million. Where are those 70 million people going to go? Well, I can assure you if they go to Los Angeles, if they go to Chicago, if they go to Cleveland, if they go to New York, it is going to create enormous problems on an already overburdened structure of urban life.

It is essential—and I use those cities only as examples, others could be named—it is essential that there be developed in urban America not only a sound farm economy, and we here must recognize that the basis of a sound farm economy, as Cliff Hardin so often emphasized, is a family farm adequately financed and adequate in size to be a viable enterprise.

But not only do we need a sound farm economy, but we need to develop in rural America the opportunities, the opportunities for employment, the opportunities for different kinds of activities, some related to farming, some not related to farming, which will reverse this trend or at least stop this trend of people moving from rural America into the already overcrowded industrial urban complexes of this Nation.

Now, that is a big order. How can it be done?

We don't have any simple answer to that. No one can sit here and tell you what an individual is going to do, what is going to motivate him, whether he is going to want to move to the city, a big city, or whether he is going to stay in a small town or move to a slightly larger town or whatever the case might be.

But at the present time, we want to remove those disincentives for living in rural America.

I remember an interesting conversation I had at the airport in Fargo, North Dakota, when we had a similar meeting of this type just a few months ago. I talked

to, as I was going down the line at the airport, with a couple who said they were from California. They had lived there for approximately 10 years, and they said, "We moved back to North Dakota." And I said, "Why did you leave in the first place?" They said, "There was nothing to do here." I said, "Why did you move back?" He says, "Because the company we were with, they had a branch plant here. We wanted to live here. We liked to live here. We would prefer to live here if there was something to do."

Now, some would prefer to live perhaps in California; some in some other city, or however the case might be. But what we must at least provide is the opportunity in rural America for a person to make a decent living, to have adequate education, to have adequate health facilities, to have the infrastructure which will allow the attraction of business opportunities and so forth; what we need to do is to have that kind of program or we are going to continue to have this growing problem of urban America becoming less and less governable, and rural America emptying, as I have already indicated, without having any of the hope that it should have and without all of what it could thereby contribute to the country.

I would just close on one personal note. I speak with some feeling on this subject because I believe that out here in what is called the heartland of the country there is something more than simply the richest agricultural land in the world or at least the most productive. I think there are certain values, values that we also see in our great cities, but values that are particularly evident here, that are worth preserving.

I somewhat come from the heartland, my mother from Indiana, my father from Ohio. And I remember after their family was raised that both my mother and father decided to go back to a farm. And they went to Pennsylvania and lived there during many of their last years while I was serving in the House and Senate and later as Vice President.

I do not mean to suggest by that that everybody should return to the farm when he gets older. I do not mean to suggest by that that life in the city is necessarily corrupt and less admirable than life in the country.

But I do know this: That there is a quality of life, a quality out through this great heartland of the Nation, that is worth preserving, if we are to have a balanced, strong, healthy country.

I do not want to see America lose that quality of life. I think we can do something about it. I think we have got to start, first of all, with the farmer. Without a healthy, strong agricultural economy, we cannot have any rural program that will stand up.

But, then, we have to supplement that with some new initiatives, as I have indicated, initiatives that you will now hear, initiatives that are truly new, new in the sense that for the first time we focus on the problem of rural America, we put more money on those problems, and we focus in a way that this area of the country gets at least equal attention, and, because in the past it has been somewhat behind, somewhat more attention than even urban America.

This is good for urban America. We trust it will be good for rural America. But you will have to be the judges.

I will now have my panel of experts try to convince you that what I have said has some element of truth in it.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:45 p.m. in the Fort Des Moines Hotel.

Earlier the same day, the President met with the Governors and representatives of four Midwestern States to discuss rural development. The White House released the transcripts of two news briefings on the meeting: the first, by Secretary of Agriculture Clifford M. Hardin; and the second, by Gov. Robert D. Ray of Iowa, Gov. Warren E. Hearnes of Missouri, Gov. Richard B. Ogilvie of Illinois, Gov. Patrick J. Lucey of Wisconsin, and Senator Jack Miller of Iowa.

82 Remarks on Presenting the NASA Distinguished Service Medal to the Apollo 14 Astronauts. *March* 1, 1971

ONE of the greatest privileges that Mrs. Nixon and I have had is to entertain astronauts on the occasions of their returns to earth.

Each time we try to make it a different kind of dinner or reception, as the case might be.

Some of you will remember the time in Los Angeles when the first landing on the moon occurred when we had the astronaut dinner; and others, of course, will remember some of the smaller, more intimate dinners that we have had on other occasions.

Tonight, this is the first time that we have had not only the astronauts here in this East Room, rather than the State Dining Room—the East Room is larger, it allows more of their friends to be here and ours and those who support the space program, but beyond everything else, it particularly allows something that we have never had before at an astronaut dinner: It allows the members of their families to be here.

Now, I mean by that not only their wives—and as I think of our astronauts and how brave they are, I think their wives are very brave, too; you have seen all of them on television so often I am not going to introduce them now—but also when we think of them, we think of their parents. They are here tonight. And they also have received some television coverage.

But one thing that is quite special tonight that has never before occurred at a dinner in honor of the astronauts is that we have their children here. Not only those who are old enough to attend, or at least supposed to be old enough to attend, a state function at the White House, but those who are of all ages. And, of course, everyone of all ages watches what happens in the field of space.

I think the children of the astronauts ought to stand up, and let's give them a hand. There they are.

You just think, they will be going to one of the moons of Jupiter or someplace else in the future, or who knows what wonderful experiences are ahead for those who are so young with all this wonderful background that they have.

Also tonight, we have a very distinguished group here from another standpoint. Normally, we have, as we have tonight, Members of the House and Senate who support the space program. And we are honored to have those Members of the House and Senate who have supported this space program through the years.

We also have members of the Cabinet and other people in Government who have

supported the program.

We thought tonight that in addition to those people and other astronauts who have been on previous flights who are here—and we look back to the ones, all of the Apollo flights and the ones earlier than that, and many of the great names are on the guest list tonight, and I won't name one for fear that I might leave out one—it seemed that tonight would be an occasion when we should honor particularly those on the ground, thousands, as Frank Borman used to tell me, and all the others—Neil Armstrong—who have gone to the moon and come back or have traveled around it or gone on these flights; they say without those thousands on the ground we couldn't have done it.

Now, it is very hard to pick out the one man on the ground or the one woman on the ground that should be honored tonight. But there is something very special tonight that I would like to share with you.

I understand, and I noted this when they came through the receiving line, that a young man, Tony Calio [1]—now he has a very highfalutin title in the space program that I won't go into, but he has something to do with moon rocks, collecting them or observing them or whatever the case may be. But he was scheduled to be married on Sunday, March 7. He received the invitation to come to this astronaut dinner. So he got married yesterday so he could bring his wife to this dinner.

And so, will the newlyweds, the Calios, please stand and be honored in the East Room?

Just think what he gave up: three days of freedom.

Now, before we make the awards, which are traditional on this occasion, the NASA Distinguished Service awards, I would like to speak very briefly with regard to the space program before this audience—an audience which has devoted so much of its life, so much of its energy and of its support to this program.

I think we all recognize that once we achieve something in this country, we tend to say, "Well, we have done that. What's next?" So we have reached the moon. And then there comes another moon flight. And each time, while there is enormous excitement and we watch on television, the amount of interest tends to recede a bit. And, also, the amount of support—and I speak now to my good colleagues in the House and the Senate—the amount of support for the space program tends to go down. That cannot be the case if this Nation is to continue to be a great nation, in my opinion.

Let me tell you an experience that I had in the very early days of this program before I met Alan Shepard—and he was one of the seven who came into the office when I was Vice President in 1959, one of the seven originals. I can't believe he is that old today.

But, in any event, I think back to before that when Sputnik happened. And then when we were all looking around to see what we could do about giving a greater boost to science in this country and get on our own space program and catch up with the Russians, or maybe pass them, as the case might be.

[1] Anthony J. Calio, Director of Science and Applications, Manned Spacecraft Center, National Aeronautics and Space Administration, Houston, Tex.

I remember a briefing we had. And as I recall, Wernher von Braun [2] was there, among others. And the briefing was a very exciting one by one of the scientific advisers to the President at that time.

And they put up a big chart that showed approximately 10 different discoveries that might be achieved as a result of our exploration of space. We had learned something about the weather, and we had learned something about communications, and they did predict, of course, a satellite whereby we could show programs around the world, and all of these things have happened since then. And there are some things on that chart that haven't happened yet.

But then I shall never forget that at the conclusion of this little lecture, the one who was briefing the President at that time turned to him and said, "Mr. President, members of the Cabinet, I simply want to say that probably the most important discovery we will make in our exploration of space is not on this chart." And that was a lesson for me.

It is a great lesson for the American people. Exploration, of course, involves going to the unknown, not going to find something you know is there, or you think something is there. We remember, for example, that those who came to the New World were looking for a passage to India and they found the New World.

And as far as space is concerned, we think we know what we want to find and what we may find, but the more we explore we break into new vistas of knowledge.

That is why if this Nation is to remain a great nation, as it will remain a great nation, we must never accept the position that because we have, as we have, been first in going to the moon, because we have had great achievements in a field like this, that then we rest on our laurels, because the history of all civilization tells us that once a nation gives up or accepts passively the role of being second in exploring the unknown, that nation ceases to be a great nation.

America must continue to be a great nation. We must explore the unknown, not because of what we are going to find or think we are going to find, not because of the uses that we expect to get from space, but because there is something there, something there that we must explore. It is there to find.

And the Americans, this great American Nation with all of the strength and the intelligence and the drive and dynamism that we have, we must go to find it.

I do not speak in any jingoistic terms. I am simply saying that this Nation with all of its capability and with all of its promise is first in space today, and America, as a great nation, must set as its goal remaining first in space, because that is the way to continue to be a great nation. This is a goal that we must set for ourselves.

Now, to do this requires thousands of men and women on the ground, devoted and dedicated men in the scientific field, in the engineering field, and other areas. It requires very brave men going on these journeys into outer space with all of the uncertainties that we saw on Apollo 13

[2] Dr. von Braun, Deputy Associate Administrator of Planning, National Aeronautics and Space Administration, was Director of the Army Ballistic Missile Agency in Huntsville, Ala., 1956–60.

and very brave women waiting at home with their children, their fathers, and their mothers.

And tonight we honor three more brave men.

And at this time, I would like to ask our three men of Apollo 14 to step to this stage so that we can make the awards of the evening, the NASA Distinguished Service award.

[At this point, the President presented the NASA Distinguished Service Medal to Lt. Col. Stuart A. Roosa, USAF. The President then resumed speaking.]

Major, you are now a lieutenant colonel—one of the few things a President has any prerogative on, he can make—Colonel Roosa, would you like to respond to the award?

LIEUTENANT COLONEL ROOSA. Thank you, Mr. President, not only for the medal but also for that promotion. I guess we have got to talk to Bill [3] about that.

THE PRESIDENT. You have the most children, too, I notice.

LIEUTENANT COLONEL ROOSA. This is a great moment for me. I feel particularly honored to receive this award in the presence of you people, because it is you people—each and every one of you—that made Apollo 14 the success it was. I thank you for that.

I also accept this award with humility and pride—pride in being a crewmember on 14, and being associated with two really great individuals, pride in being a part of NASA, and pride in being a citizen of this country.

And I feel very humble in being a part of the spirit that moved our flag from the eastern seaboard to the Pacific Ocean and on to the moon.

Thank you.

[At this point, the President presented the NASA Distinguished Service Medal to Capt. Edgar D. Mitchell, USN. The President then resumed speaking.]

Another promotion, Captain.

It is a good thing it didn't happen on the module, that's for sure.[4]

CAPTAIN MITCHELL. *Mr. President, distinguished guests:*

I do feel greatly honored to receive this medal. It means a great deal to me. However, if we have been able to increase the base of scientific knowledge by some small amount, the engineering and operational know-how that permits the type of space travel that the President has spoken of, and in every way to inspire people of this country to continue with this effort of space exploration because of the knowledge that we can gain from it, then that is adequate reward for me.

Thank you very much.

[At this point, the President presented the NASA Distinguished Service Medal to Capt. Alan B. Shepard, Jr., USN. The President then resumed speaking.]

I have tested this one.

CAPTAIN SHEPARD. Mr. President, don't feel so badly about dropping that medal. It brings to mind an occasion on the 9th of May, 1961, when I received a similar medal from a different administration. The President also dropped that medal.

So, Ed, welcome to the club.

You know, Ed had to go all the way to the moon to grow that beard. I just sent to Los Angeles for this.

[3] William A. Anders, Executive Secretary, National Aeronautics and Space Council, and former astronaut.

[4] The President had accidently dropped the medal as he was about to pin it on Captain Mitchell.

THE PRESIDENT. Would you give me the——

CAPTAIN SHEPARD. I am sorry, the shade is a secret, sir.

Mr. President, you do us a great honor this evening by presenting us with these medals. And we are truly grateful for that.

I think you do us an even greater honor by assembling these people that you have assembled here tonight. I see so many familiar faces in the crowd. And as so many of these familiar faces went through the receiving line, I was reminded of the successes and failures that we have had in the manned space effort since 1959.

As you and I were remarking earlier this evening, in 1959, they thought that if a man were to fly on a ballistic trajectory in a missile and be weightless for a period of 5 minutes or so that he would come back completely irrational.

This remark prompted one of our dinner partners to say, "Yes, I have been wondering what happened to you."

Fortunately, for me at least, my irrationality led me to the moon. And I think it is most important to me, because of the group assembled here, we don't have to talk about the benefits and the advantages of the program. We don't have to talk about the prestige and posture which we have gained. These things are intuitively known when we look at you and say, "Apollo 14 was a good one. We have a lot of momentum, and the three of us are very happy to be a part of it."

Thank you.

Mr. President, we, as you know, used our lunar module, Antares, as part of an experiment. It was directed to impact on the lunar surface to further add to the knowledge we have of seismic history and seismic response on the moon.

Most of it went down. Fortunately, we were able to salvage a few pieces for ourselves and for our very dear friends. One of the pieces we salvaged happens to be the eyepiece from the telescope which I used to sight on the stars to check our position during orbit and also to check our position after landing.

This eyepiece we have mounted together with our patch, and from the members of Apollo 14 we would like to present it to you, sir.

THE PRESIDENT. I accept with very much gratitude the presentation that has just been made. And also, I would like to add something with regard to our space program which I think everyone in this room will thoroughly agree.

When we think of that chart that I saw along with President Eisenhower back in 1957 or 1958, and those 10 items that were on it and wondering what was the one thing or two or three that we would not find, perhaps we all may have overlooked the most important of all.

What has impressed me has been the extraordinary quality of our astronauts, the men who have made space flights, who have gone to the moon or around the moon or on other parts of our various programs in space.

They have traveled all over this country. They have traveled all over the world. They have spoken eloquently and articulately as these men have spoken tonight.

In my view, they represent the very finest in American life today. We can be very proud of what our spacemen are doing.

And the discovery of these qualities, of course, these qualities in men who otherwise might be in very important activities, but who by the very fact that they were in this activity focused and developed capabilities far beyond what they might have developed otherwise, this makes that program worthwhile, these extraordinary men.

I think of these here. I think of the others in the past, of Borman, Stafford, Armstrong, Schirra, all the rest.

And speaking for all of the American people, we are proud of these men. We are proud of all of them, and we say that a nation that can produce men like this can go not only to the moon but far beyond in every way that we can think of.

I think, as you noted, when we made these awards to our three astronauts, the only one that didn't get a promotion was Captain Shepard.

I checked into that to see why that was the case. Because it is traditional, you know, for the President to promote all spacemen one rank. And so we promoted the other two. I said what about Shepard? They said, "Well, he is a captain now in the Navy. You can't make him an admiral because the Navy's regulations will not permit him to be made an admiral unless he has some experience other than in the space field."

Well, I thought I would change the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs for that but, nevertheless, he is a very good man and we needed him for what he is presently doing.

I thought the Chief of Naval Operations, Admiral Zumwalt, was a very good man. Also, I thought of when I left this office I will be a lieutenant commander. So I didn't want to have any trouble with the Navy.

So I did want to find something special we could do for Captain Shepard. And so we now make a personal award to him. And if the Vice President would come up and join me for this award, I think it would be appropriate.

I shall read it to you: "Whereas, Captain Alan B. Shepard, U.S. Navy, was the first man to transport a golf ball into outer space. And, whereas, using the moon as a tee, on the third or fourth"—it says—"swing, he propelled aforementioned pellet possibly further than such an object has ever been propelled before, and, whereas, the likelihood exists that it fell eventually into a small crater and, thus, became the first cellestial hole-in-one. Therefore, all who are here present and all who read this certificate in years to come know ye that he has been invested with the distinguished order of lunar duffer. Done at the White House on this First Day of March, 1971. And witnessed and attested by the Vice President of the United States, who wishes to point out that Captain Shepard's first two swings were embarrassing failures. And he knows just how he feels."

THE VICE PRESIDENT. Mr. President, I would just like to say a few words in self-defense.

First of all, I am a very good golfer who just happened to have a few bad first holes. I want you to understand that.

And, Alan, I know this—no, I don't know it. I only know it from the hearsay that I got at my table tonight, but I understand that this ball you hit this astronomical distance that has been described went completely around the moon and came back and reposed some distance compatible with my possibilities on earth.

And I don't know whether that is true or not, but I guess it is all right.

Mr. President, I just want to underscore my personal admiration for these wonderful astronauts, and when you talked about having them on a trip around the world, I had that experience with Tom Stafford and Gene Cernan.

And I just want to tell you from personal observation there has never been a group of men who can engender the kind of spirit in our friends around the globe that these men can.

And I hope that as astronauts have completed their lunar duties, and hopefully their Martian duties and their extraterrestrial duties generally in the future, that they will all become honorary ambassadors to promote the interests of global peace and the real conviction of us in the United States that people should learn to live together and work together, here and everywhere that the sun shines.

THE PRESIDENT. I will give Captain Shepard—we will find a way to make you an admiral eventually—but anyway, I will give him a chance to respond in a moment. But I don't want his two fellow astronauts to feel imposed upon, and I am going to give them the Presidential golf ball with the seal and signature, and one to the Vice President. Just putt with it, please.

CAPTAIN SHEPARD. I really have waited for this moment to tell the truth. You know how golfers are. They are even worse than fishermen when it comes to counting the number of strokes, or measuring the inches or the length of the fish. But really, I am not going to talk about the length of the six iron shot at all. I think that has been fairly well documented. And Ed is sworn to secrecy. So I feel secure.

But I do want to say the real reason for doing this was sort of a scientific experiment, but being a patriot, I had the interest of the country at heart and having observed the Vice President in action on the golf course, I thought the only way to help him out was to experiment. And so I did, on the moon.

I am happy to report, Mr. Vice President, because of the lack of atmosphere, regardless of how badly you hit them, they will still go straight.

THE PRESIDENT. We want to say to all our guests that that completes the program. We want all of you to know, too, that the rest of this house belongs to you for this evening.

We know that many of you will want to renew old acquaintances in the Red Room, in the Green Room, the Blue Room, the State Dining Room, and out in the Grand Hall there will be music befitting the occasion.

Oh, I should point out—because at the table it was asked—the music tonight really covers all of the services. The Marine Corps, which, as you know, is a branch of the Navy, according to one President—but, nevertheless, the Marine Corps Orchestra, the traditional band of the Presidents for 180 years, of course, in the Grand Hall; the Army Chorus; and the Air Force Strings.

And you will now hear a Marine Corps combo in the hall. We have enjoyed having you. We want you to get a chance to talk to our friends, our honored guests, the astronauts.

Tomorrow they go with their families to Camp David for 3 days of rest. Their wives tell me that they have only had a half hour a day with them because

71-234—72——27

the rest of the time they have been debriefed.

They are through their debriefing. At Camp David with their children, they have a few days off.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The presentation ceremony began at 10:25 p.m. in the East Room at the White House.

83 Remarks About a Special Message to the Congress on Special Revenue Sharing for Law Enforcement. *March 2, 1971*

Ladies and gentlemen:

I am sending to the Congress today the first proposal for special revenue sharing, and it is in the field of law enforcement assistance.

This proposal is for $500 million and the Attorney General is here to answer your questions with regard to its scope and with regard to the various regulations that will be in effect insofar as the proposal is concerned.

This is the first that we have had of the special revenue sharing proposals and now you will have all of them by the end of this month.

On Thursday of this week, you will have the manpower assistance program, which will be a special revenue sharing program; and on Friday, we shall have the urban development program, and the other three before the end of the month.

We consider this a very appropriate one to be first, not only because we had the materials ready and the program ready to present but because this is an area where, above all others, it is vitally important that funds be provided for the States and the counties and the cities on an urgent basis for the protection of the lives and the property of people in the States and the cities and the counties.

When we think of law enforcement, too often we think of it at the Federal level. We must remember, of course, that the great proportion of crime is not in Washington, D.C., at the Federal level—Washington, D.C., is a special responsibility of the Federal Government—but it is out in the cities, in the States, in the counties where the Federal Government does not have responsibility.

And this program of $500 million, a proposal that the Attorney General will now describe for you, deals directly with that problem. It is perhaps the most effective proposal—it is one which we are building on, building from the past, the most effective proposal for getting at what is called "street crime," the kind of crime that directly affects the individual more than any other.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:01 a.m. in the Briefing Room at the White House.

On the same day, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing by Attorney General John N. Mitchell on the message.

84 Special Message to the Congress on Special Revenue Sharing for Law Enforcement. *March 2, 1971*

To the Congress of the United States:

Many of our State and local governments today are in serious financial difficulty. This has not diminished the growing demands on their financial resources, however: their needs continue, their populations increase and their social problems multiply. All these circumstances point to the need for outside assistance, and the Federal Government has tried to provide such assistance. But in doing so, it has frequently added to, rather than reduced, State burdens.

In the past decade, the Federal Government has turned increasingly to a complex system of grants for providing financial assistance to State and local governments. Today Federal aid programs account for one-fifth of State and local revenues. In theory this income should reduce the pressure on State and local budgets and it should free financial resources at those levels for use at those levels. In practice the reverse is commonly the case.

To qualify for Federal grants, States and local government units are frequently required to match Federal funding, often seriously restricting flexibility in the use of State and local resources. Recipients are placed in the position of having to accept Federal money with its concomitant restrictions on State funds, or receive no Federal money at all. Thus, we may find States and local governing units pursuing projects which may be of low priority to them simply because money for these projects is available, but the matching requirements for such grants may have to be met at the expense of programs of higher priority to the community.

In other cases, State and local agencies are required to maintain their financial commitment to a project in order to qualify for Federal grants to that project. The result, again, is diminished flexibility in the use of financial resources at the State and local levels.

Equally burdensome are project-by-project requirements for prior Federal approval of grants. These requirements often delay the availability of much needed funds, generate Federal, as well as State and local, bureaucratic delay, and inject needless confusion into the Federal, State and local relationship. Rigidity in adhering to exact requirements is rewarded, and new or imaginative ideas are frequently lost because they fail to fit exact bureaucratic guidelines.

Finally, Federal grants have proliferated to such a degree that simply discovering their availability is a bureaucratic chore all in itself. The processes of application frequently contribute to the difficulty, and delay the process, of obtaining grants to a degree which further aggravates the problem the money is designed to assuage. And, because the Federal Government, with all the best intentions, cannot really know the needs of the States and local governing units as well as the people who govern at those levels, these grants frequently cannot be aimed with real precision at the needs which exist at those levels.

Certain of these difficulties are most prevalent in the narrowly defined "categorical grants," and therefore I have long supported the concept of block grants which permit State and local governing units to receive financial assistance on the

basis of what *they* know is necessary. This eliminates many of the problems of the categorical grants. The block grant does, however, retain other shortcomings: requirements for matching funds, maintenance of effort, and prior approval by the Federal Government. I believe the time has come to further reform our system of providing financial assistance, and to streamline, where we can, the system of grant aid by adopting a system of Special Revenue Sharing which provides the benefits of Federal assistance without the burdens of assistance built into the present grant programs.

The purposes of 130 of our narrowly based categorical grant programs now in existence can be reduced to six broad areas of national concern. In a series of special messages, of which this is the first, I will propose that funds be made available to States and localities to assist them in meeting their problems in the areas of law enforcement, manpower training, urban development, transportation, rural development and education, by converting these grants to Special Revenue Sharing. Funds for assistance in these areas, as I proposed in my State of the Union message, will include more than $10 billion of the money allocated for the narrow-purpose grants plus $1 billion of new funds. Special Revenue Sharing would require no matching funds, no maintenance of effort, no prior project approval and, within the six broad areas, recipients would have the authority to spend these funds on programs which are of the highest priority to them.

I am proposing today legislation for the first of these six Special Revenue Sharing programs. This legislation is directed to matters of primary concern in our national life: the control of crime and the improvement of this nation's system of criminal justice. Much has been accomplished in combatting these problems, but much remains to be accomplished.

Part of the marked progress of the past two years can be attributed to the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA). The LEAA was created by the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968 to aid State and local law enforcement agencies in funding programs for police, courts, corrections, control of organized crime, civil disorders, and other related crime problems. This is a national problem—but the basic responsibilities for solving this problem rest at the State and local level and the LEAA provides for Federal assistance to these levels of government.

This program is based on the assumption that those who bear responsibility at the State and local level are best qualified to identify their enforcement problems, and to set the priorities and develop the means to solve these problems. It is designed particularly to encourage and provide for experimentation and innovation in the search for more effective solutions to the crime problem. With LEAA assistance each State has developed, in partnership with local governments, a comprehensive statewide approach to improving law enforcement and reducing crime. Each State is receiving funds under this program, and is moving to execute its plans.

The program is effective. In the District of Columbia, LEAA assistance has played a role in achieving encouraging reductions in various categories of crime. With LEAA assistance, Oakland, California, has launched a unique effort against street crime using citizen-police cooperation. A feature of this effort has been more

than thirty bilingual "citizen forums" in high-crime areas.

LEAA has launched the first major Federal research and development program in criminal justice. It has initiated the first nationwide computerized information system—Project SEARCH, which will help provide instant interstate information on offenders. It has funded the first national survey of crime victims, and the first national jail survey. In the six New England States a joint program is under way to collect and analyze intelligence information and plan a coordinated effort against organized crime in that area. This was funded by LEAA. LEAA assistance to the States for corrections has increased from $3 million in fiscal 1969 to over $68 million in fiscal 1970. This final year the total exceeds $100 million. In another area LEAA has initiated the first major Federal program to enable law enforcement and criminal justice personnel to continue their educations. More than nine hundred colleges are involved in this program.

I think it is clear that LEAA has assumed a vital and effective role in this area of Federal, State and local concern. But, I believe it can and must be made more effective. Therefore, I am proposing amendments to the Law Enforcement Assistance legislation which I believe would strengthen and increase its effectiveness in the war on crime by increasing both the resources of State and local enforcement and judicial agencies, as well as their freedom to use the resources at their disposal.

Matching Funds

I propose that the requirement for matching funds be eliminated from LEAA grants being converted to Special Revenue Sharing.

Maintenance of Effort

I propose that requirements for maintenance of effort be eliminated as a condition for receiving Special Revenue Sharing payments.

Prior Project Approval

I am recommending that State planning agencies continue to prepare comprehensive statewide law enforcement plans. These will continue to be submitted to LEAA for review and evaluation, to assist LEAA in its role of counseling State and local government agencies. I am proposing, however, that requirements for prior approval of these plans by LEAA be eliminated. Prior approval would not be required to receive Special Revenue Sharing funds.

Coverage

Special Revenue Sharing would replace the present LEAA action grants and their payment would be automatic. Special Revenue Sharing for law enforcement for the first full year would be $500 million. Fifteen percent of this would be in grants which can be awarded at the discretion of LEAA, and the remainder in grants awarded automatically on the basis of population.

Civil Rights

I urge that the protection from discrimination now provided minorities under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 be expressly extended to Special Revenue Sharing.

CONCLUSION

The changes provided in the LEAA legislation are not extensive. But I believe they will have a profound effect. They are designed to improve a good program which already has many of the elements we seek to obtain in other programs. Special Revenue Sharing will permit the needed improvements. And by further freeing State and local governments, both from the restrictions of onerous Federal control, and from the administrative and fiscal restrictions which accompany or result from much of our Federal assistance, we can release the creative capacities of each level of government in these areas of national concern.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
March 2, 1971

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released three fact sheets on the message and the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration.

On April 6, 1971, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing by Edwin L. Harper, Special Assistant to the President, on the hold harmless base line figures for States and localities under special revenue sharing, and a fact sheet on the figures for law enforcement special revenue sharing.

85 Memorandum About the Combined Federal Campaign. *March 3, 1971*

Memorandum to Heads of Departments and Agencies:

You are aware of my deep personal interest in strengthening and encouraging voluntary action in the United States. The concept of people voluntarily working together to better the lives of their neighbors and to improve the quality of life in their communities and the nation is deeply rooted in our American tradition. One of our great needs now is to enlist the energies of American citizens committed to voluntary action.

This administration has made progress in developing a better understanding and awareness of the unique capabilities of the voluntary movement in the United States and of the benefits it can provide to all of our people, and we have begun the process of strengthening organizations which carry out voluntary actions.

As one step in this process, the Chairman of the Civil Service Commission, Robert E. Hampton, has recently initiated several changes in the Combined Federal Campaign which should strengthen the support of voluntary charitable organizations by Federal employees and military personnel. For the first time, the Combined Federal Campaign will become the uniform fund-raising method for the Federal service. Every Federal employee in the United States, regardless of location, will now have the opportunity to participate in a Combined Federal Campaign. In addition, a new Loaned Executive program will permit, in appropriate circumstances, the temporary assignment of Federal employees to work directly with the voluntary organizations in conducting the combined campaign within the Federal service.

During the past six years, the Combined Federal Campaign has demonstrated a significant potential for bolstering voluntary organizations in this country, including the local United Funds, the American National Red Cross, the Na-

tional Health Agencies, and the International Service Agencies. The changes announced today should rekindle that spirit of voluntarism and bring the Federal Government closer to these organizations and to the local communities which the government serves.

Voluntarism in America will flourish only to the extent that as individual citizens we support the organizations that make voluntary action a reality. I urge Federal employees to continue to offer their skills to voluntary organizations, assisting not only in their fund-raising efforts but also in the delivery of their services. I also ask that each of you, as the head of a department or agency, provide your personal leadership in assuring the success of this new Combined Federal Campaign program.

RICHARD NIXON

86 Special Message to the Congress on Special Revenue Sharing for Manpower. *March 4, 1971*

To the Congress of the United States:

Like the 1770s, which produced an American Revolution, the 1970s can be a decade of revolutionary change. We have an opportunity to build on the strengths of the federal system, and by so doing to forge a strong new partnership in which each level of government does what it does best, and in which each function of government is lodged at that level at which it can best be performed.

One of the keys to this reform is Revenue Sharing—General and Special, $16 billion in all.

Four weeks ago I asked the Congress to enact a $5 billion General Revenue Sharing program. It was essentially a proposal to take some of the tax dollars the Federal Government raises and use them as a transfusion for our hard-pressed States, counties and cities—to be spent as the people in each jurisdiction agree with their own elected officials makes the best sense.

Two days ago in my message on Law Enforcement Assistance, I presented to the Congress the first of six proposals that will account for a total of $11 billion in Special Revenue Sharing programs. Unlike General Revenue Sharing, which is new money without project restrictions, Special Revenue Sharing consists of $10 billion now going into present Federal grant programs, plus $1 billion in new funds, rescued from a thicket of narrow categories and earmarked for spending in six broad areas of national concern.

Today I am proposing legislation in the second major area of Special Revenue Sharing—Manpower. The Manpower Revenue Sharing Act of 1971 would:

—Provide $2 billion during the first full year of its operation—$4 for every $3 now being spent—to help move men and women into productive employment.

—Unify into one the many programs under which Federal manpower money is now channeled to State and local governments.

—Free city, county, and State budgets from matching and maintenance-of-effort encumbrances, and officials of those governments from intricate administrative procedures.

—Vest the power to shape local manpower assistance efforts in governments close to the people they assist.

Manpower Assistance: In Whose Hands?

Labor, like other economic resources, is allocated by the market under our system. But as the American economy has grown increasingly complex and technological, we have seen that the job market has imperfections—frictions, lags, slack in the gears—whose costs in unemployment, underemployment and inadequate incomes must be reduced. A degree of cautious intervention in the market process over the long term is clearly a human imperative and a matter of national interest—as the Congress recognized nine years ago this month with a substantial commitment of Federal money and attention under the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962. That Act, and the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, currently include more than a dozen categorical grant programs in the manpower field, funded in Fiscal 1971 at $1.5 billion.

While these efforts proceed from the best of intentions, they are overcentralized, bureaucratic, remote from the people they mean to serve, overguidelined, and far less effective than they might be in helping the unskilled and the disadvantaged. The reason: by and large, their direction does not belong in Federal hands.

Designing a manpower program that can best deliver its intended services starts with the recognition, one, that the "job market" is really thousands of interacting but separate markets spread all over the economic and geographic map of the United States, and two, that the "labor force" is actually 87 million individual men and women with a wide diversity of training needs. Under the circumstances it makes little sense for Washington to dominate decisions on manpower assistance—not when 50 States and thousands of local government units, each in touch with its own territory and close to its own people, stand ready to apply their know-how if Washington will only help pay the bills.

Penalizing Diversity and Subsidizing Bureaucracy

I recognize that there are many Federal purposes for which categorical grants are still the best available approach. My Special Revenue Sharing proposals are targeted specifically at those program areas in which I believe the case for local decision is overriding.

Manpower is an area in which the need to adapt to diverse and changing local conditions is especially compelling, and in which the advantages of local control are correspondingly great.

When nationwide categorical programs are applied to diverse job markets, some cities and States may find their needs met nicely—but many others, inevitably, will come off second best. They will, in effect, be penalized for differing from the models according to which Federal programs are designed. They find themselves forced into funding projects of low *local* priority ahead of those of higher priorities simply because Federal program inflexibilities mean funding the available ones or none at all. Those who suffer as a result are not governmental units in the abstract but real people with bills to pay and families to feed. The injury is compounded when

local funds, scarce at best, must be set aside to match—in effect, to buy into—the Federal money, if the money is not to be lost.

In one respect only do all States and cities fare equally under a system of narrow categorical grants: officials of all must, as a matter of survival, learn their way through a bureaucratic jungle.

For example:

—Merely to describe one State's Federal manpower programs in 1970 required a jargon-heavy tome 1185 pages long.

—Last fall a businessmen's group attempting to list all the public manpower programs in New York City gave up after 44 entries, commenting that "attempting to unravel the intricate mass of detailed data on the individual programs has been an exhausting undertaking."

—Harried vocational school administrators must cope with a 930-page Labor Department manual and hundreds of pages more of Federal standards and conditions, to meet the requirements of a single program—MDTA institutional training.

In light of all this, Americans' discontent with government is no mystery. The Federal money put to low-priority uses, the captive local matching money, the waste of time by local officials in threading their way through Byzantine administrative tangles—all are unfair: to a Nation that deserves a healthy employment market, to people out of work who deserve effective job assistance, and to taxpayers who deserve a hundred cents worth of public benefits on every dollar government takes from them.

To Make Good on a Good Idea

The active Federal commitment to manpower training and development was a good idea in 1962, when Congress in enacting MDTA expressed concern that "the problem of assuring sufficient employment opportunities will be compounded by the extraordinarily rapid growth of the labor force in the next decade." It is an even better idea today, with the labor force already enlarged by 19 percent in the nine years since, and with technological change still rapid. But one of the great lessons of the dramatic Federal Government growth in the 1960s is that even a good idea like this can fall short of its promise if the way in which it is carried out runs against the grain of the Federal system. By converting the Nation's manpower programs from categorical grants to Special Revenue Sharing, we can play to the strengths of the Federal partnership, teaming Federal dollars with State and local decisionmaking. This is the purpose of the Manpower Revenue Sharing Act of 1971 which I am proposing today.

Where the Money Goes

I have proposed that $2 billion be provided for the first full year of the Manpower Revenue Sharing Act, which would replace the Manpower Development and Training Act and manpower provisions of the Economic Opportunity Act on January 1, 1972. This represents an increase of almost one-third over current levels of funding for the affected categorical grants. Since the need for job training and other manpower assist-

71-234—72——28

ance expands as the Nation grows, the Act would set no ceiling on future appropriations.

Of this amount provided, 85 percent would be distributed to the States and to cities and counties with a population of 100,000 or more. Since jobs and workers cross city and county lines, bonus funds within the formula distribution would be awarded to consortia of local governments which embrace entire major labor market areas. Governments which can agree to act in concert in smaller urban areas would also qualify for funds. The remaining 15 percent would be made available to the Secretary of Labor to fund special activities.

The shared revenues would be allocated by statutory formula. Each State or local area's share would be determined by its proportionate number of workers, unemployed persons and low income adults.

What Are Manpower Programs?

Manpower programs develop job skills. They help the unemployed and underemployed, particularly welfare recipients and other disadvantaged persons, make the transition to better jobs, better pay and higher skill levels.

An effective program focuses on individual needs and available jobs. It embraces a wide range of manpower activities, providing combinations of services to move people toward their employment goals. Authorized manpower activities include:

—recruitment, counseling, testing, placement, and follow-up services;

—classroom instruction in both remedial education and occupational skills;

—training on the job with both public and private employers, aided by manpower subsidies;

—job opportunities, including work experience and short-term employment for special age groups and the temporary unemployed, and transitional public service employment at all levels of government;

—ancillary services like child care assistance, relocation assistance, and minor health services.

Decisions on the mix and specifics of State and local activities under this broad umbrella would be up to each government. However, payments and allowances for individuals would be limited to two consecutive years, in recognition of the fact that these manpower programs are designed not to provide long-term public support but rather to assist job seekers in making the transition to permanent or better jobs.

New Flexibility and Accountability

In keeping with the principles of Special Revenue Sharing, State and local governments would be given wide discretion in determining how the funds provided should be used.

This manpower program, unlike its predecessors, would have no exhaustive volumes of Federal standards to be met. There would be no towering piles of Federal program applications to complete and no frustrating delays at the Federal level. State and local money now tied down by matching requirements and maintenance of effort would be freed for spending elsewhere as community priorities might dictate.

Giving State and local officials full power to spend Federal manpower funds would sharply increase the citizen's ability to influence how the funds are spent. It

would make government more responsive to legitimate demands for quality services.

To enhance public *accountability* for manpower programs, State and local governments would be required to publish a statement of program objectives and projected uses of funds each year, prior to receiving their shared revenues. These statements would include information on the area's economic and labor market conditions; targeted client groups; proposed activities; wages, allowances and other benefits; manpower agencies involved; and the positions and salaries of the program's administrators. In addition, the statements would review the previous year's programs.

Both State and local governments would be required to publish comments about each other's program statements. In particular, they would be responsible for coordinating and making full use of all other State and local manpower activities available. After full public disclosure and discussion they would be required to publish their final program statements for the coming year.

To increase the information available to the public, the Labor Department would publish evaluations of program effectiveness.

The people would have the hard facts needed to hold their public officials directly and readily accountable for the manner in which manpower programs are administered.

Programs and Purposes

Manpower Revenue Sharing is a partnership. Washington puts up the purse and sets out the broad purposes of authorized spending, while program decisions are turned over to the statehouses, county governments and city halls. My proposal neither mandates nor terminates any programs. It provides that the continuation, expansion, or modification of each program would be determined, as it ought to be, by the test of performance alone—and determined by the State or community which the program serves. Programs that have proved themselves in practice could be continued with the use of the Federal funds provided. Indeed many current categorical programs probably would continue and expand in response to local needs once arbitrary Federal restrictions were removed. On the other hand, programs whose past claims of effectiveness are not justified by the record deserve to be replaced by others more responsive to community needs. Vesting the program authority in governments close to the people will make it harder for programs to coast along on their momentum from year to year, and easier to tailor manpower assistance to on-the-scene realities.

The Federal Role

The special activities financed by the 15 percent of manpower funds retained for use by the Secretary of Labor would include support and assistance for State and local programs through staff training and technical aid, through research, and through experimental and demonstration programs to develop new manpower techniques.

The Department of Labor would also maintain a comprehensive system of labor market information and computerized job banks to facilitate exchange of information among different areas. It would monitor State and local programs for fiscal accountability and compile comparative data on all programs to help the Congress and the public assess their effectiveness.

In addition, the Labor Department

would have funds to help support certain programs which operate most effectively across State and local boundaries.

This Act, like my other revenue sharing proposals, would include rigorous safeguards against all discrimination. The legislation I am recommending today stipulates that revenue shared and other funds expended by the Secretary of Labor under this Act would be considered Federal financial assistance within the meaning of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Manpower Policy and Public Service Employment

One of the most innovative features of my proposed Manpower Training Act of 1969 was an automatic "trigger" which provided more manpower funds when the national unemployment rate rose to 4.5 percent or more for three consecutive months.

The Manpower Revenue Sharing Act contains a similar feature. Triggered funds would be distributed by the Secretary of Labor to areas of high unemployment to provide additional training and employment opportunities.

Under such conditions many State and local governments might choose to use these funds to create temporary public service jobs to offset the rise in unemployment.

This is an acceptable and appropriate use of triggered funds—*and* of regular shared revenues for manpower programs.

Transitional and short-term public employment can be a useful component of the Nation's manpower policies. But public employment not linked to real jobs or not devoted to equipping the individual to compete in the labor market is only a palliative, not a solution for manpower problems.

Thus, this Act would also provide *permanent* authority for public service job creation as part of an overall manpower program—but with the proviso that such jobs must constitute transitional opportunities. Within a two-year period participants must be enabled to move into the public employer's regular payroll, or helped to obtain other public or private employment.

Public jobs created through manpower funds would thus be used to develop skills and abilities, with participants moving through such positions into permanent opportunities.

Federal funds already support almost 2 million jobs in State and local government. When enacted, General Revenue Sharing may support tens of thousands more.

Furthermore, last week the administration requested Congressional approval for the creation of at least 200,000 new public jobs for welfare recipients. A part of my welfare reform proposals, these new jobs would lead to non-subsidized employment for welfare recipients for whom other jobs are not available.

Fitting Programs to People

This new reliance on local flexibility and local initiative should benefit citizens and communities across the country. For example:

—This Act would allow city governments to bring jobless ghetto residents onto city payrolls in education, health, safety and anti-pollution work while preparing them to move into permanent jobs.

—This Act would allow State governments to reach out to isolated rural

poor people with training and job programs shaped to their special needs.

—This Act would allow county governments to provide skill training and transitional employment to welfare recipients to move them toward self-support and new dignity.

It would, in short, allow each State or community to fit its programs to its people.

LOOKING AHEAD

In August 1969 I submitted the Manpower Training Act of 1969. It was one of three key proposals to begin reversing the tide of power which for a generation has flowed from the States and communities to Washington.

For over a year the Ninety-First Congress considered the proposed new manpower legislation, adding many new and creative ideas to our original proposals. Legislation was approved by both houses of Congress which entrusted important new manpower responsibilities to State and local governments. Unfortunately, the final bill also contained serious flaws, and I was forced to withhold my approval from it last December. With this message I am fulfilling my pledge then to submit new manpower legislation in 1971.

This bill builds upon the foundation that was laid during the last Congress.

It responds to Governors' and Mayors' appeals for increased responsibility and increased flexibility.

It makes manpower programs more readily accountable to the clients they serve and the taxpayers who support them.

It recognizes that transitional public service employment is an integral part of manpower policy—and places no ceiling on its extent within the manpower program.

It triggers extra Federal funds to counteract periods of rising unemployment.

In summary, this proposal is designed to give more effective help to those who need it, and to give Americans full return for their tax dollars spent on manpower assistance in the years ahead—full return in the form of unemployment brought down and kept down, and in the form of new income and achievement opportunities for millions of deserving men and women.

And its effects could reach far beyond the field of manpower: As it gives State and local governments the resources and authority to deal with their problems in a single area, it can build the confidence and competence of those governments in all areas. As it cuts away the layers of bureaucracy that have separated the people from one specific exercise of their governing power, it can help restore the people's faith in the democratic process generally. Teamed with my other Special and General Revenue Sharing proposals, it can help to launch the United States on a new era of revolutionary change for the better.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House

March 4, 1971

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released two fact sheets and the transcript of a news briefing on the manpower special revenue sharing proposal by James D. Hodgson, Secretary, and Malcolm R. Lovell, Jr., Assistant Secretary for Manpower, Department of Labor.

On April 6, 1971, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing by Edwin L. Harper, Special Assistant to the President, on the hold harmless base line figures for States and localities under special revenue sharing, and a fact sheet on the figures for manpower special revenue sharing.

87 Memorandum Urging Support of the Red Cross. *March* 4, 1971

Memorandum for Heads of Executive Departments and Agencies:

I have today designated March, 1971, as Red Cross Month. As President of the United States and Honorary Chairman of the American National Red Cross, I extend my personal support to the vital humanitarian activities of the Red Cross. I know that all of you as citizens and leaders will want to do likewise, and that you will want to cooperate in informing every Federal employee and every member of the Armed Forces of the many ways through which he or she can render service and reap benefits by supporting the Red Cross.

In every community across the Nation, men and women who work for the Federal Government or serve in the Armed Forces will have opportunities to help the Red Cross toward its 1971 national fund goal of $133,978,000, or to contribute their services as volunteers, or to take part in Red Cross blood donor programs. With your help in making them aware of these opportunities, they will, I am confident, respond generously.

Recent efforts of the Red Cross have brought relief to victims of Hurricane Celia and of flooding in Puerto Rico. Around the world the Red Cross has helped American servicemen in Vietnam and 29 other countries; has taken a leading role in urging adherence to the Geneva conventions in the treatment of American prisoners of war in North Vietnam; and has ministered to refugees from the civil strife in Jordon and from East Pakistan's catastrophic cyclone. It adds up to a titanic achievement in easing human suffering, and summons all of us in the Federal Government to set an example for the Nation with an outpouring of support during March.

RICHARD NIXON

NOTE: On the same day, the President signed Proclamation 4033 designating March as Red Cross Month, 1971.

88 The President's News Conference on Foreign Policy. *March* 4, 1971

THE PRESIDENT. Won't you be seated, please.

QUESTIONS

RATE OF U.S. TROOP WITHDRAWALS

[1.] Mr. Cormier [Frank Cormier, Associated Press].

Q. Are any of the difficulties that the South Vietnamese Army have encountered in Laos in recent weeks going to cause you to slow down the rate of American troop withdrawals?

THE PRESIDENT. No. As a matter of fact what has already been accomplished in Laos at this time has insured even more the plan for withdrawal of American troops. I will make another announcement in April, as I have previously indicated. And the disruption of the supply lines of the enemy through Laos, which has now occurred for 3 weeks, has very seriously damaged the enemy's ability to wage effective action against our remain-

ing forces in Vietnam and assures even more the success of our troop withdrawal program.

One other point that has been assured. I just had a report from General Abrams today with regard to the performance of the South Vietnamese. You ladies and gentlemen will recall that at the time of Cambodia I pointed out that the South Vietnamese Army had come of age. But then they were fighting side by side with American ground forces. Now in southern Laos and also in Cambodia, the South Vietnamese on the ground by themselves are taking on the very best units that the North Vietnamese can put in the field.

General Abrams tells me that in both Laos and in Cambodia his evaluation after 3 weeks of fighting is that—to use his terms—the South Vietnamese by themselves can hack it, and they can give a better account of themselves even than the North Vietnamese units. This means that our withdrawal program, our Vietnamization program is a success and can continue on schedule, and we trust even ahead of schedule, assuming that there is more progress in Laos.

POLICY CONCERNING ACTION IN NORTH VIETNAM

[2.] Q. Mr. President, this is a question that you addressed yourself to, at your last news conference, but I would like to ask it again in view of the fact that President Thieu has publicly said several times—has publicly raised the possibility of South Vietnamese forces invading North Vietnam. Would the United States support such an invasion of North Vietnam by the South Vietnamese?

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Risher [Eugene V. Risher, United Press International], I think it is important to restate the answer that I gave at the last news conference, because you will recall that was in the office where only you ladies and gentlemen who regularly cover the White House were present, and the television audience did not hear the answer.

To restate it completely, let me break it down into its component parts. First, the question is: What will President Thieu in South Vietnam do? The second question is: What will the United States do? And third: What might we do together?

Now, on the first question, President Thieu has stated that he would consider the necessity of invading North Vietnam. Let's look at his position. There are no South Vietnamese in North Vietnam. There are 100,000 North Vietnamese in South Vietnam, and they have already killed over 200,000 South Vietnamese. Therefore, President Thieu has to take the position that unless the North Vietnamese leave South Vietnam alone, he has to consider the possibility of going against the North. That is his position, and I am not going to speculate on what position he might take in the future in order to defend himself, the right of self-defense, in view of the fact that he is being attacked, he is not attacking North Vietnam.

The second part of the question deals with what we will do. And there, as you will recall, I stated that American policy is that we will have no ground forces in North Vietnam, in Cambodia, or in Laos, except, of course, for rescue teams which go in for American fliers or for prisoners of war where we think there is an opportunity in that case.

On the other hand, I have stated on 10 different occasions, usually before press conferences in which you ladies and gen-

tlemen have participated, that in two respects we would use airpower against the North. One, that we would attack those missile sites that fired at our planes, and we have been doing that. We will continue to do that.

Second, that if I determined that increased infiltration from North Vietnam endangered our remaining forces in South Vietnam at a time we were withdrawing, I would order attacks on the supply routes, on the infiltration routes, on the military complexes, and I have done that in the past. And I shall do so again if I determine that such activities by North Vietnam may endanger our remaining forces in South Vietnam, particularly as we are withdrawing.

Now, the third question is this one: whether or not the United States, through its airpower, might support a South Vietnamese operation against North Vietnam. And the answer to that is that no such plan is under consideration in this Government.

NORTH VIETNAMESE ANTIAIRCRAFT MISSILES

[3.] Q. Mr. President, on the subject of enemy missiles, the North Vietnamese seem to be using more and perhaps a different type of missile shooting at American planes supporting the Laos operation.

I am wondering if this is of unusual alarm to you and if you have any special retaliation other than bombing that you intend to take?

THE PRESIDENT. We are following that very closely, and it is not unusually alarming. We expect the enemy to improve its capabilities just as we improve ours. And we are prepared to take the protective reaction measures which will deal very effectively with it. But I can say it will not be tit for tat.

THE PRESIDENT'S FOREIGN POLICY ADVISERS

[4.] Mr. Horner [Garnett D. Horner, Washington Evening Star].

Q. In view of recent remarks by Senators Symington and Fulbright, can you define for us the roles and the relative influence in the formulation of foreign policy of Secretary of State Rogers and of Dr. Kissinger?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, Mr. Horner, you have been around Washington even a little longer than I have, and, as I am sure you will agree, this game of trying to divide the President from his Secretary of State or to create a conflict between the Secretary of State and whoever happens to be the President's Adviser for National Security Affairs has been going on for as long as I can remember, and I understand it has been going on long before I got here.

I think that Senator Symington's attack upon the Secretary frankly was a cheap shot. I say that not in condemnation of him for making the statement, but I say it only because he knows the relationship between Secretary Rogers and me. He knows that Secretary Rogers is my oldest and closest friend in the Cabinet. I have known him for 24 years.

I not only respect his ability and take his advice in the field of foreign policy; I also ask his advice and often take it in many domestic concerns as well. He is the foreign policy adviser for the President. He is the chief foreign policy spokesman for the President. He participates in every

decision that is made by the President of the United States. He will continue to participate in those decisions.

Now, the role of Dr. Kissinger is a different one. He is the White House Adviser to the President. He covers not only foreign policy but national security policy, the coordination of those policies. He also gives me advice, just as Secretary Laird gives me advice, in matters of defense. I would say that I respect his advice as well.

As to whether either Secretary Rogers or Dr. Kissinger is the top adviser, as to who is on first, the answer to that, of course, is very simply that the Secretary of State is always the chief foreign policy adviser and the chief foreign policy spokesman of the Administration.

At the same time, the Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs does advise the President, and I value his advice very much.

U.S. TROOPS IN SOUTH VIETNAM

[5.] Q. Mr. President, there is some feeling in this city and perhaps around the country that you are trying to prepare the American people for the possibility that between 50,000 and 100,000 American troops will still have to be in South Vietnam by election time next year.

Is that true?

THE PRESIDENT. I really can't tell you what the feeling is in this city. I can tell you what my own plans are.

We are for a total withdrawal of all American forces on a mutual basis. As far as those forces are concerned, I have stated in this press conference that Gene Risher referred to a moment ago, I have stated, however, that as long as there are American POW's—and there are 1,600 Americans [1] in North Vietnam jails under very difficult circumstances at the present time—as long as there are American POW's in North Vietnam we will have to maintain a residual force in South Vietnam. That is the least that we can negotiate for.

As far as our goal is concerned, our goal is to get all Americans out of Vietnam as soon as we can, by negotiation, if possible, and through our withdrawal program and Vietnamization program, if necessary.

Now, as to when we will have them out, I will make the announcements in due time. I have another one coming in April, and I will be making other announcements. And I think the record will be a pretty good one when we have concluded.

U.S. AIR SUPPORT FOR SOUTH VIETNAMESE FORCES

[6.] Mr. Bailey [Charles W. Bailey 2d, Minneapolis Tribune and Minneapolis Star].

Q. Sir, in speaking of the potentialities of action against North Vietnam, you were talking on the third point about the possibility of American air support for a South Vietnamese attack. You said that no such plan is under consideration in this Government. Can you go any further than that, or is that all you wish to say about it?

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Bailey, I can say further that no such plan has ever been

[1] White House Press Secretary Ronald L. Ziegler later stated that the figure cited by the President referred to the total number of those who are either prisoners of war or missing in action in Southeast Asia.

suggested by President Thieu to us. None has been considered, and none is under consideration.

I am not going to go further than that, except to state what I did state in that press conference where you also were present again, that the test as to what the United States will do in North Vietnam, in any event, will always be not what happens to forces of South Vietnam, but it will be whether or not the President as Commander in Chief considers that North Vietnamese activities are endangering or may endanger the American forces as we continue to withdraw.

It is then and only then that I will use airpower against military complexes on the borders of North Vietnam.

TROOP WITHDRAWAL PROPOSAL

[7.] Q. Sir, if all of the North Vietnamese troops were to be withdrawn from South Vietnam, would we still insist that American troops could not be withdrawn until North Vietnamese troops also left Cambodia and Laos?

THE PRESIDENT. The proposal we have made, Mr. terHorst [J. F. terHorst, Detroit News, North American Newspaper Alliance], is, of course, for a Southeast Asia settlement, one in which the North Vietnamese troops—there are 40,000, approximately, as you know, in Cambodia, there are now approximately, by latest estimate, 90,000 to 100,000 in Laos and, of course, there are 100,000 or so in South Vietnam. It is a one-package situation.

As far as we are concerned, that is the proposal and that is the one that we will stick by in Paris.

CHINA POLICY

[8.] Q. In your foreign policy report, you invited better relations with Communist China, which is being interpreted in Taiwan, I believe, with a little bit of apprehension. Are you actually moving toward a two-China policy?

THE PRESIDENT. I understand the apprehension in Taiwan, but I believe that that apprehension, insofar as Taiwan's continued existence and as its continued membership in the United Nations, is not justified. You will also have noted that in my foreign policy report I said that we stood by our defense commitments to Taiwan; that Taiwan, which has a larger population than two-thirds of all of the United Nations, could not and would not be expelled from the United Nations as long as we had anything to say about it; and that as far as our attitude toward Communist China was concerned that that would be governed by Communist China's attitude toward us.

In other words, we would like to normalize relations with all nations in the world. There has, however, been no receptivity on the part of Communist China. But under no circumstances will we proceed with a policy of normalizing relations with Communist China if the cost of that policy is to expel Taiwan from the family of nations.

TROOP WITHDRAWAL GOALS

[9.] Mr. Lisagor [Peter Lisagor, Chicago Daily News].

Q. You said also in your foreign policy report that even if the North Vietnamese

negotiate seriously in Paris, there will be serious problems left in Laos and Cambodia, and that on the battlefield there would be some hard options to be made about deploying allied troops. Could you clarify those statements, because it suggests that we are going to be there a much longer time than your earlier answer did?

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Lisagor, our goal is a complete American withdrawal from Cambodia, Laos, and South Vietnam. As you know, that is the proposal I made on October 7 [1970]. I made it, however, on a mutual basis, that we would withdraw, but that the North Vietnamese would withdraw at the same time.

Now, as to what happens after we withdraw, we cannot guarantee that North and South Vietnam will not continue to be enemies. We cannot guarantee that there will not continue to be some kind of guerrilla activities in Laos or even in Cambodia. As far as our own goal is concerned, our proposal is clear, and we ask the enemy to consider it: a mutual withdrawal of forces, our forces and theirs. If that happens, we will be glad to withdraw, and then these other nations will have to see whether or not they can handle their own affairs.

EXECUTIVE PRIVILEGE

[10.] Mr. Theis [J. William Theis, Hearst Newspapers and Hearst Headline Service].

Q. Do you see any limit on the exercise of executive privilege?

THE PRESIDENT. The matter of executive privilege is one that—it always depends on which side you are on. I well recall—and, Mr. Theis, you were covering me at the time when I was a Member of the House—that I raised serious questions as a member of an investigating committee about the executive privilege that was at that time, looking back in retrospect, properly insisted upon by President Truman. And, as President, I believe that executive privilege is essential for the orderly processes of government.

Now, let me just point out, however, what it does not cover. I was very surprised to note the suggestion the Secretary of State was not available enough for testimony. I checked it out. Over the past 2 years, State Department officials have testified 499 times before the House and the Senate. The Secretary of State himself has testified personally 14 times in 1969 and 15 times in 1970. He has had 167 private meetings in addition to all that with individual Senators or in groups of Senators at the State Department or at his home. As a matter of fact, I don't know how he has had time to talk to me with all the time he is talking to the Congress.

U.S. ACTION AND THE OUTLOOK FOR THE FUTURE

[11.] Q. Mr. President, you said earlier that there will have to be a residual force staying in South Vietnam as long as the North Vietnamese continue to hold prisoners.

You have also said on previous occasions that you will not hesitate to take any strong action in order to protect whatever troops remain in South Vietnam, whatever of our troops remain in South Vietnam.

Does this, in effect, mean that despite your Vietnamization plan that you will have to have, in a sense, an indefinite commitment to South Vietnam with troops there indefinitely, determined only by Hanoi and their actions?

THE PRESIDENT. I would suggest that you ladies and gentlemen all have always pretty much underestimated what I am capable of doing in terms of withdrawing forces and so forth.

Let me just put it all in perspective, as I can. We have had a great deal of discussion about Laos at the last press conference, and I can see that it is still an interest here, and the question of Cambodia still troubles many of you.

I recall at the time that we went into Cambodia—and all of you out there looking on television will remember what I said—I said the purpose of our going into Cambodia was to cut American casualties and to ensure the success of our withdrawal program.

Many of the members of the press disagreed with me. They thought that was not an accurate description of what would happen. They were entitled to that view. Night after night, after I announced the decision to go into Cambodia, on television it was indicated that that decision would have the opposite effect: that it would increase American casualties and that it would mean that it would prolong the war.

Now we can look at it in retrospect. Casualties are one-half of what they were before Cambodia, and our withdrawal program has continued, and actually we were able to step it up some during the last of 1970.

In Laos, the purpose of the Laotian operation was the same as that of the Cambodian operation. This time no American ground forces, only American airpower.

I said then, and I repeat now, the purpose is not to expand the war into Laos; the purpose is to save American lives, to guarantee the continued withdrawal of our own forces, and to increase the ability of the South Vietnamese to defend themselves without our help, which means, of course, their ability to help our Vietnamization program and our own withdrawal program.

I realize that night after night for the past 3 weeks on television there is a drumbeat of suggestion, not from all but from some commentators. And I can understand why they disagree, from the same ones who said that Cambodia wouldn't work, that this isn't going to work.

Well, I had analyzed the thing very carefully when I made the decision. I have had reports all day today from General Abrams and, speaking today, I can say there is some hard fighting ahead, but the decision to go into Laos, I think, was the right decision. It will reduce American casualties. The 200,000 rounds of ammunition, the 2,000 heavy and light guns that have already been captured and destroyed, the 67 tanks that have been destroyed are not going to be killing Americans.

And, most significant, I checked the flow of supplies down the trails from the area in which the North Vietnamese and and the South Vietnamese are engaged. And General Abrams reports that there has been a 55 percent decrease in truck traffic south into South Vietnam, which means that those trucks that do not go south will not carry the arms and the men that will be killing Americans.

We can all, of course, here in a press conference—we can debate as to whether or not my view of it is right or the rest. I hope for the good of the country mine is, and if it is right, what you say now doesn't make any difference.

I am only suggesting while the jury is still out, remember the purpose of this, like the purpose of Cambodia, is to reduce

American forces, to reduce our casualties. And I should point out that that is exactly what this Administration has done. We have kept every promise that we have made. We have reduced our forces. We have reduced our casualties. We are going to continue to reduce our forces, and we are getting out of Vietnam in a way that Vietnam will be able to defend itself.

KIDNAPED U.S. AIRMEN IN TURKEY

[12.] Mr. Healy [Paul F. Healy, New York Daily News].

Q. Mr. President, terrorists in Turkey have kidnaped four of our fliers and are holding them for $400,000 ransom. Do you think the Turkish Government should negotiate with the terrorists and is there anything that you think we can or should do in a situation like this?

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Healy, we have had that situation with several other governments. And I would not suggest that the Turkish Government negotiate on this matter because I believe that is a decision that that Government must make, having in mind its own internal situation.

THE MIDDLE EAST

[13.] Mr. Semple [Robert B. Semple, Jr., New York Times].

Q. Mr. President, if I may turn to the Middle East just for a minute. The Arabs have reportedly agreed to sign a peace treaty with Israel in exchange for certain withdrawals by Israel from territory occupied in 1967. Is it not now time for the Israelis to make some concessions of their own, and will you be asking them publicly or privately to do so?

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Semple, as you well know, because you are sophisticated in this area, the question there is whether or not the United States will impose a settlement in the Mideast, and the answer is no. We will do everything that we can to urge the parties to talk. And, incidentally, when we talk about the problems in the Mideast, let it not go unnoted that we have made some progress. There was 4 years of fighting up until August of last year, and for 7 months no guns have fired in the Mideast. That is progress of a kind.

We hope that the cease-fire either by agreement or de facto will be extended. We hope that the Israelis and the Egyptians and, for that matter, the Jordanians will continue some kind of discussion. As far as imposing a settlement, however, we can only say that we can make suggestions, but we are going to have to depend upon the parties concerned to reach an agreement.

We, of course, will be there to see that the balance of power is maintained in the Mideast—which we will continue to do—because if that balance changes that could bring on war. And also we are prepared, as I have indicated, to join other major powers including the Soviet Union in guaranteeing any settlement that is made, which would give Israel the security of its borders that it might not get through geographical acquisition.

COMMUNIST CHINA AND THE U.N.

[14.] Q. May I ask you, sir, when you said earlier about Communist China—at least you were not perfectly clear about your position on Communist China, about seating in the United Nations. Somebody asked you if you would favor a two-China policy, but you were not completely clear about that. Could you say, sir, if Taiwan maintained its position on the Security

Council, if it maintained its position in the United Nations, if you would favor seating Communist China?

THE PRESIDENT. That is a moot question at this time, because Communist China or the People's Republic of China, which I understand stirred up people in Taiwan—because that is the official name of the country—but Communist China refuses even to discuss the matter. Therefore, it would not be appropriate for me to suggest what we might agree to when Communist China takes the position that they will have no discussion whatever until Taiwan gets out. And we will not start with that kind of a proposition.

STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION TALKS

[15.] Mr. Warren [Lucian C. Warren, Buffalo Evening News].

Q. Mr. President, a few months back, you were quite optimistic about the successful conclusion of SALT talks. Are you less optimistic now?

THE PRESIDENT. I am just as optimistic now as I was then about the eventual success. As you will note from our world policy report, the two great super powers now have nuclear parity. Neither can gain an advantage over the other if the other desires to see to it that that does not occur. Now, under these circumstances, therefore, it is in the interest of both powers to negotiate some kind of limitation, limitation on offensive and defensive weapons. We will be stating a position on that on March 15 when the new talks begin in Vienna. As far as when an agreement is reached, I will not indicate optimism or pessimism. As far as the eventuality of an agreement, my belief is that the seriousness of the talks, the fact that there are great forces, the danger of war, the escalating costs, and the fact that neither power can gain an advantage over the others, I think that this means that there will be an agreement eventually between the United States and the Soviet Union.

Yes, sir.

Q. On both offensive and defensive weapons?

THE PRESIDENT. I should add that I know that the suggestion has been made that we might negotiate a separate agreement on defensive weapons alone. We reject that proposal. We will negotiate an agreement that is not comprehensive, but it must include offensive as well as defensive weapons, some mix.

TROOP WITHDRAWAL SCHEDULE

[16.] Mr. Kaplow [Herbert Kaplow, NBC News].

Q. Mr. President, I would like to go back for a moment to your first answer in which you said that what has happened in Laos has already assured more troop withdrawals.

Were you saying that on the basis of what you obviously consider a success in the Laotian operation will allow you to withdraw American troops at at least the present rate, twelve and a half thousand men a month for 12 months?

THE PRESIDENT. What I am saying, Mr. Kaplow, is that our troop withdrawal schedule will go forward at least at the present rate. It will go forward for at least the present rate.

And when I make the announcement in April, that, of course, will cover several months in advance. More important, however, is the troop withdrawal schedule for next year because, as you will note in my foreign policy report, at least the oral report I made, I pointed out that the

Laotian operation this year would save American lives, save American lives by destroying or capturing equipment that otherwise might move into I Corps where a number of Americans are located. And that next year it would serve to guarantee the continued success of our withdrawal program.

The more that the disruption of the complex of trails leading from North Vietnam to South Vietnam occurs in the operation now being conducted on the ground by the South Vietnamese in southern Laos—the more that that occurs, the more successful that it is, the greater the possibility that the United States may be able to increase the rate of its troop withdrawal.

I am not prepared to make that decision yet, but we can say at this time the troop withdrawal will continue at its present level. I can say, incidentally, that even since the Laotian operation began, with all the news, 10,000 Americans have come home in this period.

MR. CORMIER. Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: President Nixon's fourteenth news conference was held at 9 p.m. in the East Room at the White House on Thursday, March 14, 1971. It was broadcast live on radio and television.

89 Special Message to the Congress on Special Revenue Sharing for Urban Community Development. *March* 5, 1971

To the Congress of the United States:

As the size of Federal programs for renewing our cities has grown in recent years, so has the evidence of their basic defects. Plagued by delay and duplication, by waste and rigidity, by inconsistency and irrationality, Federal grant-in-aid programs for urban development have simply not achieved the purposes for which they were established. Sometimes, they have even worked to complicate and extend the very problems they were designed to remedy.

The time has come for us to stop merely giving more money to these programs and to begin giving more thought to them. That is why I am proposing today two new instruments for renewing and rebuilding our cities. One is a new plan of Special Revenue Sharing for Urban Community Development. The other is a new program of Planning and Management Assistance for State and local governments which will benefit both urban and rural areas.

GROWING NEEDS AND GROWING EXPENDITURES

The Federal Government's first significant involvement in community development came with the passage of the Housing Act of 1949, which established as a national goal the realization of "a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family. . . ." We were already a nation of cities when that legislation was passed. In the two decades since that time we have become even more highly urbanized.

In 1950, some 56 percent of our population lived in metropolitan areas; today the comparable figure is almost 69 percent. The recent Census shows that three-

fourths of our population growth in the last ten years came in metropolitan areas, especially in the suburbs which grew by more than 25 percent.

This concentration of population growth in already crowded areas is not a trend that we wish to perpetuate. This administration would prefer a more balanced growth pattern—and we are taking a number of steps to encourage more development and settlement in the less densely populated areas of our country. But this does not mean that we will avoid or slight the challenge of the cities and the suburbs. This is a highly metropolitan nation. It must have an effective strategy for meeting metropolitan problems.

As those problems have mounted in recent years we have often responded by creating more programs and by spending more money. Since 1949, we have committed more than $10 billion to those urban development programs which I would consolidate into this Special Revenue Sharing Program. We will commit almost three times as much money to these programs this year as we did six years ago. While a number of good things have been accomplished with this money, the returns have still fallen far short of even the most reasonable expectations.

On every hand we see the results of this failure: a sorely inadequate supply of housing and community facilities, vast wastelands of vacant and decaying buildings, acre upon acre of valuable urban renewal land lying empty and fallow, and an estimated 24 million Americans still living in substandard housing. Many of our central cities—once symbols of vitality and opportunity—have now become places of disillusion and decay. As many suburban neighborhoods have grown older, they, too, have begun to deteriorate and to take on the problems of the central cities. Even some of the newest suburban "subdivisions," planned and developed in a shortsighted, haphazard manner, are not prepared to provide essential public services to their growing populations. They are already on their way to becoming the slums of tomorrow.

It is a sad and ironic fact that even as America has become a more highly urbanized nation, its cities have become less attractive and their governments less able to deal with their problems. Federal assistance has failed to reverse these trends and frequently it has compounded them.

Problems With the Present System

Just what is it that is wrong with our present system of Federal aid? There are two basic problems. First, Federal assistance is excessively fragmented—it is channeled through many separate and independent grant programs. Second, spending under each of these programs is excessively controlled at the Federal level.

1. *Fragmentation.* The present system of categorical grants-in-aid has grown up over the years by bits and by pieces. As each new goal or concern was articulated, new categorical programs were set up. Conventional urban renewal was begun in 1949 to help acquire and clear land in deteriorating areas and plan for its development. Other specialized urban renewal programs followed which focused on the demolition of unsafe structures, on making interim repairs in neighborhoods which were scheduled for renewal, and on helping localities enforce their own housing codes. In 1968 a new Neighborhood Development Program was established for funding urban renewal projects on a year-

by-year basis rather than through commitments extending many years into the future.

Other programs were also created over the years for a variety of other purposes, including the rehabilitation of private buildings and the construction of water and sewer facilities and other public works. The tangle of separate Federal programs became so frustrating that when a new Model Cities program was added in 1966, it was expressly designed to provide general, flexible support for coordinated development programs, though only in a limited number of targeted areas.

The proliferation of separate grant programs has created a difficult situation for local governments that wish to utilize Federal development money. For each community must now make a series of separate applications to a series of Federal officials for a series of separate grants, each of which must be spent for a stipulated purpose—and for nothing else. Ideally, all of these grants should fit into a single comprehensive development program, tailored to each community's particular needs. But it is extremely difficult for any community to create an overall strategy for development when each element in that strategy must be negotiated separately by officials who cannot be sure about the outcome of all the other negotiations.

To make things even worse, some of these Federal programs require local communities to work through semi-autonomous local officials—often bypassing the elected local leaders. Thus, even if one leader, a mayor, for example, *does* manage to create a comprehensive development plan for the money he controls, he is often unable to include in his plan that Federal assistance which goes directly to an urban renewal agency or a local sanitary district. Often, mayors are unable even to calculate the overall level of Federal development aid that is coming into their communities.

These categorical programs, in other words, are separated not only on the giving end in Washington, but also on the receiving end in the local community. And there is no one, anywhere, who can plan so that all the various parts will fit into a comprehensive whole.

The fragmentation which afflicts the planning process continues after the grants are made. Each program is surrounded by its own wall of regulations and restrictions and coordination between programs is often very difficult. Sometimes programs work at cross-purposes and sometimes they needlessly duplicate one another. For example, the Federal Government, working through two different agencies, has been known to fund two different local authorities to build two sewer systems to serve the *same* neighborhood.

The inflexibility of the present system often means that money cannot be used where the need for money is greatest. If a city suddenly finds that it must put in new street lights, it cannot use funds that are earmarked for demolition or rehabilitation. Geographic restrictions are also a problem. Money for an urban renewal project which has been approved for one carefully defined neighborhood, for example, cannot be used at a closely related site just across the street, if that street happens to be the boundary of the renewal area.

The result of these fragmented and inflexible grant programs has been a highly irrational pattern of development in many urban communities. Rather than focusing

and concentrating resources in a coordinated assault on a common problem, the categorical grant system works to divide and scatter those resources and severely to diminish their impact.

2. *Federal Control.* The first major problem, fragmentation, concerns what happens *among* various grant programs. The second major problem concerns what happens *within* each program as a result of excessive Federal control.

Almost all of our present development grant programs require a local community to file an extensive application with Federal authorities who, if they approve the plan, will then pay out available money on a project-by-project basis. Because competition between localities for limited Federal dollars is most intense, local officials are highly motivated to meet both the formal requirements and the informal preferences of Federal officials as they file their applications. And since Federal monitoring often continues after the funds are approved, local decisions inevitably continue to reflect Federal viewpoints.

But what is gained by these requirements? There is simply no good reason why a Federal official should have to approve in advance a local community's decision about the shape a new building will have or where a new street will run or on what corner it will put a new gas station. Yet that is precisely the kind of matter that now must be reviewed at the Federal level. In one case, in fact, the Federal reviewer actually turned down a grant application because the architect had included an eight-sided building in his design and the Federal regulations did not specifically allow for funding octagonal buildings.

Decisions about the development of a local community should reflect local preferences and meet local needs. No group of remote Federal officials—however talented and sincere—can effectively tailor each local program to the wide variety of local conditions which exists in this highly diversified land. The only way that can be done is by bringing more tailors into the act, tailors who are elected to make sure that the suit fits the customer.

While little is gained by inordinate Federal involvement; a great deal can be lost. Excessive Federal influence can work to limit the variety and diversity of development programs—which means that the opportunity to experiment with new techniques and to learn from a wide range of experiences is also limited. Because little decisions tend to drive out bigger ones, the present arrangements give the Federal Government less opportunity to focus on the questions it can answer best. And even under the best of circumstances, excessive Federal control results in massive inefficiency and intolerable delays.

I looked recently at some of the applications that communities have submitted for certain urban development funds. One of them was two and a half feet high. I am told that Federal participation in any given urban renewal project now involves almost 300 separate procedural steps. No wonder it now takes an average of three years for an urban renewal plan to be developed and accepted and an average of ten years before a project is completed.

One result of such delays is a particularly troubling urban problem which is known as "planner's blight." It often sets in between the time a Federal renewal project is announced and the time it is actually started. During this interval, a neighborhood frequently stagnates. Since they have been marked for eventual destruction, streets and parks and buildings

are allowed to fall into disrepair. Residents and businesses move away and no one moves in to replace them. As the quality of life declines in one area, surrounding neighborhoods—which have not been marked for renewal—can also be adversely affected. Thus a program which was set up to cure a problem, can actually work to make that problem worse, particularly for the poorer residents of the neighborhood who are often unable to receive relocation assistance until the project actually begins.

"Planner's blight" is one dramatic result of Federal red tape. But there are many other costs as well. Instead of focusing their time and their resources and their talents on meeting local needs, city officials must concentrate on pleasing Washington. They must learn to play a terrible game called "grantsmanship," in which the winners are those who understand the rules and intricacies of the Federal bureaucracy rather than those who understand the problem that needs to be solved. Many local governments now feel they must hire experts who have specialized in grantsmanship to carry on their dealings with Washington. Additional distortions in local efforts occur when local resources are diverted from higher priority programs in order to provide the matching funds which are needed to qualify for many Federal grants.

Deprived of the freedom and the tools to undertake broad programs of renewal and development in their jurisdictions, local officials grow more and more frustrated. And so do local voters who too often find that the official who is most accessible to them can escape from their complaints by saying, "We had to do it this way to qualify for Federal money."

Two Traps To Avoid

Clearly we can do better than this—indeed, we must do better if our cities are to be revived. But our search for a better answer will never be successful unless we avoid two temptations which have trapped us in the past.

The first is the temptation to try to force progress with money. If only we appropriate more funds, we are often told, then everything will be all right. How long will it take us to learn the danger of such thinking? More money will never compensate for ineffective programs. The question we must ask is not "how much?" but "how?"—and the answer to that question lies not in the quantity of our resources, but in the quality of our thinking.

The second trap we must avoid is that of confusing national interest with Federal control. We have too easily assumed that because the Federal Government has a stake in meeting a certain problem and because it wants to play a role in attacking that problem, it therefore must direct all the details of the attack. The genius of the Federal system is that it offers a way of combining local energy and local adaptability with national resources and national goals. We should take full advantage of that capacity as we address the urban challenge.

How the New Program Would Operate

The $5 billion program for General Revenue Sharing which I proposed to the Congress on February 4th was designed to give greater resources to hard-pressed States and localities. But a lack of re-

sources is only one of the deficiencies from which State and local governments now suffer. They also lack the opportunity to exercise sufficient responsibility in meeting social needs. As a further step in revitalizing State and local governments, I am therefore recommending a series of six Special Revenue Sharing programs under which the National Government would set certain general goals while programmatic decisions would be made at the State and local level. I have already sent two such proposals to the Congress—in the fields of law enforcement and manpower training.

My third Special Revenue Sharing proposal is for urban community development. I recommend that four categorical grant programs now administered by the Department of Housing and Urban Development be consolidated into a single fund. The size of this fund in the first full year of operation would be $2 billion. Cities would be able to spend their money as they see fit, provided only that they used it for community development purposes.

The four elements which would be combined to form this new fund would be the current programs for urban renewal, Model Cities, water and sewer grants, and loans for the rehabilitation of existing structures. The urban renewal program, in turn, now contains several subcategories which money will become part of the new fund, including so-called "conventional" urban renewal, the Neighborhood Development Program, assistance for concentrated local code enforcement, interim assistance for blighted neighborhoods, demolition grants and rehabilitation grants. I am proposing that this new program begin on January 1, 1972. In its second year of operation, I would add to this fund by including the money which the Office of Economic Opportunity now spends on some of the elements of its Community Action Programs.

Distributing the Funds

How would the money be distributed? Because these funds are designed to achieve the specific purpose of urban development, most of the money would be sent to the metropolitan areas of our nation where the vast majority of Americans live and work. Eighty percent of this Special Revenue Sharing fund would be assigned for use in Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas. The Office of Management and Budget defines a Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area as an area which contains a central city or cities with an aggregate population of 50,000 or more and those surrounding counties which have a metropolitan character and are socially and economically integrated with the central city. There are 247 such areas in the United States at the present time.

The money assigned to Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas—eighty percent of the total fund—would be allocated among the SMSA's according to a strict formula which would be written into the law so that each SMSA would be assured in advance of its fair share. The central cities and other cities in each SMSA with a population of more than 50,000 would, in turn, automatically receive a stable annual share of the SMSA's funds—again, according to the same objective formula.

In each Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area, some balance would remain after the major communities had received their formula share. In the initial years, this balance would be used by the Department of Housing and Urban Develop-

ment to compensate any major city in that metropolitan area which received less from the formula allocation than it received annually from the old categorical grant programs over the past few years. Thus, all of these cities would be "held harmless" against reductions in the total urban development support they receive from Washington. None would be hurt—and many would receive more assistance than they do at present.

This administration also recognizes the needs of the growing and changing suburban and smaller communities—with populations under 50,000—within metropolitan areas. After the formula allocation and "hold harmless" commitments have been honored within each Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area, the remaining balance would be available to assist such smaller units, as well as counties, and to encourage areawide developmental cooperation.

The formula according to which the funds would be distributed among the Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas and among the cities within them would be "problem oriented"—so that the money would be channeled into the cities which need it most. The formula would take into account the number of people who live in an area or a city, the degree of overcrowding there, the condition of its housing units, and the proportion of its families whose income is below the poverty level.

The remaining twenty percent of the Special Revenue Sharing fund for Urban Community Development—the part that did not go by formula to the Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas—would be available to the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development to distribute. Much of this money would be used during the transitional period to help hold communities harmless against reductions in the overall level of their urban development support. These funds would also be used to encourage state involvement in urban community development, to perform research, to demonstrate new techniques and to aid localities with special needs and with special opportunities to implement national growth policy.

Spending the Funds

How would cities use this money? For community development purposes—which could include investments in both physical and human resources. All of the activities which are eligible for support under the present urban development categorical grants would be eligible for support from the new Special Revenue Sharing fund which would take their place. Cities could thus use their allocations to acquire, clear and renew blighted areas, to construct public works such as water and sewer facilities, to build streets and malls, to enforce housing codes in deteriorating areas, to rehabilitate residential properties, to fund demolition projects, and to help relocate those who have been displaced from their homes or businesses by any activities which drew on these urban community development special revenue sharing funds. They could also fund a range of human resource activities including those now funded by Model Cities and Community Action programs.

Just which of these activities would be supported and what proportion of available funds would be channeled into each activity are decisions that would be made locally. No Federal approval would be required. Cities would simply be asked to indicate how they plan to use their funds

and to report periodically on how the money was expended. This requirement is included merely to insure that funds would be used for eligible activities.

As is the case with all other revenue sharing programs, there could be no discrimination in the use of these funds. The rights of all persons to equitable treatment would be protected. Any monies expended under this program would be considered as Federal financial assistance within the meaning of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

The Transition Process

The Department of Housing and Urban Development has already taken a number of steps designed to achieve more coordination among grant programs and greater decentralization on decisionmaking within the present structure of categorical grants. For example, the Department has been encouraging cities to create total community development strategies and has been working to fit categorical aids into such strategies wherever possible. It has also delegated substantial authority to its own regional and area offices. Such efforts are helping to lay a foundation for Special Revenue Sharing and all of them will continue.

One of the most important existing stepping stones to revenue sharing is the Model Cities program which was designed to provide a local community with flexible funding and sufficient freedom so that it can coordinate a wide variety of development programs in a given target area. The Model Cities idea grew out of a mounting frustration with traditional categorical grants. Ideally, it embodies—on a limited basis—the principles we are trying to extend to all development aid through Special Revenue Sharing.

Even in the Model Cities program, however, the ideal has not yet been fully realized. The program is still limited in scope and it still suffers from certain restrictions—the need to negotiate projects with Washington, for example, and the fact that some programs are still limited to certain neighborhoods. The Department of Housing and Urban Development has worked to minimize these limitations and it will continue to do so. At the same time, I hope that the Congress will enact this Special Revenue Sharing program and thus complete the work which began when the Model Cities program was set up five years ago.

I would emphasize that there will be no lessening of Federal support for urban development activities between now and January 1, 1972, the proposed starting date for the new program. Our problems will not take "time out" and neither can our efforts to deal with them. Where long-range commitments have been made to fund urban renewal projects, those commitments will be honored. Amendatories—supplementary pledges which cover cost increases in urban renewal projects—will also continue to be funded. We will, however, discourage applications for new conventional urban renewal projects—since they would tie up future funds today which would mean cash through Special Revenue Sharing in future years. Instead, we will prepare for Special Revenue Sharing by placing greater emphasis in all programs on annual incremental funding—of the sort that is now used in Neighborhood Development Programs.

Similarly, all other affected programs

will continue to be funded until the new program comes into effect. This includes our Model Cities and Community Action commitments. As soon as the starting date for Special Revenue Sharing is established by the Congress, this administration will work out transition arrangements, so that there will be neither a funding gap nor a period of double funding.

What This Program Will—And Will Not—Do

Special Revenue Sharing for Urban Community Development offers a precise and direct solution to the problems which now afflict our system of urban aid. Unlike fragmented and rigid categorical grants, this new plan would allow local leaders to marshal Federal and local dollars according to a simple, comprehensive plan which could be rationally formulated and then intelligently adjusted as conditions change. And—unlike the present system of Federal approval for local project grants—Special Revenue Sharing would give the responsibility for making local decisions back to local officials who can make them best. It is this feature which distinguishes Special Revenue Sharing from the so-called "block grant" which also consolidates categorical grants into a single fund but which retains the Federal approval process and the concomitant disadvantages of excessive Federal control.

Instead of spending their time trying to please Federal officials in Washington—so that money will continue to flow—local leaders would be able to concentrate on pleasing the people who live in their city—so that the money would do more good. A great deal of red tape would be eliminated at both the local and the Federal level—and with it a great deal of waste and delay.

The merger of several categorical programs into a single development fund would enhance the authority and capacity of local officials. It would also serve as a means to dramatize the overall share of national resources which are allocated to this process. The concern of Federal officials and the Congress would no longer be with the details of local projects but with the general place of urban development among our national priorities.

For a variety of reasons, local governments would find that they are better off financially under Special Revenue Sharing than they were before. In the first place, the new plan would provide cities with a level of urban development funding which is at least comparable to that which they have now. In addition, it would contain some extra money which would allow many communities to improve their position. In future years, the overall program could reasonably be expected to grow.

General Revenue Sharing, of course, would provide still more new dollars for these local governments. In addition, cities would get back their discretionary power over the money they were previously spending on matching funds. Because they would not have to prepare and follow up on immense applications and detailed reports for Washington, local governments would save a considerable administrative expense. And, to the degree that they used their new freedom to make wiser spending decisions, they would find that their new Special Revenue Sharing dollars would go further than did their old grants-in-aid.

One point that should be very clearly

understood is that *no* program currently funded by categorical grants need be discontinued under the new arrangement. Every community would have the capacity to maintain—and many would have the capacity to expand—any of these current programs. The suggestion that Model Cities programs, for example, would be terminated is extremely misleading. That would happen only if a locality made a deliberate decision that it wanted to terminate the program, something it is free to do right now. Since existing Model Cities programs require local governments to take the initiative in applying for participation, there is little reason to think that many cities would be motivated to dismantle their Model Cities projects under Special Revenue Sharing—unless they were fairly certain they could use the development money more effectively somewhere else.

Similarly, there is little reason to fear that the problems of impoverished areas would somehow be neglected under this plan. The political leverage of those who live in poverty areas has increasingly been focused on local governments in recent years—and it often has greater impact in such places than when it is diluted at the national level.

Strengthening the Federal System

This Special Revenue Sharing program is built upon a fundamental faith in the inherent capacity of local governments to govern well—if they are given sufficient resources and sufficient responsibility.

Some will argue against such a program by contending that a number of State and local officials will prove to be unresponsive or irresponsible. But this is no reason to reject revenue sharing. Whenever one is dealing with thousands of local officials, there is always a danger that some will prove to be less worthy of one's confidence than others. That is always the risk of moving toward greater freedom—it necessarily becomes more difficult for any one authority to guarantee how the many will behave.

The question is *not* whether revenue sharing is a foolproof way to avoid bad decisions. No system can do that. The question is whether—on balance—revenue sharing is more likely or less likely to produce *good* decisions than our present system of grants-in-aid.

The question is not whether there are risks in this program. Of course there are. The question is whether the rewards outweigh those risks.

I have already presented a number of reasons why I believe the potential rewards of revenue sharing are considerable. It should also be emphasized, however, that the risks are really very small. The Model Cities program has both demonstrated and enhanced the growing capacity of local leaders to deal skillfully with developmental questions. Moreover, those who talk about the risks of revenue sharing often forget that revenue sharing will *itself* do a great deal to strengthen and improve State and local government. *That is why I so strongly believe that those who are most concerned about the shortcomings of State and local governments ought to be most enthusiastic about a strong Federal revenue sharing program.*

In many fields today, State and local officials are often forced to function as wards of the Federal Government. Often,

they are treated as children who are given a meager allowance, told precisely how to spend it, and then scolded for not being self-reliant enough to handle more responsibility. If we want State and local government to survive, then we must break into this vicious cycle.

The best way to develop greater responsibility at the State and local level is to give greater responsibility to State and local leaders. Only then can we reward and strengthen the many leaders who are effective and help the public to identify and to replace the few who are not. If we want to get more good people into government, then we must give them more opportunity to do good things. To do otherwise, to continue with programs that assign to appointed Federal bureaucrats decisions that should be made by elected local leaders, will only serve to compound the danger of governmental atrophy at the State and local level.

A New Planning and Management Program

To strengthen State and local capacities even further, I am presenting a second proposal today, one that would do a great deal to help *all* of our revenue sharing proposals work even better. I am asking the Congress to authorize a new program of Planning and Management Assistance to States, to areawide agencies and to localities. Under this program, $100 million would be available for these purposes.

The new program would involve more money, and would provide recipient governments with broader and more flexible support for building up their capacity to govern effectively. It would be focused primarily on the chief executives of State and local general purpose governments—on governors, mayors and county executives—to enhance their ability to make well informed policy decisions, to lay intelligent long range plans, to allocate their budgetary resources wisely, and to coordinate complex development activities in many fields. It will place new emphasis on the creation of a comprehensive management process, one that ties together planning and action, not just in the community development field, but in fields such as transportation, education, law enforcement and all other fields of local and areawide governmental endeavor. Local officials would have a great deal of discretion in determining just how this planning and management assistance would be utilized.

Special Revenue Sharing itself can do a great deal to liberate local governments so that their planning and their programs can become more imaginative and more effective. A new program of planning and management assistance would help States and local officials take full advantage of this opportunity. It is a significant companion proposal to *all* of our revenue sharing initiatives.

Conclusion

For a variety of reasons, then, we can be confident that the States and localities will prove equal to their revenue sharing responsibilities. But as we consider these programs, we should also remember one more thing. To choose the revenue sharing mechanism is not to choose any *one* level of government over *another* level

71-234—72——29

of government. In supporting revenue sharing we are not deciding *against* the Federal Government, but *for* the Federal system.

That system is one which has served our country well for nearly two centuries, allowing us to combine national unity and regional diversity, to balance our common ideals with our highly varied ways of pursuing them, to solve the ancient philosophical challenge of reconciling the many and the one.

But the Federal system does not work automatically. Like democracy itself, it lives only because those who work within it are committed to its success. It is now for us to decide whether the Federal system will decay or flourish in our time.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
March 5, 1971

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released a fact sheet and the transcript of a news briefing on the message by George W. Romney, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development.

On April 6, 1971, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing by Edwin L. Harper, Special Assistant to the President, on the hold harmless base line figures for States and localities under special revenue sharing, and a fact sheet on the figures for urban community development special revenue sharing.

90 Memorandum About Training Programs for Federal Employees. *March* 8, 1971

Memorandum for Heads of Executive Departments and Agencies:

SUBJECT: Federal Executive Career Development Using Long-Term Training Programs

In the years ahead, the challenges confronting the executive branch of Government will demand very highly qualified men and women. The tasks before us require the fullest possible development of the talents of individuals now employed throughout the executive agencies and departments.

The Civil Service Commission is acting to improve existing training programs, to redefine our goals in the field of education for people who have proven executive ability, and to build new and innovative programs in response to current and future needs. The Division of Executive Development and Labor Relations in the Office of Management and Budget will be working with the Commission in a joint effort to provide the best possible means for preparing executives in the Federal Government for positions of greater responsibility.

In the unremitting effort to use our fiscal resources as effectively as possible, it would be easy but unwise to overlook the need to provide now for well prepared leadership in the years to come. Expenditures for executive development programs made at the present time are a necessary and justifiable investment in our Nation's future. Their importance is no less than that of other current requirements.

A training program called "Education for Public Management" is a central element in the Federal executive development effort. It is essentially a continuation of earlier activities, and it seeks to provide promising administrators with a concen-

trated educational experience through an academic year away from the job. This type of long-term training program at universities encourages a valuable exchange of insights between faculty members and Federal officials, helping both to achieve a better understanding of the problems of governing.

I ask you to search carefully for strong candidates, and to continue nominating them for participation in "Education for Public Management" and other long-term training programs administered by the Civil Service Commission.

RICHARD NIXON

91 Remarks on Signing a Special Message to the Congress on Special Revenue Sharing for Rural Community Development. *March* 10, 1971

Ladies and gentlemen:

We want to welcome you all to the Roosevelt Room for this signing ceremony. I have had the opportunity of meeting each of you individually, and I think the members of the press will be interested to know that perhaps there has never been gathered in one room in the White House a group of people more representative of one of the great sources of power in this country, economic power, than is gathered here now. Because we have here representatives of the agricultural community, those who are the most productive of all of America's economy, those who represent the rural heartland of this country.

And it is, therefore, very appropriate that this signing ceremony of the rural development special revenue sharing program occur in their presence. Because for the first time a national administration now takes an initiative in an area which has been forgotten, too often forgotten, forgotten in the sense that as we look at rural America, as we recognize the productivity of American agriculture, we realize that this is one area where we are first in the world and will remain first in the world because every year our farmers become more and more productive.

As they become more and more productive, however, rural America, where our farmers live, has become less and less a place that attracts people, people who will create the kind of life which will be meaningful for the years ahead in that part of the Nation.

And these new initiatives in which we will add approximately 35 percent to the funds previously granted to this part of the country will mean that the people who live in rural America, out through the great heartland of this country, now will have those programs, those programs that will attract the industry, the infrastructure, and everything else that is essential to provide the quality of life that the rural America, the farmers of America, agriculture of America, really deserves.

This new initiative I consider to be one of the most important. It is not the largest program. It is not the largest; but in terms of the amount of increase, it is the largest increase of any of the special revenue sharing programs.

That does not mean that we are putting less stress on the problems of cities, less

stress on the problems of transportation, or the other areas. But it does mean that this is an area that is behind. This is an area in which we need to catch up and that is why we are putting more money, a greater portion of money, into rural America than we have previously.

And in signing this particular message, we certainly hope that we will have the backing of the agricultural community in getting its passage by the Congress of the United States.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10 a.m. in the Roosevelt Room at the White House.

92 Special Message to the Congress on Special Revenue Sharing for Rural Community Development. *March* 10, 1971

To the Congress of the United States:

I am today proposing a new program of Rural Community Development through revenue sharing—the fourth of my six Special Revenue Sharing proposals. I have spoken of revenue sharing as a new partnership between the Federal Government and the State and local governments within our Federal system. The proposal I am advancing today would use that essential government partnership to strengthen an equally essential social and economic partnership between rural America, where the farms that feed us and the great open spaces that renew our spirit are found, and urban America, where the majority of our people and the greater share of our wealth are concentrated. Rural Americans deserve a full share in the Nation's prosperity and growth, just as urban Americans deserve cities that are livable and alive. Both objectives are attainable—and rural development revenue sharing, linked to urban development revenue sharing by the comprehensive planning proposal also put forward in this message, could be a giant step toward them.

Rural America in Transition

Rural America begins with farm America. Agriculture was America's first industry, and it remains one of the keystones of our national economy today. It has made Americans the best-fed people in history, and now exports the produce of one-fourth of its acreage to help feed the world. American farmers have led all sectors of the economy in annual increases in productivity for most of the years in this century. This Nation's farms are among our most efficient producers, and they are of central importance to a strong future for rural America.

Yet, there is sharp irony in this success. Ever more fruitful, American agriculture has required fewer people every year to produce food and fibers for our people, and to supply the expanding export market for our commodities abroad.

Hence the departure of people from the farms began to swell as farming grew more mechanized, efficient, and large-scale. Americans living on farms numbered more than 30,000,000 in 1940; today that figure is only about 10,000,000.

Once the farm people had left their homes—often the homes of generations in their families—the opportunities often did not exist in rural America to keep them close to those roots. While some jobs began to open up in agricultural service, supply, and processing enterprises, usually known as "agri-business," the number of openings was not nearly enough to match the number of people cast adrift by technological progress.

Migration began toward where people thought opportunities existed—the cities. Not only were there more jobs in the cities, but they paid more. For most decades in this century, the gap between median income in the cities and that in non-metropolitan areas has been wide. Even though income gains outside the metropolis have been almost half again as great as those in the cities during the last decade, median family income in non-metropolitan areas is still 22 percent below that in metropolitan areas.

While the people who have been leaving rural America by the millions have often improved their own and their families' situations by leaving, the trend they represent has had several disturbing effects.

First, in rural America itself, the loss in human resources has compounded the problems of diversifying the economy and fostering a vigorous and progressive community life. Those who have chosen to stay have found it harder and harder to pay for and provide services such as good schools, health facilities, transportation systems, and other infrastructure attractive enough to keep people *in* rural America, or to lure jobs and opportunity *to* rural America. Many of the small towns which dot the countryside have to struggle for existence; they often have difficulty attracting good school teachers or physicians; many fight stagnation while most of the economy is expanding; they cannot give the older, the disadvantaged, the less educated people needed assistance and care.

The Urban Stake in Rural Development

At the same time the urban effects of migration have been profound. While the explosive growth in the proportion of Americans living in cities has not been fed solely by the influx of people from rural America—immigration from other countries has also been massive—the millions who have moved from the South and the Midwest to the North and the West have been a major factor in making a nation that was 75 percent rural a century ago, 73 percent urban today.

Many of these people pouring into the cities in search of opportunity have experienced difficulties in adapting to urban life and have required supportive services. Some made the transition successfully—but others have remained tax users rather than taxpayers.

Furthermore, the very size and density of many of our largest cities has produced new problems: whereas in the most rural areas it is hard to achieve economies of scale in public activities, the most heavily urban areas have grown far past the size range in which a community can function most economically. It often costs far more per capita to provide essential services, such as police protection, sanitation collection, and public transportation in our dense urban areas than in less congested smaller and medium-sized cities. Many of

our cities have, in short, become inefficient and less and less governable. At times, this has led to near-paralysis of public services in our largest cities. Current trends indicate that unless there is a marked shift in public and private attitudes, the increase of population in and around our great metropolitan centers will continue, and the problems of urban management will be further aggravated.

In addition, by even conservative estimates, there will be some 75 million additional Americans by the end of the twentieth century. Whether this growth is beneficial or burdensome depends on our foresight in planning and preparing for it—a process that must begin now and must take a broader view than merely feeding the expansion of the megalopolis.

As never before, the Nation is beginning to see that urban America has a vital stake in the well-being and progress of rural America. This is one Nation, and for the good of all Americans we need one national policy of balanced growth.

Federal Resources for Rural Development

For the sake of balanced growth, therefore, but even more for the sake of the farmer and all his neighbors in rural America—first-class citizens who deserve to live in first-class communities—I am proposing that the Federal Government *re-think* America's rural development needs and *rededicate* itself to providing the resources and the creative leadership those needs demand.

It takes many different kinds of activities to create rural development—to create opportunity. One must start with the individual—his education, his skill training, and his health. Next the individual needs to be linked to resources and markets through transportation. Public sector infrastructure such as water and sewers is needed to encourage industry to locate in new areas. The environment is also becoming an increasingly important factor in industrial locations.

Essentially what I am proposing is to unite the funding for a number of programs operating directly in rural areas and smaller cities into a Rural Community Development Revenue Sharing Program, to add $179 million to that fund, and then to bolster this effort with new initiatives in critically related areas, such as health and welfare reform.

The following chart shows the programs which I propose to combine into the Rural Development Revenue Sharing Program:

Programs Combined Under Rural Development Revenue Sharing

GENERAL
- New Money $179 Million
- Title V Regional Commissions
- Appalachian Regional Commission
- Economic Development Administration
- Resource Conservation and Development Program

EDUCATION
- Cooperative Agricultural Extension Service

WATER AND SEWER
- Rural Water and Waste Disposal Grants

ENVIRONMENT
- Rural Environmental Assistance Program
- Forestry Assistance Grants
- Great Plains Agricultural Conservation Program
- Water Bank Program
- Tree Planting Grants

Altogether, the eleven programs listed above are spending $921 million in Fiscal 1971.

But much more is needed to extend to

rural Americans the full share of national prosperity and the full participation in the rich benefits of our society, which they rightly deserve. Much more would be done if the Congress acts to set in motion the broad strategy for accelerated rural development which I have placed before it in recent weeks.

Rural communities throughout the nation would share in the $5 billion of General Revenue Sharing which I have proposed. Rural communities would receive direct assistance in building their human resources, their social services, and their economic base through my Special Revenue Sharing proposals for manpower, education, transportation and law enforcement. My proposals for improving our system of health care include Area Health Education Centers to be located in rural areas and financial incentives for doctors and providing medical care in scarcity areas. My welfare reform proposals would have immediate and dramatic effects on rural poverty: in the first year nearly $1 billion in new cash benefits would go into rural areas to add to the incomes of the millions of rural Americans who are poor or underemployed.

To unify and consolidate the rural development effort in each State—I am today proposing that the Federal Government establish a $1.1 billion fund to be shared among all the States for fully discretionary spending to meet their rural needs and accelerate their rural development. This would be accomplished by combining programs which I listed above into a new program of Special Revenue Sharing for Rural Community Development, and by increasing their present annual funding of $921 million by $179 million during the first year.

How Revenue Sharing Works

Beginning January 1, 1972, these funds would be paid out to the States and to Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, and Guam, in regular installments on a formula basis, according to an index of need based on three factors: the State's rural population, the State's rural per capita income compared to the national average of per capita incomes, and the State's change in rural population compared to the change in population of all States. All 53 recipients would share equally in 1 percent of the funds. Every State would receive at least as much from Special Revenue Sharing for Rural Community Development, as it now receives from the eleven existing rural assistance programs combined.

This proposal recognizes that patterns of development potential vary widely within the different States and seldom conform neatly to intra-State governmental jurisdictions. It therefore imposes no Federally dictated distribution of shared revenues within the States. Neither would it require matching or maintenance of effort spending by a State in return for the shared rural development funds. Indeed the shared funds could if necessary be used to match other Federal grants-in-aid for rural assistance. But there would be a firm requirement that all rural community development funds be spent for the direct benefit of *rural people.* The funds could be spent for any of the purposes now authorized under the existing aid programs, including the option of direct grant assistance to private firms which locate in rural communities.

Rural areas would be defined in this Act as counties with a population density

less than 100 people per square mile, and all other counties, regardless of population density, which are not included in one of the 247 Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (SMSAs) which the U.S. Census Bureau defines around cities of 50,000 or more.

I will also propose $100 million in additional non-formula funds for the Urban Community Development Special Revenue Sharing program, to assist those smaller cities of population between 20,000 and 50,000 which have been receiving grant assistance from the Department of Housing and Urban Development but which would not now be eligible for a formula share of Urban Community Development Revenue Sharing. The Secretary of Housing and Urban Development would administer this fund on a discretionary basis. Such communities would thus be eligible for funds from both the urban and rural revenue sharing programs—as they should be, since many communities of this size have not only urban problems and needs but also strong rural development potential as economic and social opportunity centers for nearby rural counties. The same overlap would be true as well of some of the smaller and less densely populated Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas which have less than 100 people per square mile, and thus qualify for both formula grants under Urban Community Development Special Revenue Sharing, and use of funds from the Rural Community Development Special Revenue Sharing.

The Act would apply the requirements of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to prohibit discriminatory use of the Federal money.

BUILDING ON SUCCESS

Conversion of the existing categorical aid programs for agriculture and development into Special Revenue Sharing for Rural Community Development is a logical evolution in line with the history of these efforts and consistent with their basic purposes.

Over a number of years the Department of Agriculture has been moving to make its assistance to farmers and rural residents more effective and flexible by a steady process of decentralization. Placing these programs fully in the hands of the States is just one more step in sharpening their ability to deliver the services they were designed to provide. Whether the transfer will be beneficial and the transition smooth is a question to which the example of the Cooperative Extension Service may provide a partial answer. The States are ready to take charge of the Extension Service, which they already largely administer and which all States now fund above the present Federal contribution.

In the case of EDA, the Appalachian Regional Commission and the Title V Commissions, revenue sharing in superseding them would actually incorporate the coordinated development approach that has made them successful, at the same time it removed some of the Federal "fences" that may have restricted their activities unduly in the past. The grass roots planning process which has proved itself under the Appalachian Regional Commission is carried over into the statewide development plan I am now proposing for *all* States under rural and urban development revenue sharing. Close ac-

count would be taken of the human factor and of the continuity of on-going development efforts as the program transition is effected. Counties that have launched projects under the Appalachian Regional Commission, for example, would continue to receive adequate funding to make good on the money already obligated for such projects.

With revenue sharing, therefore, as with all change, there would be adjustments to make but great benefits to be gained. Every single activity now carried on under the Commissions and categorical programs could be continued in any State whose own people decide it is worth continuing. The farm, forest, and conservation programs that have succeeded in the past could go right on doing so—and freed of Federal restrictions, they could probably reach out farther and keep better pace with changing needs and technologies. In each instance the people of the State would make the decision.

Streamlining the Rural Assistance Effort

What Special Revenue Sharing for Rural Community Development *would* do is to remove many of the negative and inhibiting side effects which now plague rural assistance as a result of categorical narrowness, lack of coordination, and excessive Federal involvement. *By combining these programs we could produce a new whole significantly greater than the sum of the present parts.* It is worthwhile here to discuss some of the problems that would be eliminated—principally inflexibility, priority distortion and flawed accountability.

Inflexibility: As well-intentioned as past rural development efforts have been, strict Federal eligibility rules have often stood in the way of fair sharing of all the Federal resources for rural development, or have made it difficult for States and localities to do what they must to attract industry and services. For instance, many parts of the Midwest, which experienced some of the heaviest rural outmigration in the Nation during the 1960s, still do not qualify for Economic Development Administration grants.

In other cases Federal standards have acted to bar aid from those communities in a region where it could do the most good. Experts in rural development feel that the most leverage is achieved by reinforcing healthy development trends, rather than fighting them—that is, by concentrating aid in these smaller and medium sized cities of a rural area which have shown strength and effort in attracting industry. Every area of rural America has such centers of potential growth. Using government assistance to strengthen their development trends could make the difference in attracting new job-producing industry and expanding employment opportunities for rural people living in the surrounding counties. It could also help these communities attract doctors, teachers and others whose services are so needed in or near rural areas. Yet current Federal program restrictions, by and large, do not permit aid to be used this way, because of a "worst-first" criterion which often puts funds into areas that lack the development potential to help either themselves or others near them—rather than using funds to open up new opportunities regionally so that benefits flow out to low-potential areas nearby.

Distortion of State Budgets: Narrow Federal project definitions can force

71-234—72——30

States and localities to spend scarce revenues on "matching shares," urgent community priorities aside, or risk the loss of Federal funds. Once begun, a Federal project may demand additional local spending, beyond the matching money, for support facilities to tie the project into community usefulness.

Flawed Accountability: The quasi-governmental agencies which often exercise a determining influence on the conduct of these programs tend to obscure and fragment responsibility for decisions made and therefore to subvert the democratic accountability of elected officials. Regional commissions, comprised of a Federal Co-chairman and Governors from member States, take part in many program and planning decisions which really affect only one Governor's State. Too often the Federal officials responsible for rural assistance are geographically distant, and the local, State or multi-State institutions that have a say are politically insulated or remote.

The Statewide Development Plan

Special Revenue Sharing for Rural Community Development would be administered initially by the Secretary of Agriculture; eventually both this program and the urban community development program would come under the direction of the Department of Community Development whose formation I have proposed. In addition to paying out each year's rural development funds to the States and territories, the Secretary of Agriculture would stay abreast of rural development aspects of the statewide development plans which each Governor would file with him annually.

The statewide planning process which would help States and localities coordinate activities carried on under both urban and rural community development revenue sharing will be established in legislation that I will submit shortly. It would require annual preparation of a comprehensive statewide development plan outlining spending intentions for programs in metropolitan, suburban, smaller city, and rural areas alike. The $100 million Planning and Management Assistance program which I proposed in my message to the Congress on Urban Community Development Revenue Sharing would provide funds which States and local jurisdictions could use in this planning process.

The Governor of each State would be given the responsibility for drawing up the statewide development plan. Formation of the plan would be based on a consultative process which considers plans submitted by State-established, multi-jurisdictional planning districts covering all areas of the State. Planning bodies of these districts would be composed of local elected officials. One member from each of the district planning bodies would sit on a panel which would assist the Governor in the planning process. The Secretaries of Housing and Urban Development and Agriculture could accept an alternative consultative process proposed by the State.

The completed plan would be filed with the Secretaries of Agriculture and of Housing and Urban Development—not for their approval, but as a declaration of intent; a Governor could amend his plan by letter during the course of a year.

The process of developing the statewide plan would focus official concern and

public attention upon the inter-relationship of urban and rural community development within the State. The plan could identify potential growth areas, potential new community development sites, and environmentally important areas. It should seek to integrate all important community development factors, including land use.

All the money a State receives under Special Revenue Sharing for Rural Community Development would have to be spent for the benefit of persons in rural areas as outlined in the statewide plan. A State could of course also supplement its own rural development activities with money received under General Revenue Sharing and under other Special Revenue Sharing programs within program definitions. The Secretary of Agriculture would conduct an annual post-audit of State rural development activities, with payment of the next year's rural revenue sharing funds conditional upon State compliance with rural development spending plans for the year past.

The Logic of Rural Development Revenue Sharing

To review briefly:

The major challenge facing rural America is to diversify its economy and to provide full opportunity for its people to enjoy the benefits of American life. Meeting this challenge will enhance the quality of life for those who remain to operate the nation's family farms and for all their neighbors in the small towns and countryside of America. As a secondary effect—like upstream watershed management for downstream flood control—meeting the rural challenge will also help to relieve the overburdened urban structure by stemming rural outmigration and attracting a share of future growth to rural communities.

The key to a rural development strategy is my proposal for $1.1 billion in Special Revenue Sharing for Rural Community Development—money which all States and territories would share and which they could spend in their rural areas as they deem wisest. Other proposed Federal assistance for rural America includes part of the $5 billion General Revenue Sharing program and part of five Special Revenue Sharing programs, as well as the benefits of a reformed welfare system and an improved health care system.

At the core of rural development revenue sharing would be eight agricultural grant programs and three broad development assistance programs now in being. Consolidating them, the revenue sharing approach would build on decentralizing trends in the agricultural programs and on the multi-State, State, and multi-county development planning experience accumulated under EDA and the regional commissions. It would do away with narrow aid categories, spending restrictions, duplication, and red tape now surrounding these programs. It would make the money now devoted to them go further and would provide more money.

Existing programs and development projects could continue or not at the discretion of each State, and the right of choice would rest close to the rural people at whom the aid is directed. A statewide planning requirement with a broadly representative input would promote coordinated development of a sort not now approached and would insure that all areas of the State have a voice in the plan-

ning process; but in no case could rural development revenue sharing money be diverted from rural needs.

URBAN-RURAL PARTNERSHIP

More money, plus more freedom to spend it, plus better planning in doing so, add up to better living for rural Americans and brighter futures for rural communities. Mutual benefits of the urban-rural partnership would be manifest as cities enjoyed the fruits of a healthy agricultural economy and the relief of more evenly distributed population growth, while rural areas felt the effect of new social and economic advantages. Rural and urban communities would no longer siphon off one another's strengths and resources nor shunt problems and burdens from one to the other. They would progress together in a dynamic balance, as partners in the best sense.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
March 10, 1971

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing by Clifford M. Hardin, Secretary of Agriculture, Maurice H. Stans, Secretary of Commerce, George W. Romney, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, and John R. Price, Jr., Special Assistant to the President, and two fact sheets on the program.

On April 6, 1971, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing by Edwin L. Harper, Special Assistant to the President, on the hold harmless base line figures for States and localities under special revenue sharing, and a fact sheet on the figures for rural community development special revenue sharing.

93 Remarks at the Opening Session of the National Conference on the Judiciary in Williamsburg, Virginia. *March* 11, 1971

Mr. Chief Justice, Mr. Justice Clark, Mr. Attorney General, Governor Holton, Senator Hruska, Senator Byrd, Senator Spong, all of the distinguished guests here on the platform, and all of the distinguished people in this audience:

As the various celebrities were being introduced by the Governor, I remarked to Mr. Justice Clark [1] that I was getting more exercise than I have had in a week standing up and down. That is an indication of the importance of this audience, the fact that so many times with very great appropriateness we have stood to honor the top people in the field of law enforcement and also in the field of the administration of justice.

I want you to know, too, that I have, as I am sure everybody here who is not from Virginia, a deep sense of the history of this moment. I was glad that Governor Holton reminded us of what Virginia has done for America.

We think, of course, of Washington and Jefferson and Madison and Monroe, and then in this century, Wilson. But sometimes we forget Marshall. And when we think of the contribution that Virginia has made, certainly in terms of the Executive, in terms of the judiciary, no State in the Union has contributed more to

[1] Thomas C. Clark, Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court 1949–67.

America than Virginia. And it is appropriate that we meet in Virginia, Governor Holton.

Also, I would like to express my appreciation to Mr. Justice Clark for his very generous comments.

I remember him during the period when I served as Vice President and prior to that time as a Congressman and Senator, when he was first Attorney General and then served as a member of the Supreme Court of the United States.

This Nation owes him a very great debt of gratitude for his splendid work in both of those positions.

And I think, too, that he has set an example, an example that he referred rather facetiously to when he pointed out that he had been introduced as the late Mr. Justice Clark. Let me say that if all men who retire could do as much as he is now doing for his profession, this country would be a much better place in which to live.

Just so I am not misinterpreted, I am not suggesting that anybody else retire from the Supreme Court.

My remarks today will be to this sophisticated group, I am sure, somewhat routine, routine in the sense that you have thought of most of the things that I will refer to.

But I do want you to know that I had some consultation, consultation not this time with the Senate, although I greatly respect the Senate, particularly when Senators are present, but consultation with the Chief Justice and the Attorney General. I hold them not responsible for anything that I say, but I did let them read my remarks, and they made some very good suggestions.

And I would begin simply by saying that as one who has practiced law, as one who deeply believes in the rule of law, as one who now holds the responsibility for faithful execution of the laws of the United States, I am honored to give the opening address to this National Conference on the Judiciary.

It is fitting, as I have already indicated, that we should meet here at Williamsburg. Like this place, your meeting is historic. Never in the history of this Nation has there been such a gathering of distinguished men of the judicial systems of our States. And I salute you all for your willingness to come to grips with the need for court reform and for modernization. And I would like to salute especially the man who has been the driving force for court reform; he is a man whose zeal for reshaping the judicial system to the need of the times carries on the great tradition begun by Chief Justice John Marshall—the Chief Justice of the United States, Warren Burger.

I recall that when I took my second bar examination—incidentally, I passed the first time in California, but my second one was in New York when I moved there a few years ago—I had to write an essay on our system of government, and I dwelt on the wisdom of the separation of powers. My presence here today indicates in no way an erosion of that concept; as a matter of fact, I have come under precedents established by George Washington and John Adams, who both spoke out on the need for judicial reform. And President Lincoln, just 100 years ago, a little over 100 years ago, in his first annual message to the Congress, made an observation that is strikingly current—listen to what he said: "the country generally has outgrown our present judiciary system."

There is also a Lincoln story—an authentic one—that illustrates the relation-

ship of the judicial and the executive branches. When Confederate forces were advancing on Washington, President Lincoln went to observe the battle at Fort Stevens. It was his only exposure to actual gunfire during the Civil War. He climbed up on a parapet, against the advice of the military commander, to see what was going on. Suddenly not 5 feet from the President, a man was felled by a bullet. A young Union captain shouted at the President, "Get down, you fool!" Lincoln climbed down and said gratefully to the captain, "I'm glad you know how to talk to a civilian."

The name of the young man who shouted "Get down, you fool" was Oliver Wendell Holmes, who went on to make history in the law. And from that day to this there has never been a more honest and heartfelt remark made to the head of the executive branch by a member of the judicial branch—though I imagine a lot of judges over the years have felt the same way.

But let me address you today in more temperate words but in the same spirit of candor.

The purpose of this conference is "to improve the process of justice." We all know how urgent the need is for that improvement at both the State and Federal level. Interminable delays in civil cases, unconscionable delays in criminal cases, inconsistent and unfair bail impositions, a steadily growing backlog of work that threatens to make the delays worse tomorrow than they are today—and all this concerns everyone who wants to see justice done.

Overcrowded penal institutions, unremitting pressure on judges and prosecutors to process cases by plea bargaining without the safeguards recently set forth by the American Bar Association, the clogging of court calendars of inappropriate or relatively unimportant matters—all this sends everyone in the system of justice home at night feeling as if he had been trying to brush back a flood with a broom.

Many hardworking, dedicated judges, lawyers, penologists, law enforcement officials are coming to this conclusion: that a system of criminal justice that can guarantee neither a speedy trial nor a safe community cannot excuse its failure by pointing to an elaborate system of safeguards for the accused. Justice dictates not only that the innocent man go free but that the guilty be punished for his crimes.

When the average citizen comes into court as a party or a witness, and he sees that court bogged down and unable to function effectively, he wonders how this was permitted to happen. Who is to blame? Members of the bench and the bar are not alone responsible for the congestion of justice.

The Nation has turned increasingly to the courts to cure deep-seated ills of our society—and the courts have responded; as a result, they have burdens unknown to the legal system a generation ago. In addition, the courts had to bear the brunt of the rise in crime—almost 150 percent over the past 10 years, an explosion unparalleled in our history.

And now we see the courts being turned to, as they should be, to enter still more fields: from offenses against the environment to new facets of consumer protection and a fresh concern for small claimants. We know, too, that the court system has added to its own workload by enlarging the rights of the accused, providing more counsel in order to protect basic liberties.

Our courts are overloaded for the best of reasons: because our society found the

courts willing—and partially able—to assume the burden of its gravest problems. Throughout a tumultuous generation, our system of justice has helped America improve itself; there is an urgent need now for America to help the courts improve our system of justice.

But if we limit ourselves to calling for more judges, more police, more lawyers operating in the same system, we will produce more backlogs, more delays, more litigation, more jails, and more criminals. "More of the same" is not the answer. What is needed now is genuine reform—the kind of change that requires imagination and daring, that demands a focus on ultimate goals, just as you have indicated imagination and daring and are focusing on ultimate goals.

The ultimate goal of changing the process of justice is not to put more people in jail or merely to provide a faster flow of litigation. It is to resolve conflict speedily but fairly, to reverse the trend toward crime and violence, to reinstill a respect for law in all of our people.

The watchword of my Administration has been reform. As we have undertaken it in many fields, this is what we have found: Reform as an abstraction is something that everybody is for, but reform as a specific is something that a lot of people are against.

A good example of this can be found in the law: Everyone is for a "speedy trial" as a constitutional principle, but there is a good deal of resistance to a speedy trial in practice.

The founders of this Nation wrote these words into the Bill of Rights: "the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial." The word "speedy" was nowhere modified or watered down in that Constitution or any time since by a court opinion. We have to assume they meant exactly what they said—a speedy trial.

It is not an impossible goal. In criminal cases in Great Britain today, most accused persons are brought to trial within 60 days after arrest. And most appeals in Britain are decided within 3 months after they are filed.

Let's look at the situation in the United States. In case after case, the delay between arrest and trial is far too long. In New York and Philadelphia, the delay is over 5 months; in the State of Ohio, it is over 6 months; in Chicago, an accused man waits 6 to 9 months before his case even comes up.

In case after case, the appeal process is misused—to obstruct rather than to advance the cause of justice. Throughout the State systems, the average time it takes to process an appeal is estimated to be as long as a year and a half. The greater the delay in commencing a trial, or retrial resulting from an appeal, the greater the likelihood that witnesses will be unavailable and other evidence difficult to preserve and present. This means the failure of the process of justice.

The law's delay creates bail problems, as well as overcrowded jails; it forces judges to accept pleas of guilty to lesser offenses just to process the caseload—in other words, as some have said, to "give away the courthouse for the sake of the calendar." Without proper safeguards, this can turn a court of justice into a mill of injustice.

In his perceptive message on "The State of the Federal Judiciary," Chief Justice Burger makes the point that speedier trials would be a deterrent to crime. I am certain that this holds true in the courts of all jurisdictions, not just the Federal courts.

Justice delayed is not only justice de-

nied, it is also justice circumvented, justice mocked, the system of justice undermined.

What can be done now to break the logjam of justice today, to ensure the right to a speedy trial—to enhance respect for law? We have to find ways to clear the courts of the endless streams of what are termed "victimless crimes" that get in the way of serious consideration of serious crimes. There are more important matters for highly skilled judges and prosecutors than minor traffic offenses, loitering, and drunkenness.

We should open our eyes—as the medical profession is doing—to the use of paraprofessionals in the law. Working under the supervision of trained attorneys, "parajudges" could deal with many of the essentially administrative matters of the law, freeing the judges to do what a judge only can do: and that is to judge. The development of the new office of magistrates in the Federal system is a step in that right direction. In addition, we should take advantage of many technical advances, such as electronic information retrieval, to expedite the result in both new and traditional areas of the law.

But new efficiencies alone, important as they are, are not enough to reinstill respect in our system of justice. A courtroom must be a place where a fair balance must be struck between the rights of society and the rights of the individual.

We all know how the drama of a courtroom often lends itself to exploitation and, whether it is deliberate or inadvertent, such exploitation is something we all must be alert to prevent. All too often, the right of the accused to a fair trial is eroded by prejudicial publicity. We must never forget that a primary purpose underlying the defendant's right to a speedy and public trial is to prevent star-chamber proceedings and not to put on an exciting show or to satisfy public curiosity at the expense of the defendant.

In this regard, if I may step into controversial territory for a moment, I strongly agree with the Chief Justice's view that the filming of judicial proceedings, or the introduction of live television to the courtroom, would be a mistake. The solemn business of justice cannot be subject to the command of "lights, camera, action."

The white light of publicity can be a cruel glare, often damaging to the innocent bystander thrust into it and doubly damaging to the innocent victims of violence. Here again a balance must be struck: The right of a free press must be weighed carefully against an individual's right to privacy.

Sometimes, however, the shoe is on the other foot: Society must be protected from the exploitation of the courts by publicity seekers. Neither the rights of society nor the rights of the individual are being protected when a court tolerates anyone's abuse of the judicial process. When a court becomes a stage or the center ring of a circus, it ceases to be a court. The vast majority of Americans are grateful to those judges who insist on order in their courts and who will not be bullied or stampeded by those who hold in contempt all this Nation's judicial system stands for.

The reasons for safeguarding the dignity of the courtroom and clearing away the underbrush that delays the process of justice go far beyond the questions of taste and tradition. They go to the central issue confronting American justice today.

How can we answer the need for more and more effective access to the courts, for the resolution of large and small controversies, the protection of individual and

community interests? The right to representation by counsel, the prompt disposition of cases—advocacy and adjudication—are fundamental rights that must be assured to all of our citizens.

In a society that cherishes change, in a society that enshrines diversity in its Constitution, in a system of justice that pits one adversary against another to find the truth, there is always going to be conflict. Taken to the street, conflict is a destructive force; taken to the courts, conflict can be a creative force.

What can be done to make certain that civil conflict is resolved in the peaceful arena of the court and criminal charges lead to justice for both the accused and the community? The charge to all of us is very clear.

We must make it possible for judges to spend more time judging by giving them professional help for administrative tasks. We must change the criminal court system, provide the manpower—in terms of court staffs, prosecutors, defense counsel—to bring about speedier trials and appeals.

We must insure the fundamental civil rights of every American: the right to be secure in his home and on the streets. We must make it possible for the civil litigant to get a hearing on his case at least in the same year that he files it.

We must make it possible for each community to train its police to carry out their duties, using the most modern methods of detection and crime prevention. We must make it possible for the convicted criminal to receive constructive training while in confinement, instead of what he receives now usually—an advanced course in crime.

The time has come to repudiate once and for all the idea that prisons are warehouses for human rubbish; our correctional systems must be changed to make them places that will correct and educate. And, of special concern to this Conference, we must strengthen the State court systems to enable them to fulfill their historic role as the tribunals of justice nearest and most responsive to the people.

The Federal Government has been treating the process of justice as a matter of the highest priority, as you know. In the budget for the coming year, the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration will be enabled to vigorously expand its aid to State and local governments. Close to one-half billion dollars a year will now go to strengthen local efforts to reform court procedures, police methods, correctional action, and other related needs. In my new special revenue sharing proposal, law enforcement is an area that receives increased attention and greater funding—in a way that permits States and localities to determine their own priorities.

The District of Columbia, which, as you know, is the only American city under direct Federal supervision, now has legislation and funding which enables us to reorganize its court system, provides enough judges to bring accused to trial promptly, and protects the public against habitual offenders. We hope this new reform legislation may serve as an example to other communities throughout the Nation.

And today I am endorsing the concept of a suggestion that I understand Chief Justice Burger will make to you tomorrow: the establishment of a National Center for the State Courts.

This will make it possible for State courts to conduct research into problems

of procedure, administration, and training for State and local judges and their administrative personnel; it could serve as a clearinghouse for the exchange of information about State court problems and reforms. A Federal Judicial Center along these lines, as you know, already exists for the Federal court system. It has proved its worth; the time is overdue for State courts to have such a facility available for them. I will look to the conferees here in Williamsburg to assist in making recommendations as to how best to create such a center, and what will be needed for its initial funding.

I can pledge our cooperation in what you recommend.

Speaking for the executive branch of the Federal Government, we will continue to try to help in every way. But the primary impetus for reforming and improving the judicial process must come from within the system itself. Your presence here is evidence of your deep concern; and my presence here bears witness to the concern of all of the American people regardless of party, occupation, race, or economic condition, for the overhaul of a system of justice that has simply been neglected too long.

I began my remarks by referring to an episode involving Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes. There is another remark of Holmes that is not very well known, but it reveals an insight it would be well for us to have today.

Judge Learned Hand told of the day that he drove Justice Holmes to a Supreme Court session in a horsedrawn carriage. As he dropped the Justice off in front of the Capitol, Judge Learned Hand said, "Well, sir, goodby. Do justice." Mr. Justice Holmes turned and said, most severely, "That is not my job. My job is to play the game according to the rules."

The point of that remark, the reason that Learned Hand repeated it after he had reached the pinnacle of respect in our profession, was this: Every judge, every attorney, every law enforcement official wants to "do justice." But the only way that can be accomplished, the only way justice can truly be done in any society, is for each member of that society to subject himself to the rule of law—neither to set himself above the law in the name of justice, nor to set himself outside the law in the name of justice.

We shall become a genuinely just society only by "playing the game according to the rules" and, when the rules become outdated or are shown to be unfair, by lawfully and peaceably changing those rules.

The genius of our system, the life force of the American way, is our ability to hold fast to the rules that we know to be right and to change the rules that we know to be wrong. In that regard, we would all do well to remember our constitutional roles: for the legislatures, to set forth the rules; for the judiciary, to interpret them; for the Executive, to carry them out.

The American Revolution did not end two centuries ago; it is a living process. It must constantly be reexamined and reformed. At one and the same time, it is as unchanging as the spirit of laws and as changing as the needs of our people.

We live in a time when headlines are made by those few who want to tear down our institutions, to those who say they defy the law. But we also live in a time when history is made by those who are willing to reform and rebuild our institutions—that can only be accomplished by those who respect the law.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:10 p.m. at the Williamsburg Conference Center.

In his opening words, the President referred to Senator Harry F. Byrd, Jr., of Virginia.

An advance text of the President's remarks was released on the same day.

The Conference, called at the President's request and the first of its kind, took place March 11–14, 1971. It was organized and sponsored by 14 related organizations, including the American Bar Association, the American Judicature Society, and the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration.

94 Statement About Textile Imports From Japan. *March* 11, 1971

FOR 2 years, this Administration has attempted to negotiate a voluntary agreement with the Government of Japan curtailing the excessive wool and manmade fiber textile imports from Japan. The United States has sought to be as flexible as possible concerning the details of an agreement, while consistently adhering to certain basic principles which we consider essential to any agreement designed to curb these excessive imports. These principles are reflected in the following terms which have been presented to the Japanese Ambassador by the U.S. negotiator in meetings through January of this year:

—A limited number of categories of particularly sensitive products, covering about one-half of those imports, would be assigned specific import ceilings. The ceilings would be based upon imports from Japan in 1969 plus a reasonable growth factor. Shifting of imports among these categories would be permitted so as to reflect changing conditions in the U.S. market, subject to limitations to avoid excessive concentration in any of these sensitive categories.

—If imports from Japan of any other category exceed the 1970 import level plus a more liberal growth factor, the United States could request consultation with Japan and impose specific limitations if a mutually satisfactory solution was not reached.

On Monday, following discussions between its Washington representative and the chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, the Japan Textile Federation announced that the Japanese textile industry is undertaking a unilateral program to limit future exports of textile products to the United States. At the same time, the Government of Japan issued a public statement endorsing this unorthodox action by a private Japanese group and terminating its negotiations with the United States Government. On its face, this unilateral program falls short of the terms essential to the United States in the following significant respects:

—Only one overall ceiling for all cotton, wool, and manmade fiber fabric and apparel textiles is provided, with only a general undertaking by the Japanese industry "to prevent undue distortions of the present pattern of trade." This allows concentration on specific categories, which could result in these categories growing many times faster than the overall limits.

—The overall ceiling would be based on imports from Japan in the year ending March 31, 1971, plus a growth factor. During the 2 years that we have been negotiating with the

Government of Japan, imports of manmade fiber textile products have greatly increased, and in January 1971 they entered this country at a recordbreaking level. Moreover, the program magnifies the potential growth of the sensitive categories by including in the base exports of cotton products which are already limited by agreement and which have been declining.

The deficiencies in the Japanese industry program make it clear that it will not result in an acceptable solution. It is well known that I would prefer a negotiated agreement to solve this problem. The maneuver of the Japanese industry, now apparently ratified by the Government of Japan, has effectively precluded further meaningful government to government negotiations, the resumption of which this country would welcome.

Consequently, I will strongly support the textile quota provisions of the legislation now pending before the Congress, H.R. 20, a bill passed by the House of Representatives last year and reintroduced this year by Chairman Mills and Congressman Byrnes of the Ways and Means Committee.

At the same time I am directing the Secretary of Commerce to monitor imports of wool and manmade fiber textile products from Japan on a monthly basis. I am instructing that this monitoring begin immediately, with the results, including an analysis of any differences from what would have been the results under the terms we presented, to be made available to the entire Congress.

Under the circumstances and in order to provide the relief necessary for United States textile workers and businesses this Government must now give the fullest consideration to the other alternative solutions to the textile problem.

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing on textile imports by Representative John W. Byrnes of Wisconsin and Peter M. Flanigan, Assistant to the President.

95 Statement on the Death of Whitney M. Young, Jr. *March* 11, 1971

WITH Whitney Young's tragic death today in Nigeria, I have lost a friend—black America has lost a gifted and commanding champion of its just cause—and this Nation has lost one of the most compassionate and principled leaders it has had in all the long centuries since whites from Europe and blacks from Africa began building together toward the American dream.

Whitney Young died in the full bloom of life—and at the very height of his contribution to American society. His life is over but his life's work continues.

Of the many hours I have spent with him, the most recent and the most memorable were just last December 22,[1] when he and several of his Urban League col-

[1] The White House later stated that Mr. Young had also been one of a group of black leaders with whom the President spent a few minutes on February 24, 1971, when the group was attending a briefing on the Administration's domestic programs at the White House.

leagues met with me and most of my Cabinet here in the White House.

This was not a meeting of pleasantries or a pro forma occasion. Whitney Young came here to tell me and the Cabinet of his deep concern for the condition of black people in America, especially of young black people. He was eloquent, tough, and convincing: a great leader among his peers.

From that meeting, I sent out instructions to all of my Cabinet to find ways to enlist the unique capabilities of the Urban League and other private social service agencies in advancing and evaluating the Nation's human resources programs. The last time I talked to Whitney Young was when he called me to report on the rapid progress the Urban League is making in mounting such a joint effort with the several departments.

This effort launched so ably by Whitney Young will go forward, as will all of the enterprises which have benefited from his vision and energies—and which are now his legacy. That the great work of equal justice and human dignity must now continue without him is a tragedy that weighs heavily upon the Nation—but continue it will, stronger than ever because of the example he set.

Nothing Mrs. Nixon and I could say to voice our deep admiration for this man and our grief at his passing would so nearly console his wife and family as would the full achievement of the goals to which he devoted his life. That they will see it and thereby be consoled is my most earnest hope.

NOTE: Whitney M. Young, Jr., 49, died while swimming in the surf at Lighthouse Beach, Lagos, Nigeria.

Mr. Young had been executive director of the National Urban League, Inc., since 1961.

At the President's direction a special aircraft from Andrews Air Force Base returned the body of Mr. Young to the United States.

96 Remarks on Arrival at Quonset Point Naval Air Station, Rhode Island. *March* 12, 1971

I REMEMBER as I stand here and look at Quonset Point that it was 29 years ago that I left this base. Then I was a lieutenant, junior grade. And, incidentally, that was a very low form of life in the Navy in those days. Don't have any ideas—I see a lot of enlisted men around here—that lieutenant, junior grades, or ensigns or, for that matter, lieutenants run the Navy—the chiefs run the Navy. They did then, and I think they do now.

But whatever the case may be, I want you to know that looking back on those years I remember the 2 months—and it was a 2 months' course that we took just before World War II—that I spent here at Quonset Point.

I remember, too, how very friendly the people in this area were, the people of Providence, on those few times that we got into town.

I recall, too, that that service, while at the time it appeared to be rather time taken out of life, that I made friends then, I perhaps learned things that have meant something to me all the rest of my life.

I know that when you are young and when you find that your career seems to

be interfered with by having to be in the armed services, you may think these are the lost years. Don't you believe it.

This is a great country, and it is great because we have men like you who serve this country to maintain the peace forces of the United States.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:37 a.m.

97 Exchange of Remarks With Reporters at Quonset Point Naval Air Station, Rhode Island. *March* 12, 1971

THE PRESIDENT. I saw Secretary Rogers at that time. It was quite a class. It was what we called 442.[1] We came here in August when it was hot, and I remember trudging along on this pavement. We called it a pavement then, of course, it was the airstrip. The main thing that I accomplished here was that my wife said that I had never stood straighter than when I finished that 2 months' training, because I tend to slump.

I have always marveled at the fact that people who are in the military service, like General Eisenhower, always have such erect posture. But those of us who were in it as I was, and so many in World War II, for only 3 years, we soon get back to our old habits. We slump too much. My wife always says, "I just wish you would stand as straight as you did when you came from Quonset."

Q. What does David [Eisenhower] say about it, Mr. President? Has he indicated his feeling on this training?

THE PRESIDENT. He has done exceptionally well in his training. I am very proud of the fact that he ended up in the top 10 percent of his class. He has a sense of duty. He naturally has the feeling that any young man newly married has, about taking time out of his life, being away from his wife, but he also recognizes the necessity for service, as I think the great majority of young Americans do.

Q. Has he enjoyed his training at Newport?

THE PRESIDENT. I suppose his attitude would be about the same as mine. You know, when I was here, that training was hard work. You had to learn so many new things, like navigation. I was an aviation officer but we had to learn about navigation and subjects that were completely foreign to me.

The only one that was very easy for me was they had a course in naval courts and boards. You know, for a lawyer that was duck soup. But those other courses I must say were very difficult. It was hard for civilians to go into the service, to learn not only the discipline but to learn the new kinds of subjects that we had never been exposed to before.

David, I think, has had that same problem, because he came out of a liberal arts college, as I did, with a history major and then had to go right into the service. You had to learn very, very fast. Fortunately, he got it when he was a little younger. I

[1] The President and Secretary of State William P. Rogers were classmates in the Officer Candidate School at Quonset Point Naval Air Station. They were commissioned lieutenants (jg.), in September 1942.

had been out for about 5 years before I went into the service. I had been practicing law.

You see, I left law school in 1937, and I came here in 1942, so I had been out 5 years. And every year you are away from school it is harder to go back to school, I find, at least.

But I must say that it was an experience that, looking back, I, of course, do not regret. It is one of those things you say, "I wouldn't have missed it, but I wouldn't want to do it again."

Q. Where did you go from here, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT. You know, you apply for something, and they give you something else. That hasn't changed, I understand.

I went to what was the Naval Air Station at Ottumwa, Iowa. And I will tell you, when I got there, it was a cornfield and nothing else. For 5 months we worked on that station. I was aide to the executive officer and later aide to the commanding officer.

When I left there to go overseas we had an airstrip, and it was one of the major training bases for Navy pilots.

Q. Ottumwa?

THE PRESIDENT. Ottumwa. O-t-t-u-m-w-a. It is a major meatpacking center in Iowa.

Then from there, after my 5 months there, I went overseas and served in the South Pacific for about a 14-month tour.

Q. Do you have happy memories of Quonset?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes. Well, the first 2 or 3 weeks were the hardest. You know, learning to—you have to shine your shoes.

Q. I can tell you did those pretty well.

THE PRESIDENT. Oh, I didn't do this. I never got very high marks for that.

Because you know, you shine your shoes and your clothes have to be straight and you have got to stand straight. You learn all of those things that really are so foreign to a civilian. But I think humility is good for any individual. And one thing you learn when you go in the service, particularly somebody who comes, as I did, from a pretty good educational background—and I was reasonably successful as a lawyer—and then you go in there, and, as I said a moment ago, the chiefs run the Navy. Believe me, those Navy chiefs—they put you in your place and that is good for anybody.

Thank you.

NOTE: The exchange of remarks began at approximately 10:45 a.m.

98 Address at Graduation Exercises of the Naval Officer Candidate School, Newport, Rhode Island. *March* 12, 1971

Admiral Colbert, Captain Farrell, Governor Licht, Secretary DeSimone, all of the distinguished guests on the platform, the distinguished guests at this occasion, and, of course, most important of all, the members of the graduating class:

I very much appreciated the personal remarks that were made by the Admiral and also by the leader of this class. I have only one correction to make—not a very important one—but when I finished Quonset Point, I was a lieutenant, junior

grade, so I started a little bit higher.

I want you to know, too, that it is a very great pleasure for me to be able to share this occasion with you, as you, the members of this class, begin your service as naval officers. I began my naval service at Quonset Point, as has been pointed out, and it has taken me 29 years to cross Narragansett Bay. But I am glad finally to be here.

This does not reflect on my training. I think I was a pretty good navigator. I just took the long way around. I do not contend that it necessarily means anything as far as your future is concerned, but it should be noted for the record that the two Presidents before me were also Navy men, and, of course, President Eisenhower first tried to go to Annapolis before he finally went to West Point. We are very honored today that his son, Ambassador Eisenhower,[1] is here. He chose West Point—his first choice.

I know it is the custom to tell graduating classes that they are facing great opportunities and great obligations. Sometimes it is true and sometimes it is not true. In your case it happens to be true.

The pursuit of peace is the opportunity which lies before you, and the preservation of peace will be the special obligation of your generation. There is no greater opportunity, and there is no greater responsibility.

It may be difficult now to appreciate this fully. Our involvement in the war in Southeast Asia is drawing to an end. The next 3 years stretch before you, with the prospect of danger or boredom or both. And I know some of you will wonder about the significance of serving, about the need for it. I know that many of you resent the time taken away from the pursuit of other careers. You see these years as lost years.

I tell you, they will not be lost. Rather, I believe that nothing you do in your life will be more important than the service you give in the next 3 years. Out of the sacrifice and the bitterness and the testing of the last 10 years has come the opportunity to achieve at last what Americans all want and what we have not had in this whole century: a full generation of peace. It is for us now to seize that opportunity, to win the peace. It will be for you to keep it.

You serve in the peace forces of the world. There are those in America who question this, but the record is clear. Our power has always been used for building the peace, never for breaking it—for defending freedom, never for destroying it.

America has fought in four wars in this century. Yet, we did not seek war; we did not plan war; we did not begin war. But when it came, young Americans fought courageously.

Today, despite the terrible evidence of this century, there are those who have refused to learn the hard lessons of the history of tyranny. They would tell us, as their predecessors in other times have told us, that the appetite for aggression can be satisfied only if we are patient and that the ambitions of the aggressor are justified if only we understand them properly.

I am never surprised to see these positions held. But I am always astonished to see them held in the name of morality. We know too well what follows when nations try to buy peace at the expense of

[1] John S. D. Eisenhower, Ambassador to Belgium 1969–71.

other nations. I do not believe we are prepared to take that course. What is more important: No other nation believes it either. That is why the United States of America is represented and why it is respected among the nations of the free world—not because we are rich and not because we are powerful, but, above all, because we can be trusted. We have been, we continue to be, willing to pay the price for peace. And we pay in the hard currency of deeds—not with hollow threats and empty promises.

There can be no advantage to concealing hard facts in soft words. We know that when force is rewarded, the cost of peace and the only alternative to war will be tyranny. This fact dominated the first half of this century. We are determined that it will not dominate the last half. For this reason we have accepted the necessity of war. But our purpose is peace.

Peace with freedom—so that peace may be worth having.

Peace with justice—so that peace may be worth keeping.

And peace with strength—so that peace may be preserved.

We must have strength. If all the world were free, we might have no need of arms. If all the world were just, we would have no need of valor. But as we see that the values we cherish are not cherished universally, and that there are those who feel threatened by the prospects of freedom and justice, then we must keep the strength we need to keep the values we cherish.

I know the arguments of the new isolationists. Though we cut defense spending, we can't cut it enough. Though we greatly increase domestic spending in proportion to defense spending, we can never increase it enough.

I understand those arguments, and I understand the sentiments behind them. But I understand the cost of weakness, too.

The question of what is enough is not academic. It is crucial to the survival of this Nation.

If we have the most extensive urban renewal programs, the most far-reaching medical care programs, the finest highways, the most comprehensive educational assistance efforts, the most effective anti-poverty programs—if we have all this and more, and if we have it all at the expense of our ability to defend ourselves, then we would soon enjoy none of the fruits of our efforts, and the only peace we would know would be that terrible peace imposed upon those who are the victims of their own lack of vigilance.

And so today we will look to the possibilities of the future with a careful regard for the realities of the present and the lessons of the past.

As you serve in our peace forces, you can be proud of this great fact: We Americans firmly believe in what we are and in what we have. But we do not choose to go the way of those ancient crusaders who sought to civilize the world one grave at a time. We do not seek power as an end in itself. We seek power adequate to our purpose, and our purpose is peace.

I have no illusions about the difficulty of achieving that purpose. I do not believe that peace will suddenly descend upon us like the answer to a prayer. I do not believe we should confuse the things we can expect from God with the things God may expect from us. Rather, we have to build peace, you and I together. We have to do it with our own hands because there is no other way. And we have to do it with our own brains and our own courage and our own faith.

I do not believe it will be done otherwise. But neither do I despair of its being done, because I believe you will do the job, and not only you here in uniform but your generation.

I remember very clearly an address President Eisenhower made in March of 1960 to a White House Conference on Children and Youth. He said, "our children understand, as we did not in our own youthful days, the need—now approaching the absolute—for peace with justice . . . . among the things we teach to the young are such truths as the transcendent value of the individual and the dignity of all people, the futility and stupidity of war, its destructiveness of life and its degradation of human values."

In a decade of war since that time, the children he was talking about have grown up. Some of you are here today. As the years have passed and I have watched your generation, I have understood the wisdom of his words. The man the French called the peace general had a vision of "the peace generation," and it has come to pass. You will be that generation.

As you take up your responsibilities today, as you begin the great work before you, I want to remind you that you are not alone, that people of other nations have served bravely and do so today in behalf of a lasting peace. We are not the only nation that desires the end of war. We are the most powerful nation, but gallant people around the globe share our faith that the world is moving in the way of peace with freedom and with justice for all. Some of them are here today. I want to salute those members of the naval forces of the Republic of Vietnam who are here today.

I have known their country. I have known their struggle for almost 20 years. I have visited Vietnam seven times. I have seen firsthand the courage of the Vietnamese people, their endurance, their sacrifice, their will to be free.

The rights we have learned to take for granted, they are still fighting for.

War has been the condition of man from the dawn of history. Some have said that wars are made by something ignorant in the human heart. If this is so, then perhaps peace will come through something splendid in the human soul. Perhaps man will learn not to answer what is primeval in his blood, but rather to heed what is divine in his humanity.

However it may come, it is certain that peace and the greedy ambitions of governments cannot survive in the same world. But I believe it is the ambition of governments that is going to fail, because from having seen the world, almost all the world, I know the people of the world want peace.

Through time they have watched the harvest of the plowshare rot in the fields and on the vines while they have reaped the harvest of the sword. It would be difficult to suppose that God created man for this end, and difficult to doubt the wisdom of the Prophet, that "the work of righteousness shall be peace . . . ."

So we have dreamed no small dream. We have set ourselves no easy task. We seek to do the work of righteousness. In that work the years you give will not be lost. They will be redeemed along with the hopes of humanity.

I join all of you in congratulating those who graduated with distinction, and I join all of you, too, in congratulating all of those who are graduating today. For whatever it is worth from a personal standpoint, I did not graduate with distinction from Quonset.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:10 a.m. to the graduating class which included his son-in-law, Dwight David Eisenhower II.

In his opening words, the President referred to Vice Adm. Richard G. Colbert, President, Naval War College, and Capt. Eugene H. Farrell, Commander, Officer Candidate School, Newport, R.I.; Gov. Frank Licht of Rhode Island; and Herbert F. DeSimone, Assistant Secretary for Environment and Urban Systems, Department of Transportation.

An advance text of the President's remarks was released on the same day.

99 Statement About United States Prisoners of War and Missing in Action in Southeast Asia. *March* 13, 1971

IT IS appropriate that, as the one solemn note on this evening's program, the Gridiron Club has chosen a matter of deep humanitarian concern to all Americans—the plight of more than 1,600 U.S. military men captured or missing in Southeast Asia. Some of our men have been in prisoner-of-war camps for more than 6 years, many with no word ever to their families. Many of the families endure the anguish of not knowing whether their man is dead or alive.

There are many kinds of heroism in wartime: the raw courage of the soldier or marine in the field; the skill under pressure of the air crew in combat; the dedication of the corpsman going after the wounded under fire. Another kind of heroism is that imposed in meeting the ordeal of prolonged captivity.

The three men [1] standing before you have survived that test—but they know, and we all know, that there are hundreds of others who continue to endure prolonged confinement. We salute these three men tonight, and in doing so we honor their comrades who remain in enemy hands, and the many who are missing. And also we honor their comrades who have given their lives to the service of our Nation.

I know all of us are concerned about the problem of those who are prisoners of war or missing in action. As journalists many of you have reported on this humanitarian problem. Growing public interest and concern about our POW's stems to a large extent from what the news media have done. Your reporting has brought information to citizens around the world and comfort to the families by letting them know these are not forgotten men, far from it. We believe that some of the progress that has been made in obtaining information about those captured in Southeast Asia results from the awakening of public opinion as a result of your news reports.

All of us are concerned also about your American journalist colleagues who are missing or captured in Southeast Asia, as well as the dozen other journalists of other nations who may be in Communist hands.

I fervently hope that all Americans will continue to support efforts to obtain the release of all our prisoners as soon as possible, as I proposed on October 7, 1970. So let us join our prayers to this purpose. And let us give it our continued dedication and continued public understanding, for the sake of the prisoners, for the sake of

[1] Col. Norris M. Overly, USAF, Lt. Robert F. Frishman, USN, and M. Sgt. Daniel L. Pitzer, USA, former prisoners of war in Southeast Asia.

their families, and for the sake of human decency.

NOTE: The statement, released at Key Biscayne, Fla., was read at the Gridiron Club dinner in Washington, D.C., by Secretary of State William P. Rogers.

The Gridiron Club is an organization of 50 Washington newspapermen that presents each year an evening of satire in song.

On March 19, 1971, the President signed H.J. Res. 16 and Proclamation 4038, designating March 21–27 as National Week of Concern for Americans Who Are Prisoners of War or Missing in Action.

100 Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report of the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. *March* 15, 1971

To the Congress of the United States:

The report which I transmit to you covers the activities of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency during the calendar year 1970. It is noteworthy that this is the Agency's Tenth Annual Report; it marks a decade of diligent pursuit of arms control and disarmament.

I have set as my goal the attainment of a generation of peace. I believe that arms control presents both a necessary and a promising road towards a stable, secure world in which true peace can exist. There are many problems to be solved and the answers will not come easily, but with determination and perseverance, we can prevail.

For the first time, a realistic dialogue is taking place between the Soviet Union and ourselves about the management of our strategic relations. The mutuality of interests which brought us to the table encourages our hope that the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks will succeed. I am heartened by the work which has already been done, and I am hopeful that the constructive nature of the exchange will continue in Phase IV of SALT, which resumes in Vienna in March.

During the past year, another arms control measure was added to the growing number which have emerged from international negotiations. A treaty banning weapons of mass destruction from the ocean floor was successfully negotiated, thus expanding still farther the areas and environments in which nuclear weapons are precluded.

These and other efforts in the arms control field are described in the accompanying report. Progress is not always dramatic, but the direction is sure. My Administration is dedicated to finding better, safer, and cheaper alternatives for insuring our security than the expedient of competition in weaponry.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
March 15, 1971

NOTE: The message was released at Key Biscayne, Fla.

The 72-page report is entitled "Tenth Annual Report to Congress, The United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, January 1, 1970–December 31, 1970."

101 Remarks of Welcome to Prime Minister John M. Lynch of Ireland. *March* 16, 1971

Prime Minister Lynch, Mrs. Lynch, and all of our distinguished guests today:

A few months ago, Mr. Prime Minister, when you welcomed us so warmly to Ireland, we promised that when you came to Washington we would try to give you a real Irish welcome.

This beautiful Washington day in the springtime and this great crowd of people from all over the Washington area, and particularly the schoolchildren from the Washington area, have tried to tell you what the people of this country think of Ireland and of our Irish heritage, because tomorrow, on St. Patrick's Day, everyone in America will be just a little bit Irish, we can assure you.

And on this particular day we want you to know that you are welcome, not only in your official capacity as Prime Minister of your government. We also recall that on another occasion just 12 years ago, President O'Kelly[1] came to the United States and celebrated St. Patrick's Day in the United States.

And we are very honored that you, as Prime Minister, would come here on this very special day and will be in Philadelphia tomorrow for the 200th anniversary of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick in Philadelphia.

When we think of our heritage and of our common bonds, we think of many things. But a moment ago you were referring to the music. The first song that was played by the Marines as they marched in review was the Navy song.

As we heard the stirring Irish National Anthem, I recall at one part of it, and a part that is particularly meaningful to us here and to you in your own country, are the words "sworn to be free." That is the Irish spirit of Ireland. It is the Irish spirit that has also meant so much to America.

And it is significant to note that Captain John Barry, an Irishman of course, was the one who founded the United States Navy, the Navy which has, among all of our services, had such a long tradition of working toward that great goal of being sworn to be free.

So on this occasion, we welcome you because of the close bonds our two countries have, because of the close ties our two peoples have, and also we welcome you because on this occasion we think of what it means to be sworn to be free.

You believe that. We believe that. And together we work for that in our countries and throughout the world.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:44 a.m. on the South Lawn at the White House where Prime Minister Lynch received a formal welcome with full military honors.

Prime Minister Lynch responded as follows:

Mr. President, Mrs. Nixon:

My wife and I would like to thank you, sir, Mrs. Nixon, and all you people for the warmth of the welcome that you have extended to us here this morning on the White House lawn.

This official welcome on this lawn symbolizes the warmth and friendliness that have always been shown to Ireland and to the Irish people by you Americans.

We have, my wife and I and my party, in the past few days during our visit to this great country experienced in a very special way that warmth and that friendliness.

You have made us feel at home and, indeed, what Irishman and Irishwoman cannot but feel at home in the United States—but nowhere

[1] Sean T. O'Kelly, President of Ireland 1945–59.

more than here, Mr. President, with you and Mrs. Nixon, do we feel more at home.

As we have traveled through the great country—we have only seen parts of it—we have witnessed what is this great American spirit. We wish that it will long remain in the important role that you Americans have to play in the world.

On this eve of St. Patrick's Day, our national holiday, you will forgive me, Mr. President, if I recall with pride the contribution that men and women of Irish descent and, indeed, of Irish birth have made to the progress, this wonderful progress of this great country.

We are proud of that tradition.

And thank you for the applause, because I know you, too, you of Irish birth and Irish descent, are equally proud of that great contribution made to this Nation.

We pray that Providence will smile on this country and on its people. We pray that you, sir, will have the strength—and I know you have the courage—to carry out the onerous duties that have been thrust upon you and your country in this unsettled world.

We know that with your dedication to the principles of freedom that you will not now or ever renege on that trust. We, the small nations of the world, look to you, sir, and look to your great country to uphold the principles of freedom which we hold so dear.

When you were in our country some 6 months ago, Mr. President, you said you were endeavoring and striving to bring to your Nation a generation of peace.

We hope that you will be successful in that striving and in that purpose.

Ba mhaith liom thar cionn Uachtarán na hÉireann, thar cionn Rialtas agus muintir na hÉireann, Lá'le Phádraig fé mhaise do mholadh dhaoibh go léir, duit-se, a Uachtaráin agus Bean Nixon, agus do mhuintir na Stát Aontaithe uile.

I have just in my own ancient Irish tongue wished you, Mr. President, and Mrs. Nixon, your compatriots, a happy and peaceful St. Patrick's Day.

Go raibh míle maith agaibh.

Thank you very much.

102 Message to the Congress Transmitting Report on Control of Hazardous Water Pollutants. *March* 16, 1971

To the Congress of the United States:

I have the honor to transmit herewith for the consideration of the Congress a report on "Control of Hazardous Polluting Substances" as required by Section 12(g) of the Federal Water Pollution Control Act as amended.

The recommendations made in the enclosed report reflect the conclusions reached by the Department of Transportation in its study made at my request. Additional study, beyond that possible in the short period available for this report, may indicate a need for modifications in these recommendations. Such modifications would be incorporated in any legislation which is developed to implement the recommendations of the report.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
March 16, 1971

NOTE: The two-volume report is entitled "Control of Hazardous Polluting Substances, Department of Transportation, U.S. Coast Guard" (90 pp. plus appendixes).

103 Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report of the National Science Foundation. *March* 16, 1971

To the Congress of the United States:

I am pleased to submit to the Congress the Twentieth Annual Report of the National Science Foundation, covering the fiscal year 1970.

The activities described in this report underscore the importance of science as a national resource and as an essential element in our Nation's progress. The scientific research supported by the Foundation reflects our continuing concern for the quality of life in the United States today and in the future.

Science has entered an era of unprecedented fruitfulness. The investment we have made in the last three decades offers us an array of opportunities in the next. This guarantees us no instant or easy answers, but it does afford us the ability to bring to bear on our national problems an array of scientific talent and a heritage of scientific achievement unprecedented in human history.

New programs initiated by the Foundation in fiscal year 1970 are designed to promote and encourage the search for solutions to problems of the natural and social environment. Interdisciplinary work by scientists from many specialties shows promise of producing new knowledge of the earth, the oceans, and the atmosphere which will permit a better understanding of the relationship between man and his surroundings.

The programs of the National Science Foundation during fiscal year 1970 covered a broad range of activities. More than $200 million was devoted to the pursuit of scientific research, including major interdisciplinary efforts of national and international significance. Another $120 million was allocated to support of science education at all levels, and nearly $45 million was invested in broad-based institutional development in our colleges and universities.

I believe it was a most productive year. I commend this report to the attention of the Congress.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
March 16, 1971

NOTE: The report is entitled "National Science Foundation Annual Report 1970" (Government Printing Office, 124 pp.).

104 St. Patrick's Day Statement. *March* 16, 1971

ST. PATRICK'S DAY is a great day for the Irish, to be sure, but it is also a great day for all Americans. It is a time of celebration not only for those of our citizens whose ancestors were born on the Emerald Isle, but also for countless others who value those qualities of warmth and humor, pride and courage which are so closely associated with the Irish people.

Americans of Irish descent have given a great deal to this country, in fields ranging from government and politics to business and commerce, from science and technology to art and music and litera-

ture. The American spirit reflects contributions from every nation. But the charm of the Irish culture has permeated life in this country in a manner which has been especially profound.

I have always felt particularly close to Ireland. One could hardly feel any other way when some of his own ancestors came from that country—and when his wife is the former Pat Ryan, and celebrates her birthday on St. Patrick's Day.

On this St. Patrick's Day, I am especially pleased to greet my fellow Americans of Irish descent—and all Americans who share a feeling of deep gratitude for what the Irish have given us—with this traditional Irish greeting: "Joy be with you all."

RICHARD NIXON

NOTE: The statement was posted for the press.

105 Statement on the Death of Thomas E. Dewey. *March* 16, 1971

ALL AMERICA is poorer tonight for the loss of Governor Thomas E. Dewey—a great patriot, a distinguished statesman, and a fine human being.

New York will remember him as a man of the law whose service spanned four decades: enforcing the law as a prosecutor in the thirties, administering it as Governor in the forties and fifties, and practicing it privately right into the seventies. The Nation will remember him as a man of politics who led the loyal opposition with vigor and vision in the presidential contests of 1944 and 1948, and who played such a vital role in giving Americans General Eisenhower as their President in 1952.

For my own part, I will remember Thomas Dewey as a close personal friend and political associate for over 20 years. His wise counsel has been of immense value to me on many occasions during the years I served in the House, the Senate, as Vice President, and as President. I found invariably that when a problem was most difficult he could always be counted on to be at his best in giving his advice.

Governor Dewey was to have been a guest at the White House tonight, and the occasion is diminished beyond words for both Mrs. Nixon and me by his death. What consoles us, and what may help to console his family and countless friends, is the high distinction of his long life. John Quincy Adams' dying words—"This is the last of earth! I am content"—speak well the satisfaction which Thomas Dewey also deserved to feel in his full and varied career of service to this Nation.

NOTE: Governor Dewey, 68, died of a heart attack in Bal Harbour, Fla.

On March 19, 1971, the President attended funeral services for Governor Dewey at St. James Episcopal Church in New York City.

106 Eulogy Delivered at Burial Services for Whitney M. Young, Jr., in Lexington, Kentucky. *March* 17, 1971

Mrs. Young, friends of Whitney Young:

It is customary on such an occasion for the one who has the honor to deliver the eulogy to say that we are gathered here to pay our last respects to the deceased.

I do not say that today. I say, rather,

that today a grateful Nation will pay its respect to Whitney Young by continuing the work for which he dedicated his entire life.

When we consider that life, these are some of the things we find:

In an age when we see so many people who want to be for the right thing, we also find that it is very difficult to accomplish the right thing. It is really easy to be for what is right. What is more difficult is to accomplish what is right.

And Whitney Young's genius was: He knew how to accomplish what other people were merely for. He was a very complex man, and he understood the complexities of the society in which he lived and the goals which he sought to achieve. He was not a patient man, but he understood the uses of patience.

And he was not a moderate man in terms of his goals, but he knew the uses of moderation in achieving those goals.

All of us who have heard him speak recognize him as one of the most eloquent speakers of our time, and, yet, Whitney Young will be remembered as a doer, not a talker.

What monument do we build to him? He leaves his own monument, not one, but thousands, thousands of men and women in his own race who have a chance, an equal chance, that they otherwise might never have had except for what he did; and thousands of others not of his own race who have an understanding in their hearts which they would not have had except for what he taught.

What message does he leave for us? I recall the conversation I had with him right after the election of 1968 before the inauguration when we discussed the possibilities of his becoming a member of the Cabinet. He was honored by the suggestion, and, after consideration, he told me that he felt that he could do more for those things he believed in outside of Government than inside of Government.

And in that is a message for all of us. At a time when it is so often the custom whenever we have a problem to throw up our hands and say, "What is the Government going to do?", this man said, "What can I do?" And that is the challenge he gives to each of us.

Government has its responsibilities, but he says, "What can I do? What can I do in my life to make the American dream come true?" Because all of us must remember, we want the American dream to come true; but the American dream cannot come true until the American dream can be achieved by each one who is an American.

Dr. Lon Fuller, in lecturing at Yale in 1963, spoke of two kinds of morality. He spoke of the morality of duty and of the morality of aspiration. The morality of duty is one that requires every individual to do what the law calls upon him to do. The morality of aspiration does not require, but it inspires a man or a woman to go beyond that and to do what the better angels of his nature would call upon him to do.

And it is in that spirit that I speak of Whitney Young today. I remember the last meeting we had in the Cabinet Room, 3 days before Christmas. You remember, all of you who knew him, he always had a little button "Equal" in his lapel. He just didn't wear that in his lapel, he wore it in his heart.

What he says to us and what his message to us is, is this: Every man and woman in this country is equal before

71-234—72——31

God, and every man and woman in this country now, we trust, is equal before the law.

But to have true equality, it is not just what the law requires, but what we individually can do, because that respect which can only come from the heart of one person to another, a respect for his dignity, for his individuality, for his immortality, that is something that must come from each of us.

And so today Whitney Young's message to America—the country that he loved with all of its faults, loved it because he realized that this was a country in which we had the power to change what was wrong and change it peacefully—Whitney Young's message is this: "What can I do? What can I do to make this a better country? What can I do through helping others, through recognizing their equality, their dignity, their individuality, to realize the American dream?"

His dream, if I may paraphrase, was one Nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice and opportunity for all. To fulfill his dream is the responsibility of each of us. It is the commitment that each of us makes in his heart on this day.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:25 p.m. at Greenwood Cemetery. The eulogy was broadcast live on radio and television.

On March 24, 1971, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing by Secretary of Labor James D. Hodgson, Gov. Louie B. Nunn of Kentucky, and Whitney M. Young, Sr., on the establishment of the Whitney M. Young, Jr., Skill Center memorial in Shelbyville, Ky.

107 Statement on Signing Bill Increasing Social Security Benefits. *March* 17, 1971

I HAVE SIGNED H.R. 4690, which in addition to raising the ceiling on the national debt, also increases social security benefits by 10 percent. This measure provides some of the relief which the 26 million social security recipients have urgently needed for a long time. I have felt keenly that it is intolerable that millions of these men and women, who did so much to build the Nation's productivity and to provide our youth with the abundance and the many opportunities they enjoy, are not sharing equitably in that abundance. Too many are poor—too many are left out—too many suffer from inadequate health care. This measure will help. In addition, my proposals for an income floor for the elderly, as provided in the Welfare Reform Act, and revisions to Medicare, as proposed in my health legislation, will be of further assistance. Yet I am well aware that even when all of these proposed benefits become fact, serious problems will remain to be solved for many of our older Americans, and I shall continue to seek solutions and propose legislation that will reflect my deep concern.

Unfortunately, however, the measure does not include the vital cost-of-living escalator. I have repeatedly asked the Congress to provide for automatic increases in social security benefits as the cost of living increased. Only if such a provision is included can we overcome the rigidity of the social security benefit sys-

tem, and the long delay that ensues before senior citizens receive the real benefits of a system that most have supported by their contributions throughout their adult lives.

The measure has other serious deficiencies in it. In this bill the Congress has departed from the cardinal principle which should govern the social security system: The Congress has not provided for sufficient revenues in the current year to cover fully the added costs of the new benefits. It has deferred the effective date of increased contributions required to pay for these new and much deserved benefits.

The net effect of the Congress action is to raise the net cost of the benefits provided by $3.4 billion in fiscal year 1972 and by another $500 million in fiscal year 1971.

The evidence is clear that spending beyond the revenues we would receive at full employment—as was done in 1966, 1967, and 1968—was a major contributing factor to the inflation that has robbed all of us in these recent years.

If these urgently needed social security increases are enacted but the means to pay for them currently are defaulted, we are faced with the very real prospect of increased inflation. For that reason, I urge the Congress to act promptly on a social security revenue measure so that the current cost of these increased benefits will be financed and the basic noninflationary budgetary principle, which was embodied in the 1972 budget I submitted to the Congress, can be maintained.

Increasing social security benefits is essential, as I have said many times. Increasing social security benefits in a way that carries with it the seeds of a resumption of the inflation it has taken us more than 2 years to control would benefit no one. We owe to the elderly people in this country something more than a social security increase which is only an illusion, and which would be eroded by inflation almost before it is received.

NOTE: As enacted, H.R. 4690 is Public Law 92–5 (85 Stat. 5).

108 Special Message to the Congress on Special Revenue Sharing for Transportation. *March* 18, 1971

To the Congress of the United States:

When the early settlers first encountered the American wilderness, a man's mobility was dependent upon his strong legs and the sharp axe with which he cleared his path. But even in those pioneering times, Americans quickly came to realize that good roads and docks and bridges were community concerns.

Over the years, government has become increasingly involved in improving the Nation's transportation systems, from the building of post roads and canals in the early periods of our history, to the construction of airports and superhighways in recent years. The question we face today, therefore, is not *whether* government should participate in transportation matters, but *how* government should participate—and *which levels* of government should undertake which responsibilities. These are the central questions I am ad-

dressing in this message as I outline a new Special Revenue Sharing Program for Transportation.

Growing Transportation Systems and Growing Problems

As the demand for mobility has mushroomed and as new means of transportation have been invented in recent years, the size of our transportation system has reached staggering proportions. It has been less than 70 years, for example, since the Wright brothers flew at Kitty Hawk. In that time, our aviation system has grown to the point that last year it served over 173 million commercial passengers and handled more than 4 billion ton miles of air freight. An open field with a wind sock was a sufficient airport for most communities only a few decades ago. Today many airports are cities in themselves and air traffic is controlled by highly sophisticated electronic systems.

At the turn of the century there were only 8,000 automobiles in America. By 1920 nearly 8 million cars traveled our highways and today we have more than 100 million registered vehicles which travel over one trillion miles annually. The people of our Nation are driving more than twice as many automobiles as they did just 20 years ago.

These two technological developments—the airplane and the automobile—give dramatic evidence of both the successes and the failures of American transportation. The automobile and the airplane are mechanized masterpieces. The highways and airports which they use are often glowing displays of America's engineering genius. But behind the mystique of jet travel and the convenience of the family car lie serious problems that have been growing more acute in recent years.

The airplane means fast travel over great distances, to be sure. But it also can mean harmful noise and air pollution, congested terminals, misplaced luggage and airports that are difficult to reach. Highways that speed motorists between cities can become long and narrow parking lots where cars are stalled for hours within urban areas. It often takes longer to move by "horseless carriage" across our major cities today than it did by horse-drawn carriage a century ago. Efforts to improve this situation by building new highways often have the effect of destroying neighborhoods and disrupting lives. It is estimated, moreover, that automobiles are responsible for almost half of our air pollution—a growing problem that is slowly choking our central cities.

And there is another serious problem, as well. For with our heavy investment in automobiles and air transportation has come a sharp decline in rail passenger service and in public mass transit systems.

The first electric streetcar lines and the first subway appeared at about the same time as the automobile and, like the automobile, they grew in popularity during the first quarter of this century. In 1905, local urban transit systems carried 5 billion passengers. By 1926, ridership had more than trebled, but that was the peak of mass transit's popularity—except for a brief period during World War II. After 1945, public transit ridership, revenue and service declined steadily. In 1950, there were still some 1,400 urban transit companies operating 87,000 vehicles and carrying 17.25 billion passengers. By 1970, however, there were 327 fewer companies and 25,500 fewer vehicles carrying only 7.3 billion passengers.

Public transportation has been caught up in a vicious cycle of increasing costs, rising fares, shrinking profits, decreasing quality, and declining ridership. Ironically, this decline in mass transit has come at the same time that the need for fast, convenient, economical public transportation has become greater than ever before. This Nation has the technology to provide such transportation. If we can move three men a quarter million miles to the moon, then surely we can also find ways to move millions of men and women over short distances in our cities. This is another of the great transportation challenges of our time.

How Have These Problems Been Met?

All of these problems—pollution, congestion, inefficiency, and the lack of sufficient mass transit services—have been recognized for years. And for years the Federal Government has been working to alleviate them. In the past two years, this administration has recommended a number of new programs to improve American transportation. As a result, we now have an accelerated program to develop urban mass transit systems, new authorizations for the expansion and improvement of airports and airways, and a quasi-public corporation to operate a national rail passenger system.

It is clear, however, that more money and more regulations alone will not solve our transportation problems. Nor will they make the Federal Government more responsive to local needs and local aspirations. It is equally clear that the established relationships among Federal, State and local governments are unsuitable for achieving the goals we pursue.

What are those goals? They can be usefully described under the general heading of "balanced transportation."

Achieving Balanced Transportation

A balanced transportation system is essentially one that provides adequate transportation not just for *some* of the people in a community but for *all* the people in a community. A balanced system also recognizes that an individual can have different transportation needs at different times. Such a system treats speed as only one of the factors in the transportation equation and does not ignore the importance of other qualities such as comfort, safety, and reliability.

Despite our technological capacity, we do not enjoy a fully balanced transportation system in modern America, particularly in our larger cities. We have relied too much in our cities on cars and on highways; we have given too little attention to other modes of travel. Approximately 94 percent of all travel in urbanized areas is by automobile, yet about 25 percent of our people—especially the old, the very young, the poor and the handicapped—do not drive a car. They have been poorly served by our transportation strategy.

Distortions Caused by Matching Requirements

One of the most disturbing elements in the present transportation picture is the fact that such inequities have often been reinforced and even precipitated by the Federal Government. One reason is that Federal dollars have been relatively easy to obtain for highway building but more difficult to obtain for other transportation

purposes. The Federal Government now pays 90 percent of the costs for a new interstate expressway, for example, but only 67 percent of the costs for a new mass transit system and only 50 percent of the costs of building an airport. It is little wonder that State and local planners are encouraged to cover the landscape with ribbons of concrete. Such distortions of local priorities are among the major problems that this administration is seeking to correct.

Excessive Federal Control

But local priorities are not only distorted by Federal requirements concerning matching funds. Local determinations of what is needed most must constantly yield to Federal judgments about what a local community should do with the money it receives from Washington.

The Federal Government has a great influence on the particular *mixture* of transportation spending in any locale, for it carefully allocates so much of its money for one kind of transportation and so much for another. Each program is funded separately—and even at the State and local level, different agencies frequently administer monies which are designated for different purposes. As a result, it is extremely difficult to achieve sound intermodal planning of comprehensive transportation systems. There is no single place where sufficient resources and authority are available for making wise choices between various transportation alternatives. Nor can anyone effectively coordinate investments in any one mode of transportation with efforts in other transportation fields. We err, in short, by treating the transportation challenge as a series of separate problems rather than as a single problem with many interrelated parts.

The hard fact is that the best mixture of transportation modes is not something that remote officials in Washington can determine in advance for all cities, of all sizes and descriptions, in all parts of the country. Nor do the Federal officials who grant money for specific projects understand local needs well enough to justify their strong influence over how local projects should be planned and run.

As I have contended in a number of messages to the Congress in the past two years, our society has become too complex and too diversified to profit from such highly centralized control. This is not to deny that improving our transportation systems is a national concern. It is a national concern and that is why it should continue to be funded in part from Federal tax resources. But the specific manner in which any city or metropolitan area goes about achieving this goal is *not* something that can be most effectively determined at the Federal level. In fact, transportation needs are among the social and economic factors that vary *most widely* from one place to another. That is why many of our Federal transportation programs can profit so much from conversion to the Special Revenue Sharing approach.

Community organizations, concerned individuals and local units of government should not have to shout all the way to Washington for attention. Community standards and community transportation goals are changing and some of those who only five years ago welcomed the prospect of a new highway or airport are now protesting in front of bulldozers. Transportation planning and appropriations mechanisms must be flexible enough to meet

the challenge of changing community values. This flexibility can best be achieved by concentrating more decisionmaking power in the States and the localities.

The purpose of Special Revenue Sharing is to focus Federal resources on major public problems and at the same time maximize flexibility of choice at the State and local level. The Special Revenue Sharing approach provides an ideal means for addressing national problems that have local solutions.

A Special Revenue Sharing Program For Transportation

The proposal I am submitting today would establish a new Special Revenue Sharing Program for Transportation. In simplest terms, this program means returning Federal tax dollars to States and to local communities for investment in transportation—without the usual Federal controls and restraints. It signals a philosophical return to the days when the man who best understood the local terrain was the man who blazed the trail.

Funding

I propose that the Special Revenue Sharing Program for Transportation become effective on January 1, 1972, and that it be funded initially at an annual level of $2.566 billion. All funds that would be included in this new program would come from twenty-three existing Federal grant-in-aid programs which are now grouped under five major headings: Urban Mass Transit Grants, Airport Grants, Highway Safety Grants, Federal Aid for Highways (but not the Interstate System), and Highway Beautification Grants. The size of these programs in my proposed budget for Fiscal Year 1972 is as follows:

	Millions of dollars
Urban Mass Transit	$525
Airport Grants	220
Highway Safety Grants	130
Federal Aid for Highways (Except for the Interstate System)	1,625
Highway Beautification Grants	66
	$2,566

The money for these programs presently comes from three different funding sources: general tax revenues, the Highway Trust Fund and the Airport and Airway Trust Fund. The two trust funds were established so that money could be collected directly from those who use highways or airports—through special taxes on gasoline and on air tickets—and then used to improve the related transportation mode.

This principle would continue to be observed under Special Revenue Sharing. In the first year of operation, Special Revenue Sharing money would be drawn from the two trust funds and from general revenues in the same proportion as under the existing categorical grant system, though it could be spent as the localities see fit. After that, however, the portion of the Special Revenue Sharing Program for Transportation derived from the trust funds in any year would equal the portion of the program that was used for highways and for aviation-related purposes in the preceding year. Thus the money in the trust funds would still go to achieve the general purposes for which the funds were established. General funds would pay for all other transportation activities.

The National System of Interstate and Defense Highways would not be included in this Special Revenue Sharing Program.

This 42,500-mile system is now 74 percent finished and is scheduled for completion in 1978. The Interstate highways that have been built under this program have helped to open America to new dimensions of intercity travel. The system has advanced the cause of highway safety while at the same time permitting unparalleled individual mobility. In my judgment, it would not be in the national interest to alter the basic funding mechanism for the construction of this system at this time.

Although all Special Revenue Sharing funds would be assigned to governmental units, the recipient government could, in turn, channel the funds to private enterprises which meet public transportation needs. This would include the many urban bus systems that are privately owned and operated.

No State or local matching funds would be required under this program. The Federal Government would not rigidly apportion funds among a variety of narrow transportation programs nor would it approve specific local projects. Thus the Special Revenue Sharing Program for Transportation would stimulate State and local governments to take the initiative in meeting transportation needs, to experiment with new and more creative projects, to listen to local opinion and to mobilize local energies which are often stifled under present arrangements.

I would emphasize in addition that each State would receive at least as much money from the new Special Revenue Sharing Program for Transportation as it has been receiving under the current categorical grant programs. Each State would thus be "held harmless" against any reduction in the overall level of support it receives from programs which become a part of this Special Revenue Sharing fund.

Two Fund Elements

The Special Revenue Sharing Program for Transportation would consist of two elements, one for General Transportation activities and one for Mass Transit Capital Investment.

GENERAL TRANSPORTATION ELEMENT

The General Transportation element would total $2.041 billion for the first full year of revenue sharing. This money could be spent for the planning, construction, acquisition, improvement, operation and maintenance of a broad spectrum of transportation systems and services, including highway, aviation and mass transit.

The money in this General Transportation element would be distributed in the following manner: Ten percent would be allocated among the States and localities at the discretion of the Secretary of Transportation. This money would be used to encourage planning, to fund research development and demonstration projects, and to finance other activities related to the development and implementation of national transportation objectives.

The remaining 90 percent of this General Transportation element would be allocated to the States according to the following four-part formula: 25 percent of this remainder would be distributed according to the ratio of each State's *total population* to the total population of the United States; 35 percent would go to States according to the ratio of their *population in urban places* (over 2,500 in population) to the Nation's total population in urban places; 20 percent would be

given out according to the ratio of the *geographic area* of each State to the total area of the United States; and the remaining 20 percent would be allocated according to the ratio of each State's *star and rural post route mileage* to the total of that mileage in the country.

This formula, which resembles formulas which are used under current categorical grants, would provide the best means for distributing Special Revenue Sharing funds in a similar pattern as under the present system. In addition to the guarantee that it would be held harmless against any reduction in support, each State would be guaranteed a minimum allocation of one-half of one percent of this General Transportation element.

As I have noted above, a percentage of the General Transportation element would be distributed among the States according to their share of the Nation's population that lives in urban areas. Each State would be required to pass along its share of *this* money directly to its communities of more than 2,500 persons to spend as their local governments think best. If we are to restore confidence in local government then we must give public officials at the local level a reasonable opportunity to make sound plans and courageous investment decisions. This means that they must be able to *rely* upon a certain amount of funding. Our "pass-through" formula is designed to provide this needed assurance.

MASS TRANSIT CAPITAL INVESTMENT ELEMENT

The second part of the new Special Revenue Sharing fund is the Mass Transit Capital Investment element—which would total $525 million for the first full year. This money would be distributed to each State according to its share of the Nation's population that lives in Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (SMSA). An SMSA is defined as an area which contains a central city or cities with an aggregate population of 50,000 or more and those surrounding counties which have a metropolitan character and are socially and economically integrated with the central city. There are 247 such areas in the United States.

Eighty percent of the funds in this Mass Transit Capital Investment element would be distributed according to each State's share of the Nation's population that lives in SMSAs of *over one million persons*. The remaining 20 percent would be allocated according to each State's share of the Nation's population that lives in SMSAs of *less than one million persons*. Every State would be guaranteed a minimum allocation of $250,000.

In the Mass Transit Capital Investment element as in the General Transportation fund element, I propose that a portion of the funds be passed through the States directly to urban areas. Of the 80 percent distributed to States on the basis of SMSAs of more than one million in population, I propose that half go directly to the local governments within these SMSAs to spend for mass transit purposes as they see fit. The other half of this money would also have to be spent within these same larger SMSAs, but it would be spent at the State's discretion. Currently, there are 33 SMSAs with more than a million persons in the United States and these are the areas that would automatically receive "pass-through" funds for Mass Transit Capital Investment.

In 1969, I submitted to the Congress a proposal for establishing an Urban Mass

71-234—72——32

Transportation Assistance program. The passage of that legislation helped to create a significant momentum for the rejuvenation of public transit systems. I feel very strongly that this momentum must not be lost and that is why I propose that a part of this new Special Revenue Sharing Program for Transportation be devoted to this purpose.

I believe that this Mass Transit Capital Investment element would assure continued support and enthusiasm for mass transit initiatives. It would also provide fast relief for many systems which now suffer from inadequate equipment, allowing them to undertake the essential work of modernization without further delay.

Combining Old and New Strengths

Special Revenue Sharing would strengthen our transportation efforts in many significant ways without sacrificing the strengths of our present programs. Any transportation project that is working well today could be continued, and in all probability expanded, under the new arrangements. While narrow grant categories would be eliminated, none of the programs which they now support need be discontinued if the State or locality believes they are worthwhile.

In recent years, governments at all levels—and private groups and individuals as well—have become more sensitive to problems such as transportation safety and the environmental impact of transportation. Our whole society can be proud, for example, of the fact that there were no fatalities from commercial airline accidents in the United States last year. We can be grateful, too, that despite increasing traffic on our highways, automobile fatalities in 1970 decreased significantly for the first time since 1958.

We have also become more alert to the effects which transportation has on the beauty of the landscape and the quality of the environment. Our traditional economic concerns have been complemented by our growing esthetic concerns and the result has been a strong effort at all levels of society to improve the quality of American life.

There is no reason why growing sensitivity on matters such as safety and environmental quality should not continue to grow under this new Special Revenue Sharing program. State and local governments, after all, have often been particularly responsive to citizen pressure in these areas and they have frequently acted as bold pioneers in meeting these concerns. I am confident that as more responsibility is given to governments closer to the people, the true and abiding interests of the people will be even better reflected in public policy decisions.

I would emphasize again, as I have in presenting each of my revenue sharing programs, that there could be no discrimination in the use of any of these monies. All of the funds included in this Special Revenue Sharing Program for Transportation would be subject to the provisions of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

The Importance of Planning

No transportation system—on the national, regional, or local level—can serve the public with maximum effectiveness unless there is a great deal of cooperative planning between various modes of con-

veyance and between various levels of government. A multitude of government jurisdictions, public authorities and private companies must learn to work closely together if our needs are to be met in a comprehensive manner. The legislation I present to the Congress will therefore require that transportation plans be developed in coordination with the development plans prepared under my proposed Special Revenue Sharing Programs for Urban and Rural Community Development.

Recognizing Diversity

Just as each unique individual has unique transportation problems, so do cities, States and other governmental jurisdictions. The single most important fact about our Special Revenue Sharing Program for Transportation is that it recognizes this diversity. It combines the resources of the Federal Government with the flexibility of State and local governments. It provides the best way to meet the problems which diversity implies by utilizing the energies which diversity produces.

Richard Nixon

The White House
March 18, 1971

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing by Secretary of Transportation John A. Volpe and two fact sheets on the program.

On April 6, 1971, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing by Edwin L. Harper, Special Assistant to the President, on the hold harmless base line figures for States and localities under special revenue sharing, and a fact sheet on the figures for transportation special revenue sharing.

109 Message to the Congress Transmitting First Annual Report on Federal Activities in the Fields of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development. *March 22, 1971*

To the Congress of the United States:

I have the honor to present herewith a report of Federal activities in juvenile delinquency, youth development, and related fields, as required by section 408 of the Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Act of 1968 (Public Law 90–445).

The report covers the period from July 1, 1968, to June 1970, and evaluates activities of the Youth Development and Delinquency Prevention Administration (formerly the Office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development) in the Social and Rehabilitation Service of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, which is responsible for the program. It also includes a description of the activities of other Federal agencies and Departments in the field of juvenile delinquency.

Early in 1970 it became evident that certain changes in direction and emphasis in the program of the Youth Development and Delinquency Prevention Administration would be highly desirable.

This report also incorporates these proposed changes.

I commend this report to your careful attention.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
March 22, 1971

NOTE: The 138-page report is entitled "Annual Report of Federal Activities in Juvenile Delinquency, Youth Development, and Related Fields."

On the same day, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing on the report by Robert H. Finch, Counsellor to the President; and John D. Twiname, Administrator, Social and Rehabilitation Service, and Robert J. Gemignani, Commissioner, Youth Development and Delinquency Prevention Administration, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

110 "A Conversation With the President," Interview With Howard K. Smith of the American Broadcasting Company. *March* 22, 1971

QUESTIONS

THE PRESIDENT'S MOOD

[1.] MR. SMITH. Mr. President, it was about this month, in this year of his tenure, that President Kennedy said: This is the winter of my discontent.

And President Johnson didn't put it the same way, but he felt the same way about the same time in his tenure.

How are you feeling these days?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I don't feel it is "the winter of my discontent." I suppose I keep it somewhat in perspective because I have had many winters in the past which perhaps have been more difficult than this one.

There are grave problems confronting America, at home and abroad, but I am rather confident about the solution of those problems. And as long as one is confident about the programs and plans that he is working on, the problems do not loom nearly as big or as difficult.

CREDIBILITY GAP

[2.] MR. SMITH. Mr. President, let me ask you a question to which I shall first append a preface. I promise you the rest of the questions won't be this long.

To me, the key formative fact about the Nixon Presidency is the fact that you were elected to lead the Nation, but due to our system of separate elections you were not given the usual means of leadership. You got a popular mandate which was small; you are the first President in this century to be elected with both Houses of Congress in opposition; you said, I think, last week in an interview that in your situation, television, getting to the public by television, gave you the leverage you needed. Well, now, that channel is menaced by what the columnists call the credibility gap, and the Gallup Poll said, too, that 7 out of 10 Americans don't believe what the Administration is saying.

How did this diminution of belief come about, and what do you intend to do about it?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think first, Mr. Smith, with regard to what you call the credibility gap, that many observers—in fact, I think I even recall something you said at one time—have pointed out that Presidents, particularly when they have difficult problems in foreign affairs, in-

evitably are going to acquire some credibility gap. This was true of Woodrow Wilson. I remember my mother voted for him because it was thought that if that was the case, if he became President, that he kept us out of war.

And you remember Franklin D. Roosevelt once made the statement in a speech before World War II: I will not send your sons to fight on foreign shores. I think both Wilson and Franklin D. Roosevelt meant exactly what they said. They were not lying to the American people.

On the other hand, the great events made it necessary for them each to take the Nation into war.

Now, in my case, I found the Nation in war. I found it with 550,000 Americans abroad, with our casualties running at over 300 a week, with no plans to bring them home, with no plans to end the war or end America's involvement in it in a way that would allow South Vietnam to survive as an independent entity.

And I have taken the Nation quite a way since then. When I say I have, I shouldn't use that in such an, shall we say, arrogant fashion. I mean we have done that. We have done it with the assistance of many Democrats, as well as Republicans, in the House and Senate and, of course, of our fighting men abroad.

Now we are reaching the key point—the key point when we see that we are ending America's involvement in a war that has been the longest, the most bitter, the most difficult war in our Nation's history.

And once we go over that hump, once the American people are convinced that the plans that have taken so long to implement have come into effect, then I think the credibility gap will rapidly disappear.

It is the events that cause the credibility gap, not the fact that a President deliberately lies or misleads the people. That is my opinion.

[3.] MR. SMITH. May I cite some cases to you that are cited in the press of credibility gap and ask for your comments on them?

First of all, in a speech you made on television after the Cambodian affair, you said American airpower would not be used in support of combat operations in Cambodia henceforth, and, in fact, they were, in the battle for Highway 4 to Kompong Som.

THE PRESIDENT. I also said, however, at that time, that I would use American airpower anyplace in North Vietnam, or in the Southeast Asian area, where I found that it would be necessary for the purpose of protecting American forces in South Vietnam.

Now, my decision with regard to the use of American airpower, whether it is against North Vietnam—there was a strike there yesterday, as you know, against some SAM sites which had been shooting at some of our reconnaissance planes—whether that airpower is used, as it has been used, in Laos, for the purpose of supporting the South Vietnamese in their efforts to blunt the North Vietnamese attack, which would be, thereby, launched against the South, and against Americans eventually, or whether it was used in Cambodia, the primary purpose was not for the assistance, for the purpose of assisting the South Vietnamese, not for the purpose of assisting the Cambodians, but the purpose was and the justification was, and must always be, the defense of

American forces in South Vietnam.

And as Commander in Chief, I had that responsibility. I had met it, and I believe this is correct.

[4.] MR. SMITH. Sir, another case, the other day, I think, in your press conference you said that Communist traffic on the Ho Chi Minh Trail had been cut by 55 percent. Now the same day, the UPI quoted the military command in Saigon as saying it had been cut only 20 percent, which was quite a drastic difference. Can you match those——

THE PRESIDENT. Oh, yes. The military commander in Saigon was actually completely correct and so was I. We were talking about two different things. You see, there is traffic on the Ho Chi Minh Trail north of the area around Tchepone, where the operation of the South Vietnamese was taking place. There is traffic south of the area of Tchepone.

Now, as far as the traffic coming down the trail to Tchepone, where the battle was taking place between the South Vietnamese forces and the North Vietnamese forces, that traffic actually was very greatly increased. But as far as the traffic south of Tchepone was concerned, that traffic was substantially reduced.

As a matter of fact, I have since found that 55 percent, my estimate, was too low—that actually the traffic had been cut more than that. I would say that perhaps 75 percent of the traffic has been cut south, at that time, south of the area of the fighting.

And it, of course, stands to good reason why. Because the units fighting—the North Vietnamese fighting in that area against the South Vietnamese—they needed those supplies, they needed the trucks, they needed all the other things that normally would go south. And they chewed them up.

[5.] MR. SMITH. Now, you also said that the Laos operation showed the South Vietnamese could hack it by themselves.

Now, that seems partly so, but it has to be added that they do that to that degree only with tremendous U.S. air support, 40,000 helicopter sorties, against an adversary that has no airpower at all. And that is cited as a case of overstatement.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, let's look at two different areas, Mr. Smith. First, let's look at the area of Cambodia. As you know—as a matter of fact, as you and some other commentators have pointed out—at the time when all eyes have been on Laos, a very significant operation has been going on in Cambodia.

Perhaps it is not as well known that at that time, in that operation where over 4,000 North Vietnamese who have already been casualties—in that operation, it has been entirely conducted by the South Vietnamese, and 75 percent of all the air sorties in that operation are South Vietnamese. South Vietnam has a very good air force. It isn't yet big enough, however, to handle the kind of operation that they have in Cambodia as well as the one in Laos.

Now, when we look at the situation in Laos what do we find there? We found that the South Vietnamese went in with forces that numerically were very inferior to the forces that they found. As a matter of fact, the North Vietnamese had twice as many ground forces in the area of Laos, of southern Laos, as South Vietnam had.

South Vietnam had, of course, to have support, firepower support, through our airpower, which would equalize that dif-

ference. And without that firepower support, it would have, of course, been very foolish to have the South Vietnamese go in on the ground against the superior North Vietnamese forces.

But the point that I wish to make is this: That when I use the term "hack it," when General Abrams said that the South Vietnamese, after 6 weeks in Laos, are coming out, the great majority of them with higher confidence, with greater morale, despite the fact that they have taken some very severe losses, they know that they have given much more losses to the enemy, that we now have concluded, and this is General Abrams' assessment, that the South Vietnamese have now passed a milestone in their development.

We didn't know at the time of Cambodia whether they could conduct an operation last year by themselves, and, consequently, we went in with advisers.

This year, they went in without any American advisers, with only American air support, against very, very heavy odds numerically on the ground. They fought extremely well. Now they are withdrawing. They are having all the problems of an army withdrawing. Some of their units have not done so well. But 18 out of the 22 battalions, as General Abrams has pointed out, are doing extremely well and, he says, will come out with greater confidence and greater morale than before.

What this all means, of course, is that South Vietnam, man for man, when there is not a numerical superiority on the part of the enemy, will be able to—to use the parochial term—"hack it," in my opinion and in General Abrams' opinion.

And I should also point out this: That in Laos they were fighting on the enemy's terrain, on his turf, against overwhelming numbers. When they fight in South Vietnam, they are going to be fighting on their terrain with their having the numerical advantage and the enemy having the long supply line.

[6.] MR. SMITH. Well, now, sir, they give the impression of retreating from Laos now, and there is still a whole month of dry season before the rains come. If they retreat now, won't the Communists have plenty of time to repair their trails and repair their pipelines before the rains come?

THE PRESIDENT. They can never gain back the time, Mr. Smith. Six weeks is a period in which the Communists not only have found, as we pointed out earlier, that the supplies to the South have been drastically cut—during that 6-week period they have had chewed up great amounts of ammunition, great amounts of materiel that otherwise would have gone South and would have been used, incidentally, against many Americans fighting in South Vietnam—and also in that 6-week period the South Vietnamese have developed a considerable capability on their own and considerable confidence on their own. They are better units to handle the situation as we withdraw.

Now, insofar as what they are going to be able to do for the balance of this dry season is concerned, I can only suggest that I cannot predict what will happen today, tomorrow, or the next day. There is going to be some more severe fighting as the South Vietnamese continue to withdraw from Laos. That we expected.

But let me try to put it in perspective. I have noted a considerable amount of discussion on the networks and in the newspapers and so forth, and it is altogether, let me say, understandable and

justifiable discussion, as to whether this is a victory or a defeat. And I know that that is a question, perhaps, that you would raise; certainly, our viewers would raise it.

Let me hit it very directly. This is not the kind of an operation that you can really describe in the traditional terms of victory or defeat, because its purpose was not to conquer territory. Its purpose was not to destroy an army. Its purpose was simply to disrupt supply lines. Its purpose, in other words, was not to conquer or occupy a part of Laos; its purpose was to defend South Vietnam.

Now, let's measure this operation in terms of accomplishing that purpose. For 6 weeks the South Vietnamese have disrupted the enemy's supply lines. For 6 weeks they have tied down some of the enemy's best divisions. For 6 weeks we have seen, too, that the South Vietnamese have been able to handle themselves quite well under very, very difficult circumstances.

Now, what does this mean for the future? Well, I think when we judge whether this operation is going to be labeled a success or a failure, we cannot judge it before it is concluded, and we cannot judge it even after it is concluded. We can only see it in perspective because its goals were long range—long range being, first, to insure the continuation of the American withdrawal; second, to reduce the risk to the remaining Americans as we withdraw; and, third, to insure the ability of the South Vietnamese to defend themselves after we have left. Those were the three goals of this operation.

How do we know whether or not those goals will be achieved? Well, I will say this, my interim assessment based on General Abrams' advice and the advice that I get from all people in the field is this: As far as our withdrawal is concerned, it is assured. The next withdrawal announcement will be made in April. It will be at least at the number that I have been withdrawing over the past few months; and, second, as far as the danger to the American forces remaining, particularly in the northern part of South Vietnam—there are 100,000 there, as you know—that danger has been substantially reduced. That operation has already accomplished that much.

Third, as far as the ARVN is concerned, and here I come back to an expert, General Abrams, who tells it like it is and says it like it is, says that some of their units did not do so well but 18 out of 22 battalions conducted themselves with high morale, with great confidence, and they are able to defend themselves man for man against the North Vietnamese.

And so that I would say insofar as achieving our goals of assuring American withdrawal, reducing the threat to the remainder of our forces, and, finally, our goal of seeing to it that the ARVN develops the capability to defend itself, that the operation in Laos at this interim period has made considerable progress in achieving those goals.

Now, having said that, Mr. Smith, I don't want to leave the impression that the pictures we have been seeing on television tell basically an inaccurate story. You know, a picture doesn't lie. I know that and you know that. That is why television is such an enormously effective medium. But while a picture doesn't lie, a picture may not tell all the truth.

You have been a war correspondent. You know the man who sees just part of the war doesn't know what is going on in other segments.

What have the pictures shown? They

have shown only those men in the four ARVN battalions of 22 that were in trouble. They haven't shown people in the other 18 battalions. That is not because it has been deliberate. It is because those make news.

Finally, the pictures have not shown at all what has happened to the enemy, and their losses by conservative estimates are five times as large as the losses of the ARVN.

So, under the circumstances I am not saying here that what we are looking at is an operation which at this time can be judged a great success or, by the same token, I say we cannot say that this is an operation that should be judged a failure. I do say that based on the progress that has been made to date, the two things that the American people can judge it on mean a great deal to them: One, that the American withdrawal will continue; two, that the danger to America's remaining forces has been reduced. Of those two things I am sure, and for that reason the operation was worthwhile as far as we are concerned.

[7.] MR. SMITH. I think one of the problems of you and your critics is you are looking at the same set of facts from a different angle. You say the war is winding down, and you can prove it by the troop withdrawals and by the drastic decrease in casualties. They say the war is expanding, and they can prove it geographically by pointing to new nations where our side was not fighting before.

How do you compose these conflicting viewpoints?

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Smith, I know you were stationed in Europe for a while and when you were there you probably did what I did when I was there from time to time. I sometimes picked up one of the British or European papers. The London Economist, for example, is a pretty good objective paper. I don't think it could be called a pro-Nixon Administration paper necessarily. But they had a very interesting piece the other day in which they pointed out that when the United States was criticized for expanding the war by reason of our destroying the sanctuaries in Cambodia and supporting the South Vietnamese effort to blunt the North Vietnamese attack in Laos, it said that kind of reasoning would have said that, in effect, when Eisenhower ordered the landings on D-Day, or the landings in Italy in World War II, that the purpose of that was to expand the war into Europe.

Well, the purpose of that was not to expand the war into Europe. The purpose was to get the Germans out. The purpose was to avoid what would otherwise be a shattering defeat.

Let's understand. Let's look at Cambodia for just a moment. I just saw a summary of the 2 weeks' coverage by the television networks and by the newspapers, and I do not claim that this was deliberate or distorted or anything. Let's understand that. I am not here to bait the press and you are not here to bait me. We are just trying to get the facts. But for 2 weeks, and there were some notable exceptions that we don't need to go into—but for 2 weeks the overwhelming majority of the Nation's press and television, after Cambodia, carried three themes: One, the Chinese might intervene; second, American casualties would soar, the war would be expanded; and, third, there was a danger that the American withdrawal would therefore be jeopardized.

Now, none of those things happened. The Chinese did not intervene. American

casualties were cut in half. They are one-half as great after Cambodia as before. And the withdrawal rate, as a matter of fact, slightly increased after Cambodia because of its success.

Now, what does this prove? It doesn't prove that the press was trying deliberately to make America look bad. That wasn't the point. But, naturally, they were seeing it from one vantage point. I had to see it from another.

Now, let me say this: Everything that I have done since I have been President has had, as far as South Vietnam is concerned, and North Vietnam and Cambodia and Laos, one purpose, and that is to end America's involvement, but to end it in a way that South Vietnam will continue to survive as an independent country, have a chance to survive. We can't guarantee their survival.

Now, let me say why the second part of that equation is important. Anybody could end the war in Vietnam by just withdrawing, "bugging out" as it has been called, and there are those now in the House and Senate who say, well, let's end it by the end of this year without regard to the consequences.

But, Mr. Smith, the reason I can't do that, even though politically there is great temptation to do it, is that I think I know what would happen. I have been to Asia a number of times, and I think what would happen is that if after all of this sacrifice and all of this effort the United States, right at the time that we are winding down the war and bringing our men home, at a time when the South Vietnamese are achieving the capability of hacking it, of taking care of their own defense—if the United States now were to throw in the towel and come home, and the Communists took over South Vietnam, then all over Southeast Asia, all over the Pacific, in the Mideast, in Europe, in the world, the United States would suffer a blow, and peace, because we are the great peace-keeping nation in the world today because of our power, would suffer a blow from which it might not recover. That is why I am doing this.

I am doing these things, everything I am doing, not for the purpose of expanding a war but ending it, and ending a war in a way that we can win a peace. That is something we haven't done for a long time in this country.

TROOP WITHDRAWALS

[8.] MR. SMITH. Sir, some of your critics do say the way to get out is to get out immediately. But most of those in Congress, most of your critics say you should set a definite deadline in order to give the American people the view of the light at the end of the tunnel.

What is the objection to setting a definite deadline for withdrawal in order to do that and also to deprive your critics of a complaint?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, you know, you have really given me a nice way to get at the question.

Since it is so easy to do, why don't I do it? And the reason is, it wouldn't be in the interest of the United States. It wouldn't be in the interest of the kind of a peace we are trying to get.

First, it would torpedo any chances for a negotiated settlement which might—there is still some chance; I agree not much, but still some—the moment that we tell the enemy that we are going to get out as of a date certain, then any negotiating stroke we have with regard to accelerating or some way getting our prisoners

back a little sooner is completely thrown in.

It also has the effect, once we set the deadline, of completely continuing this operation out there on the enemy's terms.

They know exactly what we are going to do, and then they can proceed to make their plans on that assumption.

Now, what are we doing—let me say I know when we are going to get out. We have a plan. It is being implemented. I will make another announcement on that plan in April. I won't go into it tonight, because it would not be proper to do so until we have all the facts and figures. But it will be at least at the level that we have been going through withdrawals up to this point.

But as far as a deadline is concerned, while the next announcement, I am sure, will give some indication as to the end of the tunnel, we are not going to tell the enemy now that there is no need for them to negotiate, that there is nothing to be gained by their coming to the conference table and negotiating with regard to an exchange of prisoners, possibly with regard to an all-Indochina peace conference.

You see, these are high stakes. And as long as there is a chance on those stakes for us to have a negotiation, we have got to continue to play the game out.

POSSIBILITY OF FUTURE CONFLICTS

[9.] MR. SMITH. Mr. President, let me ask you about something in connection with Vietnam you said to Mr. Sulzberger.[1] You said you expected that this would probably be our last war.

Now, in this century, I don't think we have started a single war. Wars have been started by second powers. They have involved our vital interests, and then we have had to respond.

Now, what has changed to prevent second powers from starting future conflicts that might involve our national interests?

THE PRESIDENT. You are absolutely right with regard to how wars have come ers have started them. The United States was drawn into World War I. It was drawn into World War II. We were drawn into World War II. We were drawn into Korea because the North Koreans attacked, and then we came in to help save South Korea, and so it was in Vietnam. North Vietnam attacked South Vietnam; no South Vietnamese attacked North Vietnam, as you are aware.

However, when I make the Statement with regard to this possibly being the last war, I also, as you will note in my interview with Mr. Sulzberger, very strongly indicated the necessity for the United States to play its destined role because of our power, economically and otherwise, as the peacekeeping nation, the major peacekeeping nation in the free world.

Now, if the United States doesn't play that role, there will be another war. I mean by that, for example, for one thing, that how we end the war in Vietnam will have a great effect on whether there will be another war like that.

If the war in Vietnam is ended in a way that it is considered to be an American defeat or a reward for those who engage in aggression, or an encouragement to the hard-liners in the Communist world, then they will do it again.

And, if they hit somebody that is an ally of the United States, like the Philippines

[1] C. L. Sulzberger, foreign affairs columnist for the New York Times, who interviewed the President on March 8, 1971.

or Thailand, we will be drawn in.

That is why ending the war in Vietnam in a way that does not reward Communist aggression, that is something that is essential if we are going to avoid another war.

Now, putting it in the larger context of world war, the reason that I feel strongly that we may well have seen our last war is that when we look at the awesome power of nuclear weapons, when we look at the nuclear standoff that the United States and the Soviet Union now find themselves in, neither of those great powers, in my opinion, is going to have a leader who will make the decision to attack the other power and, at that same time, kill 70 million of his own people.

That is the great deterrent.

So, I think as far as a big war is concerned, the enormous deterrent of nuclear power is going to deter it. And as far as smaller wars are concerned, the fact that the United States handles the situation in Vietnam the way it does, and the fact that we will continue to maintain our commitments, maintain our commitments around the world, but applying the Nixon Doctrine, strengthen other nations so that they can defend themselves, it will mean that as far as the United States is concerned, we may not have to have another war.

The last point is very important. You see, the difficulty in Vietnam, the difficulty in Korea, is that the United States had to go in and do the fighting for them. The Nixon Doctrine provides that we will help other nations help themselves.

And for that to work, however, it is necessary that we help them help themselves, because there will be, as I pointed out in this interview with Mr. Sulzberger, brushfire wars throughout, probably, in times to come.

The main thing is for us to not get involved in them. And if those with whom we have treaty commitments have adequate power to defend themselves, then we will not have to go in to defend them. That is the way to avoid American involvement.

COMMUNICATION WITH THE PUBLIC

[10.] MR. SMITH. Now to go back to my very first question, what is your problem in getting that case across to the American people?

When President Johnson retired from politics, he confessed to an association of broadcasters that he felt he had deficiencies in communication. Well, you are obviously very articulate and clear. Can this be the possibility: Your former aide, Patrick Moynihan, has written an article in Commentary saying that we have entered an era in which it is fashionable and obligatory for the press to disparage Presidents, and he gives a host of reasons for that. Do you believe that to be true?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, Mr. Smith, you will remember that in 1962 I had my hoedown with the press, and I have avoided one since. I have respect for the press. It is true that of all the Presidents in this century, it is probably true, that I have less, as somebody has said, supporters in the press than any President. I understand that, and I do not complain about it because it is philosophical.

MR. SMITH. Don't you think the press mistreated Lyndon Johnson more, and Harry Truman?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, as a matter of fact, I think President Johnson did get

a bad rap from the press and for the wrong reasons—on his style, for example. Now, when you take a man on because of his accent and because he happens to be from Texas or something like that, that is the wrong reason. If you take a man on on his policy, that is something else again.

No, understand, I am not complaining about my treatment from the press. I think it is a philosophical difference. I have many friends in the press, personal friends, as you are quite aware.

I have never taken on a member of the press individually. I have never called a publisher since I have been President. I have never called an editor to complain about anything. I have never called a television station to complain about it, and I never shall, as long as I have the opportunity to talk to the American people on a program like this directly. Then if I fail to communicate, it is my fault.

So, getting back to your major question, what about the problem of Presidents communicating with the American people, getting it across. I don't think we can blame the press, I don't think we can blame the media. I really don't think you can blame the President.

I think what it really gets down to is that the problems are enormous, and that the American people at the present time are frankly just frustrated. They are frustrated by having gone through Korea, and then they are frustrated by having gone through Vietnam.

When I said in an interview that there is a new isolationism growing in the country, I understand it. I know why people feel that way, because they say after all of this sacrifice, after all of this war, for what? Why can't we have some peace? We don't start any wars. We don't want anything from anybody else. Why can't they just leave us alone?

And so for that reason, any President who tries to see to it, to take the long view, to see to it that we do not take that very, very inviting but dangerous road of peace at any price, sort of an instant peace so to speak, any President who insists on giving that kind of leadership is going to have problems in communicating.

But I can also say this: Any President who didn't do it wouldn't be able to go to bed at night and sleep very well, knowing what he knows. You see, I know that if we fail, if we fail to meet America's commitment in the world, to be as strong as we need to be to deter any major aggressor and as strong as we need to be to help our friends with whom we have treaty alliances, and to have the will just at the time we are nearing the end to finish our involvement in Vietnam in a way that South Vietnam will be able to survive—that is what is on the line.

I think we can do it. I think we will. And I think that the American people will support it. Maybe the polls will go down, but I am not going to live or die by the polls. If I did, I wouldn't be here now.

FOREIGN POLICY CONSULTATION

[11.] MR. SMITH. Don't you think your job would be a lot easier if you carried Congress with you? Now, Senator Fulbright has complained that Congress has absolutely no control over foreign affairs. Two major actions, Cambodia and Laos, were undertaken with little information to and without the advice of Congress. Doesn't he have a point?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, Senator Fulbright has a point with regard to himself,

yes. But I should point out that if a majority of the Congress, Mr. Smith, disapproved of what the President was doing in Cambodia or in Laos, the majority of the Congress can act, and it can act by cutting off the funds. The majority of the Congress has not done that.

You may recall that the supplemental appropriation bill of $1 billion at the end of last year was passed by both Houses of Congress. Those votes will be close. There is great debate in the Congress. I respect the Congress. I would like to be able to carry the Congress perhaps better than we have. I would like better understanding in the Congress.

But, on the other hand, it is the responsibility of the President of the United States, particularly when as Commander in Chief he has responsibility for the lives of American men, to make those decisions that are going to save those lives. And Cambodia saved the lives of American men.

And may I say, too, that the thousands of North Vietnamese who were casualties in North Vietnam [Cambodia and Laos], the hundreds, the millions of rounds of ammunition that were destroyed there, the time that was bought there, all of these things—that means that the risk to American lives is substantially reduced, and that is why the support of that operation was worthwhile, in my opinion.

MR. SMITH. Now, Members of Congress obviously feel left out, feel they don't have much control, and a subsidiary complaint made by Senator Fulbright is that Congress has no access to White House aides who have played an ever larger role in advising on foreign affairs. The New York Times said the other day a coup d'etat could hardly deprive the people's elected representatives more completely of their constitutional powers than this gradual process of the White House, without accounting, taking over foreign affairs.

Is there something to that?

THE PRESIDENT. It is an old argument, Mr. Smith. As you know, from having studied many Presidents before this one, it has been raised with regard to virtually every Presidential adviser, and there is nothing to it.

I have Presidential advisers—Dr. Kissinger; I have my prime foreign policy adviser, the Secretary of State, with whom I just talked before coming on this program, and the Secretary of Defense on national security policy, with whom I just talked before coming on this program. Both of them, incidentally, have been testifying this past week before the Congress; some in public and some in private session.

And as far as a Presidential adviser is concerned, however, he cannot be hauled down before the Congress. Then you are going to have two Secretaries of State. You cannot have that; there can only be one.

MR. SMITH. Aside from the fact that you have the responsibility, wouldn't it be simply politically prudent if you invited the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee here every month and had a talk with them and listened to their suggestions and explained your point of view to them informally and gave them a sense of participation?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I would have to go really further than that. I would have to take the Foreign Affairs Committee and the Armed Services Committee and the Appropriations Committees, all of which, of course, have some significant control over these policies.

At the time of Cambodia, as Senator Fulbright will recall, I did have the whole group down, and we discussed some of these matters, and I answered questions.

The possibility of having meetings on an informal basis with committee members is something that I can consider. I see many of them individually.

For example, Senator Aiken, Senator Mansfield—I see him virtually every 2 to 3 weeks for breakfast as the majority leader. Any Senator who asks to see me usually gets in to see me. It is a question of time.

ACCESS TO THE PRESIDENT

[12.] MR. SMITH. The story keeps recurring that access to you is difficult. Newsweek carries a story this week that Secretary Volpe is having a hard time seeing you, as Mr. Hickel [2] complained he did. In the case of Senators, I will use names. A year ago Senator Javits, Republican, New York, the best vote-getter in the State of your party——

THE PRESIDENT. That is right.

MR. SMITH. ——said he had not been consulted by you on anything.

And Senator Dole, who is increasingly your spokesman, was heard to complain recently that he had been "shunted off" to lesser White House aides. Is that true?

THE PRESIDENT. I think there is no substitute, Mr. Smith, for seeing the man in the Oval Office, and yet while my schedule, as you probably are aware, due to a rather disciplined schedule in which I, unless I have a guest, eat breakfast alone in 5 minutes, never have guests for lunch—I do that in 5 minutes, too. I perhaps put more time in, in a day, than any President could put in, and it is because it is my way—I am not bragging about it.

But in terms of the number of people I see, the number of Senators, the number of Cabinet officers, the number of appointments, I would say that it is probably a record. But the more you see naturally the more others who don't get in as often want to see you. It is not possible to meet this adequately, but the only way I can figure it out is to cut another hour off of my sleep, but then I wouldn't be as sharp on this program.

EXECUTIVE AND CONGRESSIONAL POWERS

[13.] MR. SMITH. Well, the kind of thing I am concerned about is, I see—this is a prediction—I see the next 2 years being dominated by this political theme: The age-old conflict between the Executive and Congress, but in sharper form than ever. Resolutions are being prepared in the Senate to try and require your aides to testify, resolutions limiting your powers as Commander in Chief.

And there is another assault coming from another quarter, and I don't know whether you are aware of it. But tomorrow morning Senator Ervin begins hearings on the impounding of funds by you which had been appropriated by Congress. It is said that several billions of dollars that Congress has appropriated for things like dams and so on you have refused to spend, that this violates the Constitution and deprives Congress of its main power, the power of the purse.

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Smith, when I was a Senator and a Congressman, particularly when I was a Senator and a Congressman with a President in the other party in the White House, I played all those games, too, with very little success.

[2] Walter J. Hickel, Secretary of the Interior, 1969–70.

Now, these games are going to be played. The efforts will be made, it is true, by Members of the Senate, Members of the House, and some of them with the very best of intentions, to hamstring the Executive, the President. When it is the proper thing to do, it will be done.

But I think, generally speaking, you will find that in these great battles that have occurred through the years, between the President and the Congress, that sometimes the Congress wins, sometimes the President wins. But where the President's responsibility as Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces is concerned, and where the lives of American men are involved, usually the President wins and for good reason. You can have only one Commander in Chief.

We get back to this business of why not pass a resolution saying that we will get out of Vietnam by Christmas of this year. It is very easy to pass a resolution. It would be very popular for me, as a matter of fact, to sponsor it.

On the other hand, it is my judgment, as I have already indicated, that such a resolution would not be in the interest of the security of our own forces, not be in the interest of the negotiations, the possibility of negotiating release of our prisoners, and not in the interest of the United States long run in terms of ending this war in a way that might discourage another war coming.

That is my judgment. I have to fight for that judgment. If the Congress determines to move in another direction, so be it. I don't think it will, though, and I don't think the American people will support the Congress whenever it fights the President in his honest effort to serve as Commander in Chief and, in that service, to protect the lives of American men and to, in addition, conduct policy in a way that will avoid those lives being lost, we hope, at some future time.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

[14.] MR. SMITH. Mr. President, let me ask you some political questions now, because we are approaching a political year.

As you have acknowledged, the Republican Party is the Nation's minority party. No matter how often we reporters pronounce the old FDR coalition dead—the blacks, the poor, labor, and so on—every election it seems to pull together enough to keep the Democrats the majority party.

What plans have you got, what strategies do you intend to pursue to try to put the Republican Party back where it was before 1932, the permanent majority party?

THE PRESIDENT. That probably will not happen, Mr. Smith, to either the Republican or the Democratic Party. The Democratic Party is not a majority party either, as you know, because approximately—if you take the pollsters—approximately 42 to 43 percent of the people consider themselves to be Democrats. And then approximately 30 percent consider themselves Republicans and the other 30 percent consider themselves to be Independents.

So, we will never have a time again, in my opinion, in this country when you are going to have a polarization of Democrats versus Republicans. I think you are going to have the Independents controlling basically the balance of power.

Also, when you look at the Democratic Party, you must remember that 43 percent is somewhat overblown because it has particular weight because of the South. And many southern Democrats, and I can say

this looking back at our policies in the field of foreign policy and defense policy, many southern Democrats in the House and the Senate are our best supporters—best supporters of this President, not because he is a Republican, but because they think it is in the best interests of the country.

So, in my view, I do not believe that either the Republican or the Democratic Party will have a decisive majority such as the Republican Party had before 1932, such as the Democratic Party had in the period of the Roosevelt years.

What I think will happen is that both parties will vie for building the new coalition, starting with their hard core of hearty supporters and then moving into that group of Independents trying to get a field of the Independent voters and also moving over into the other party and picking up a considerable number of them.

THE 1972 CAMPAIGN

[15.] MR. SMITH. Talking about forming a coalition, the first Republican President in our history, he wanted to unite the Nation, when he ran for reelection he decided the best thing he could do was to choose a Democrat as a running mate. Now, I know you admire Abraham Lincoln. Do you think there are ever circumstances in which you will want to imitate him in this respect?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, Mr. Smith, when I went on this program, you remember I told you you could ask me anything, but I would have to determine what I answered.

As you may recall, I said after the election of 1970 that 1970 was a political year, and I, therefore, did my job working for the candidates of my party; 1971 is a non-political year, and that I would not engage in political activities in 1971.

I recognize that is an intriguing question. I have probably a very good answer. But I think that I will defer giving any answers at this time. Maybe ask me next year at this time, and I will give you an answer.

MR. SMITH. Mr. President, I will tell you a secret: I didn't expect an answer.

In one of your speeches you said you would rather be a one-term President than settle in Vietnam dishonorably. And a columnist recently has said that you have told a private person that you might voluntarily become a one-term President if your plans do not succeed by 1972.

Have you given serious thought to voluntarily becoming a one-term President?

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Smith, let me say, first, I have made no decisions with regard to what I will do in 1972, either for myself or for whoever may be the man who runs for Vice President.

On the other hand, I could say categorically that I have certainly made no decisions indicating that I will not be a candidate in '72, not that I will be or I will not be.

The idea of what you call voluntary retirement, I would suggest, is quite premature where I am concerned, and I would say that anybody who reads my life would perhaps take that kind of a story with a grain of salt.

CAMPAIGN SPENDING

[16.] MR. SMITH. Let me ask you a question you can give an answer to, sir. Regarding elections, to me the greatest danger to our democracy is soaring election costs. The costs are getting ridiculous. A candidate has to resort to rich vested

interests to pay those costs. He is bound to be in great degree beholden to them once he is elected. And I fear our democracy could turn into a plutocracy very easily. Now, I know many people on Capitol Hill are laying plans for legislation, but some of the Republicans have told me they first want to know what the White House position is and they haven't found out.

What is your view about those election costs?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, first, election costs are soaring, and I know from just comparisons. I recall when I ran for the House of Representatives the campaign cost $25,000. That was in 1946. Right now I don't think you can run a House campaign for less than $100,000 in any district except, perhaps, a rather safe district for an incumbent. That is just an indication of the costs.

So the problem is not the control of the cost, the problem is how. First, it must be comprehensive. There was a bill last year that simply would have controlled the cost as far as television is concerned. That would just be shutting one door and opening another one, because you give me an opportunity to do that and I can go out and buy newspaper ads and billboards and direct mail and the rest, and I will beat anybody who is limited simply on the television side.

So it must be comprehensive. It must cover television. It must cover all campaign expenses. As far as the specifics of a bill are concerned, Senator Scott has made some proposals; others have made others. We have not developed a position on it, but we will develop a position once we get further evidence as to what would be the best comprehensive bill to support.

MR. SMITH. When do you think that will be?

THE PRESIDENT. I would imagine it would come further on in the Senate session. They are, it seems to me, rather full in their calendar right at the present time. But whenever it comes up in the Senate session, because Senator Scott's is the major bill that has been proposed here, then, of course, we would have to develop our position by that time. But we are working on it. We are considering the various proposals that have been made.

We do favor a limitation on expenses. There is no question about that. The point is how can we have one which will do two things: One, it must be comprehensive, and the other point that I should make, it must not give an advantage to incumbents over challengers. That is another thing.

The last bill was very properly called the "incumbent's preservation bill." It gave a tremendous advantage to an incumbent over a challenger. Now, that may seem like arguing against myself, but, remember, I haven't made a decision with regard to '72, yet.

GOVERNMENTAL EFFECTIVENESS

[17.] MR. SMITH. We haven't talked about domestic affairs, and let me ask you a general domestic question. This is a cliche but a very vital cliche. I would like to hear you explain how it is that we can master the impossible, achieve perfection in 10,000 actions it takes to send the men to the moon, land them, and bring them back safely, and we can't make New York City a clean, pleasant place to live. Now, it is not size. I lived in Greater London, which is bigger, for 11 years, and everything works: Mass transit works, the police work, air pollution is declining. What are we doing wrong?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, this is the challenge of our time, Mr. Smith. That is why environment has been one of the six great goals that I have set out for the American people. We can clean up the air; we can clean up the water; we can also clean up the congestion; we can work on the problems of mass transit. But in order to do it we need what I have called a new American revolution.

The trouble with government today in this country—and I think I can summarize it in a word—is this, that to the average person out there in New York, in California, in Florida, wherever he may live, to that average person he looks at government, all government, and he is fed up with it, and the reason he is fed up with it is that it costs too much, it doesn't work, and he can't do anything about it.

That is why our new revenue sharing proposals, I think, have very, very great meaning, because they will reduce the cost of government, it will make it work better, but, more important, it is going to give people in New York and other places a chance to do something about it. As far as these programs are concerned, the other point that we have to bear in mind is that whether it is education, whether it is welfare, whether it is health, what we need is reform, not simply pouring billions of more dollars into these old programs—we can't do that—but what we need to do is to reform all of these programs, and that is why this Administration—and due to the fact that the problems of our foreign policy have not only in this Administration but in the previous Administration have been so predominant, people have failed to recognize it—that this Administration has the most progressive proposals in the area of reform of any administration in this century. And it is needed, it is desperately needed.

We are either going to have to reform the machinery of government in the United States or it is going to break down completely.

MR. SMITH. Well, now, sir, that is often cited as the great objection to revenue sharing—giving money without strings to States whose governments are not very good. And I would beg you to consult your Vice President who used to be the Governor of Maryland and tried to reform the constitution and couldn't get it done. They can't handle these modern problems with money. In the case of the cities, the last town fathers of Newark are mostly under indictment or in jail for misuse of funds. Don't you have to attach strings to them to make them reform before you give them money?

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Smith, I don't believe in that doctrine. I think it is repugnant to the American system that only a bureaucratic elite at the top of the heap in Washington knows what is best for the people out in the sticks. Sure, there are people—there are dishonest people in government, but there are dishonest people in National Government, too. There are dishonest people in State government.

But the way to make people more responsible, the way to get better people in the government, is to give them, it seems to me, more responsibility.

What I mean by that is that if your people who are mayors, county officials, and Governors are simply errand boys for the purpose of disbursing the money that is handed out with strings, all the decisions made by someone else, you are not going to get competent people to do the job.

But if, on the other hand, they have

some responsibility to make their own decisions about how to clean up New York City, how to revise State government, you are going to get better Governors, you are going to get better mayors, you are going to get better county officials.

And incidentally, on that point let me say that I have just met with the Nation's Governors. They are a pretty first-rate group of people—I mean, we are getting some fine Governors in this country, and we can get better Governors, better mayors, better county officials, by giving them more responsibility, not by taking responsibility away from them.

SUBURBAN INTEGRATION

[18.] MR. SMITH. Let me ask you just one question on civil rights.

It is clear after a generation of trial that the greatest block to integration of any form is segregated suburbs. Now, I have asked you about that before, and your answer has been that you oppose forced integration.

But does that not mean, in effect, the perpetuation of discrimination in housing, and is that not against the law?

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Smith, when you have basically a situation that is caused by economic considerations rather than by racial decisions, I do not believe that you can say that that is a violation of the law, or certainly not of the law or of the Constitution, either in spirit or in letter.

Let's understand that as far as any suburb is concerned they all must be open. Any individual must have a right, a constitutional right, to buy a house, rent a house or a home or an apartment, anyplace in this country, without regard to what his race or religion may be. That constitutional right now is guaranteed, and we will see that it is enforced.

On the other hand, if you have a situation where people are living in a certain area, people, say, who have purchased their homes—let us say they are $20,000 to $25,000 homes—then for the Federal Government to come in and say, we are going to insist that we will, in effect, break up this community, break it up from an economic standpoint, because those homes are too expensive for some people to move into—it may happen that some of those people may be black people, they may be other minority people, they may be white people, but because they are too expensive we are going to put lower—a low-cost Federal Government project in there—I do not believe that that kind of forced integration is either constitutional, and it certainly is not required by the law. Until it is required by the law, we are not going to do it.

CHANGES IN THE PRESIDENT

[19.] MR. SMITH. Mr. President, we have got just a short time left. This is a very unfair question to put to you in a short time. But I have noticed so many of your opinions have changed lately—in favor of deficit spending. When somebody attacked Mr. Yost for allegedly having a relationship with Alger Hiss,[3] you defended him.

Do you think you have changed greatly? Whatever happened to the jut-

[3] Charles W. Yost, U.S. Representative to the United Nations 1969–71, and Alger Hiss, former State Department official who was convicted of perjury following investigations into Communist activities by the House Un-American Activities Committee.

jawed, aggressive young man who would fight at the drop of a hat over those things?

THE PRESIDENT. The jaw is still there. As my wife has often said, there is not much I can do about my image. I was born with it.

But as far as the problems that we confront in this country are concerned, it is the responsibility of whoever reaches what Disraeli once referred to as the top of the greasy pole when he became Prime Minister, or whoever is in that Oval Office over there, he must see the problems of the world and the problems of his country in a very different perspective.

What is most important for the man who is President—I have often thought about it—what would you look for? Well, of course, you want a man who is intelligent. You hope he is reasonably intelligent, a man with courage, and a man who can give some political leadership, maybe make a speech, and that sort of thing.

But the most important single factor is that he must be one who has perspective and poise, what the Quakers call peace at the center, one who isn't knocked off balance by the stories, the crises of the moment, one who having that peace at the center then will make decisions, decisions with regard to our foreign policy, decisions with regard to the lives of men that you have referred to, in a way that will be in the best interests of the country.

MR. SMITH. There is one tyrant over all of us, and that is time. They tell me we are out of time. I thank you very much for this evening.

Good night.

NOTE: The interview began at 9:30 p.m. in the Library at the White House. It was broadcast live on ABC radio and television.

111 Statement About the Election of Edwin D. Etherington as President of the National Center for Voluntary Action. *March* 23, 1971

THE ELECTION of Edwin D. Etherington to the presidency of the National Center for Voluntary Action assures vigorous leadership for a vital endeavor. He brings to his new responsibility an admirable blend of energy, experience, and sensitivity, especially to the concerns of our young and disadvantaged.

In 1968 I pledged that in this Administration there would be "a new measure of reliance on voluntary efforts, and a new level of official public recognition of their immense contribution to the betterment of life in America."

In November 1969, after consulting with the Cabinet and seeking the advice of citizens representing some 250 voluntary organizations, I announced the formation of the National Center for Voluntary Action as part of the broader national program.

The National Center was conceived as a private, nonprofit, nonpolitical organization to work in a "creative partnership" with both the Federal Government and private volunteer agencies in encouraging a resurgence of voluntarism in America. Its efforts were to complement those programs already sponsored by the Federal Government such as the Peace Corps and VISTA.

Today, with Henry Ford II acting as

chairman and 120 volunteers from all walks of life serving on its board, the National Center for Voluntary Action has become an active force in stimulating new volunteer programs across the country. The Center's clearinghouse, sorely needed for many years, has now gathered 4,000 descriptions of actual volunteer efforts so that other communities, groups, or individuals can find out what has been tried and what solutions have been discovered by volunteers in the past. A national volunteer awards program has also been established to recognize outstanding individuals, and a large-scale communications program is underway.

I know that since the resignation of Charles B. Wilkinson on September 1, 1970, the Center has conducted a long and careful search for its new president. I congratulate the Center on its selection of Mr. Etherington, and I congratulate Mr. Etherington on his selection. He can count on the enthusiastic cooperation of this Administration and on my own deep and continuing personal interest.

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released the transcript of a news conference by Robert H. Finch, Counsellor to the President, and Mr. Etherington on Mr. Etherington's election.

Mr. Etherington was guest of honor at a private dinner hosted by the President at the White House in the evening.

112 Message to the Congress Transmitting Reorganization Plan 1 of 1971 To Establish ACTION. *March* 24, 1971

To the Congress of the United States:

America is a nation unique in the political history of the world. More than any other nation, it is the sum of the energies and efforts of all of its people. The American tradition of voluntary involvement—of freely committing one's time and talents in the search for civic improvement and social progress—gives an extra dimension to the meaning of democracy. In the past decade, the Federal Government has built on this tradition by developing channels for joining the spirit of voluntary citizen service in America with public needs, both domestically and abroad. Many of these efforts have had marked success. But the circumstances in which these efforts were conceived have changed.

National and international needs have altered. The opportunities for voluntary service must be adapted and improved to meet these new needs.

Recognizing that private channels of voluntary action are a vital source of strength in our national life, I have supported the establishment and development of the National Center for Voluntary Action. The National Center is a private, non-profit partner in the effort to generate and encourage volunteer service. The Center works to promote the establishment of local Voluntary Action Centers, as well as to assist in the expansion of voluntary action organizations already in existence. It stimulates voluntary action by providing information on successful voluntary efforts, and it assists in directing those who wish to volunteer services to areas and endeavors in which their services are needed.

The National Center for Voluntary

Action is functioning now to fill a vital need in the private voluntary sector. Now we must turn our attention to bringing government volunteer programs into line with new national priorities and new opportunities for meeting those priorities. We must take full advantage of the lessons of the past decade, and we must build on the experience of that period if we are to realize the full potential of voluntary citizen service. This is no longer a matter of choice. We cannot afford to misuse or ignore the considerable talents and energies of our people. In the coming years, the continued progress of our society is going to depend increasingly upon the willingness of more Americans to participate in voluntary service and upon our ability to channel their service effectively.

One matter of consequence to the problems of properly channeling volunteer services and expanding government's role in the development of volunteer resources is the proliferation of government volunteer programs. It was perhaps inevitable that these programs would be generated almost at random across the spectrum of government concern for human needs. This occurred in a period when the Federal Government was still attempting to define its relationship with, and its purposes in, the area of voluntary service. Now the role of government has been confirmed and its responsibilities and obligations are clear. Meeting these responsibilities and obligations will be a long, difficult, and challenging adventure. But it is an adventure we can look to with excitement and with the knowledge that the only sure source of failure can be a failure of the will of the American people. I do not believe it will fail.

The foundation for a greatly expanded government contribution to volunteer service already exists. Now we must consolidate that foundation in order to build on it. To accomplish this, I propose a reorganization of the present volunteer service system. Accordingly, I herewith transmit to the Congress Reorganization Plan No. 1 of 1971, prepared in accordance with chapter 9 of title 5 of the United States Code. Reorganization would bring together within a single agency a number of voluntary action programs presently scattered throughout the executive branch of the Federal Government. The new agency would be called Action.

Composition

Under the reorganization plan Action would administer the functions of the following programs:

—Volunteers in Service to America: VISTA volunteers work in domestic poverty areas to help the poor break the poverty cycle.

—Auxiliary and Special Volunteer Programs in the Office of Economic Opportunity: At present the National Student Volunteer Program is administered under this authority. This program stimulates student voluntary action programs which deal with the problems of the poor.

—Foster Grandparents: This program provides opportunities for the elderly poor to assist needy children.

—Retired Senior Volunteer Program: RSVP provides opportunities for retired persons to perform voluntary services in their communities.

—Service Corps of Retired Executives: SCORE provides opportunities for retired businessmen to assist in the development of small businesses.

—Active Corps of Executives: ACE

provides opportunities for working businessmen to assist in the development of small businesses.

After investigation I have found and hereby declare that each reorganization included in the accompanying reorganization plan is necessary to accomplish one or more of the purposes set forth in section 901(a) of title 5 of the United States Code. In particular, the plan is responsive to section 901(a)(1), "to promote the better execution of the laws, the more effective management of the executive branch and of its agencies and functions, and the expeditious administration of the public business;" and section 901(a)(3), "to increase the efficiency of the operations of the Government to the fullest extent practicable."

The reorganizations provided for in the plan make necessary the appointment and compensation of new officers as specified in section 1 of the plan. The rates of compensation fixed for these officers would be comparable to those fixed for officers in the executive branch who have similar responsibilities.

The reorganization plan should result in more efficient operation of the Government. It is not practical, however, to itemize or aggregate the exact expenditure reductions which would result from this action.

Upon the establishment of Action, I would delegate to it the principal authority for the Peace Corps now vested in me as President and delegated to the Secretary of State. In addition, the function of the Office of Voluntary Action, now operating in the Department of Housing and Urban Development, would be transferred to the new agency by executive action.

Finally, I will submit legislation which would include the transfer of the functions of the Teacher Corps from the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to the new agency. This legislation would expand authority to develop new uses of volunteer talents, it would provide a citizens' advisory board to work with the director of the new agency, and it would provide authority to match private contributions.

Goals

Although reorganization is only a step, it is the essential first step toward the goal of a system of volunteer service which uses to the fullest advantages the power of all the American people to serve the purposes of the American nation.

In pursuing this goal, the new agency would, first, expand the testing and development of innovations in voluntary actions. Health services, housing, the environment, educational development, manpower, and community planning are just a few of the areas in which we would act to accomplish more through voluntary service, and I intend to ask for additional funds and additional authority for Action to explore new approaches to these and other problems.

In the future, we are going to have to find new ways for more people to fulfill themselves and to lead satisfying and productive lives. The problems are of concern even now, but they must be put in perspective quickly because they will soon be upon us. I believe at least some of the answers will be found in volunteer service. Action would work to find those answers and apply them.

Second, there are many Americans who want to contribute to our national life through voluntary citizen service, but who

cannot serve full time. Their contributions must not be wasted. Volunteers in full-time service would work with part-time volunteers and the new agency would develop and provide opportunities for more people to give part-time service.

Third, Action would bring together in one place programs which appeal predominantly to younger Americans with those that appeal to older Americans, and would work to bring the energy, the innovative spirit, the experience, and the skills of each to bear on specific problems. The generations in America share America's problems—they must share in the search for solutions so that we all may share in the benefits of our solutions.

Fourth, Action would develop programs for combining foreign service with domestic service to accommodate volunteers interested in such an opportunity. I believe that young people in particular would be interested in the chance for this experience and would greatly benefit from it. I know there would be great value, for example, in permitting those who have served the needs of the poor abroad to turn their skills and experience to helping the poor at home, and vice versa. In addition, if volunteers are to reap the full benefit of serving, and if they are to be able to provide others the full benefit of their service, then we must open the doors to a fuller exchange of ideas and experiences between overseas and domestic volunteer efforts. These exchanges would considerably enhance the value of the experience gained in these endeavors by broadening the areas in which that experience is applied.

Fifth, at the present time valuable professional skills offered in voluntary service are too frequently limited by narrow categorical programs when their broader application is urgently needed. For example, the contributions of businessmen made through SCORE and ACE are provided only through the Small Business Administration. We know that the skills of business can be used in many areas where they are not used presently. Action would open new channels for service and would permit a more extensive utilization of business and other vocational and professional abilities.

Finally, by centralizing administrative functions of the volunteer services, the new agency would provide a more effective system of recruitment, training, and placement of full-time volunteers than the present circumstances permit. It would provide a single source of information and assistance for those who seek to volunteer full-time service. And it would permit more effective management of services than is currently possible in the administration of volunteer programs, as well as the more efficient use of resources.

Principles

In restructuring our system of volunteer services, we can accomplish the goals which I have set forth. But we must do more than this. We must restructure our thinking about volunteer services. We must determine how to use our volunteer resources to accomplish more than they accomplish now. We need an increased effort to stimulate broader volunteer service, to involve more volunteers, and to involve them not simply as foot-soldiers in massive enterprises directed from the top, but in those often small and local efforts that show immediate results, that give immediate satisfaction—those efforts that return to citizens a sense of having a hand in the business

71-234—72——33

of building America. Part of our rethinking of this matter must look to the past so that we may properly meet the needs of the present and prepare for the possibilities of the future.

Volunteer service in poverty areas is a case in point. We already have considerable experience in dealing with the problems of poverty through the use of volunteers. Now we must build upon this experience and find new ways to use more effectively the volunteers presently serving in poverty areas, as well as in all other areas, and to stimulate new programs so that additional numbers of volunteers can assist in the solution of community and national problems.

In line with this effort to build on what we have learned, Action would function with particular concern for these basic principles:

—It would encourage local initiative, and would support local programs to solve local problems.

—Where appropriate, the new agency would assign volunteers to assist, and work under the technical supervision of other Federal agencies, State and local agencies or organizations, and private sponsors.

—The services of local part-time volunteers would be sought and supported in the effort to accomplish specific jobs. They would be assisted, when necessary, by full-time volunteers.

—Universities and colleges, State, city and private organizations must be engaged in the effort to broaden opportunities for volunteer service and under the new agency they would be assisted in these efforts.

—Finally, to meet the increasing need for skilled volunteers Action would give increased emphasis to recruiting and applying the skills of trained craftsmen and professional workers.

Funding

To insure that the new agency has the financial resources to begin working toward the goals I have outlined, I will seek for this agency an additional $20 million above the budget requests I have already submitted for the component agencies. These funds would be directed primarily to finding new ways to use volunteer services.

Conclusion

The early nineteenth century observer of America, Alexis de Tocqueville, was intrigued by the propensity of Americans to join together in promoting common purposes. "As soon as several of the inhabitants of the United States have taken up an opinion or a feeling which they wish to promote in the world, they look out for mutual assistance, and as soon as they have found one another out, they combine. From that moment they are no longer isolated men, but a power seen from afar. . . ."

Though we have seen the success of Government volunteer efforts in the past ten years, I believe voluntary citizen service is still little more than a power seen from afar. In relation to its potential, this power is virtually undeveloped. We must develop it.

There are those today, as there always will be, who find infinite fault with life in this Nation and who conveniently forget that they share responsibility for the quality of life we lead. But our needs are too great for this attitude to be accepted. America belongs to all of its people. We

are all responsible for the direction this Nation will take in the century ahead, for the quality of life we will lead and our children will lead. We are all responsible, whether we choose to be or not, for the survival and the success of the American experience and the American dream.

So there is little room for the luxury of making complaints without making commitments.

America must enlist the ideals, the energy, the experience, and the skills of its people on a larger scale than it ever has in the past. We must insure that these efforts be used to maximum advantage. We must insure that the desire to serve be linked with the opportunity to serve. We must match the vision of youth with the wisdom of experience. We must apply the understanding gained from foreign service to domestic needs, and we must extend what we learn in domestic service to other nations. And in all these endeavors, I believe, we can bring the power seen from afar to focus clearly on the problems and the promise of our time.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
March 24, 1971

NOTE: Reorganization Plan 1 of 1971 became effective on July 1, 1971.

On June 30, the President signed Executive Order 11603, further implementing the reorganization plan.

A White House announcement of the intention to nominate Joseph H. Blatchford, Director, Peace Corps, as Director of ACTION was released on July 1 and is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 7, p. 1012). On the same day, the White House also released the transcript of a news conference by Mr. Blatchford and Durward B. Varner, chancellor, University of Nebraska at Lincoln, on the nomination.

On March 24, the White House released a fact sheet and the transcript of a news briefing on the reorganization plan by Mr. Blatchford and Carol Khosrovi, Director, VISTA.

113 Telegram Congratulating Reverend Walter E. Fauntroy on His Election as District of Columbia Delegate to Congress. *March* 24, 1971

CONGRATULATIONS on your election as Delegate to the Congress from the District of Columbia. It is my earnest hope that we will work well together. I assure you that the Administration will provide every assistance to you and your office on matters of mutual interest that will benefit and improve our Nation's great Capital City. I hope you will attend the meeting tomorrow afternoon at the White House of black Members of the Congress. With best personal regards,

RICHARD NIXON

NOTE: The telegram was posted for the press.

114 Statement About Senate Action Disapproving Funds for the Supersonic Transport Program. *March* 24, 1971

TODAY'S action by the Senate in disapproving funds for continued development of the supersonic transport prototypes is both distressing and disap-

pointing. It represents a severe blow not only to the tens of thousands of workers affected, and to their families, but also to the United States continued leadership position in the aerospace industry. More deeply, it could be taken as a reversal of America's tradition of staying in the vanguard of scientific and technological advance.

I am determined that this vote on the SST will not be a shift in basic direction. It is a setback, but we will remain on a continuing course of exploration and development in those areas in which America traditionally has taken the leading role, and from which so much has flowed to the benefit of mankind.

It has always been America's pride, and the source of much of our strength, that we have constantly reached out toward new horizons in the search for knowledge—not from a chauvinistic desire to be number one, but from the conviction that we must continue to develop the countless new benefits that flow from exploration of the unknown. Development of the SST has been a part of that proud, creative, and deeply humanistic tradition. Though the Congress has declined to continue helping fund this development, I shall strive to ensure that the tradition is maintained.

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing on the SST program by William M. Magruder, Director, Supersonic Transport Development, Department of Transportation.

On March 23, 1971, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing by Senator Hugh Scott and Representative Gerald R. Ford on a discussion of the SST program during the Republican leadership meeting with the President.

115 Remarks to Reporters at a Briefing on a Special Message to the Congress on Executive Branch Reorganization. *March* 25, 1971

Ladies and gentlemen:

I have selected this particular message to come to the press room to present the briefers because of its historic significance. This message on Government reorganization is the result of 2 years of study within the Administration. Without the persuasive arguments that were made for this plan by Secretary of the Treasury Connally when he was a member of the Ash Council, this message would not be going to the Congress today.

He feels very strongly that this not only has historical significance but that it is imperative in terms of making our Government work better in this last third of this century. Consequently, I have asked him, not just in his capacity as Secretary of the Treasury but primarily as a member of the Council that was responsible for making these recommendations which I have now endorsed, to lead off on the briefing team, and then Mr. Weber of the OMB will go into any of the details.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:32 a.m. in the Briefing Room at the White House.

On the same day, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing on the proposed reorganization by Secretary Connally and Arnold R. Weber, Associate Director, Office of Management and Budget.

116 Special Message to the Congress on Executive Branch Reorganization. *March 25, 1971*

To the Congress of the United States:

When I suggested in my State of the Union Message that "most Americans today are simply fed up with government at all levels," there was some surprise that such a sweeping indictment of government would come from within the government itself. Yet it is precisely there, within the government itself, that frustration with government is often most deeply experienced.

A President and his associates often feel that frustration as they try to fulfill their promises to the people. Legislators feel that frustration as they work to carry out the hopes of their constituents. And dedicated civil servants feel that frustration as they strive to achieve in action the goals which have been established in law.

Good Men and Bad Mechanisms

The problem with government is not, by and large, the people in government. It is a popular thing, to be sure, for the public to blame elected officials and for elected officials to blame appointed officials when government fails to perform. There are times when such criticism is clearly justified. But after a quarter century of observing government from a variety of vantage points, I have concluded that the people who work in government are more often the victims than the villains when government breaks down. Their spirit has usually been willing. It is the structure that has been weak.

Good people cannot do good things with bad mechanisms. But bad mechanisms can frustrate even the noblest aims. That is why so many public servants—of both political parties, of high rank and low, in both the legislative and executive branches—are often disenchanted with government these days. That is also why so many voters feel that the results of elections make remarkably little difference in their lives.

Just as inadequate organization can frustrate good men and women, so it can dissipate good money. At the Federal level alone we have spent some $1.1 trillion on domestic programs over the last 25 years, but we have not realized a fair return on this investment. The more we spend, the more it seems we need to spend and while our tax bills are getting bigger our problems are getting worse.

No, the major cause of the ineffectiveness of government is not a matter of men or of money. It is principally a matter of machinery. It will do us little good to change personnel or to provide more resources unless we are willing to undertake a critical review of government's overall design.

Most people do not pay much attention to mechanical questions. What happens under the hood of their automobile, for example, is something they leave to the specialists at the garage. What they do care about, however, is how well the automobile performs. Similarly, most people are willing to leave the mechanical questions of government organization to those who have specialized in that subject—and to their elected leaders. But they do care very deeply about how well the government performs.

At this moment in our history, most Americans have concluded that govern-

ment is not performing well. It promises much, but it does not deliver what it promises. The great danger, in my judgment, is that this momentary disillusionment with government will turn into a more profound and lasting loss of faith.

We must fight that danger. We must restore the confidence of the people in the capacities of their government. In my view, that obligation now requires us to give more profound and more critical attention to the question of government organization than any single group of American leaders has done since the Constitutional Convention adjourned in Philadelphia in September of 1787. As we strive to bring about a new American Revolution, we must recognize that central truth which those who led the original American Revolution so clearly understood: often it is *how* the government is put together that determines how *well* the government can do its job.

This is not a partisan matter, for there is no Republican way and no Democratic way to reorganize the government. This is not a matter for dogmatic dispute, for there is no single, ideal blueprint which will immediately bring good order to Federal affairs. Nor is this a matter to be dealt with once and then forgotten. For it is important that our political institutions remain constantly responsive to changing times and changing problems.

Renewed Interest in Comprehensive Reform

The last two years have been a time of renewed interest in the question of how government is organized. The Congress has instituted a number of reforms in its own procedures and is considering others. Judicial reform—at all levels of government—has also become a matter of intense concern. The relationship between various levels of government has attracted increased attention—and so, of course, has the subject of executive reform.

This administration, with the counsel and the cooperation of the Congress, has taken a number of steps to reorganize the executive branch of the Federal Government. We have set up a new Domestic Council and a new Office of Management and Budget in the Executive Office of the President. We have created a new Environmental Protection Agency and a new United States Postal Service. We have worked to rationalize the internal structure of Federal departments and agencies.

All of these and other changes have been important, but none has been comprehensive. And now we face a fundamental choice. We can continue to tinker with the machinery and to make constructive changes here and there—each of them bringing some marginal improvement in the Government's capacities. Or we can step back, take a careful look, and then make a concerted and sustained effort to reorganize the executive branch according to a coherent, comprehensive view of what the Federal Government of this Nation *ought* to look like in the last third of the twentieth century.

The impulse for comprehensive reorganization has been felt before in recent decades. In fact, the recommendations I am making today stem from a long series of studies which have been made under several administrations over many years. From the report of the President's Com-

mittee on Administrative Management (the Brownlow[1] Committee) in 1937, down through the findings of the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government (the Hoover[2] Commission) in 1949, the President's Task Force on Government Organization in 1964, and my own Advisory Council on Executive Organization during the last two years,[3] the principles which I am advancing today have been endorsed by a great number of distinguished students of government and management from many backgrounds and from both political parties.

I hope the Congress will now join me in concluding, with these authorities, that we should travel the course of comprehensive reform. For only if we travel that course, and travel it successfully, will we be able to answer affirmatively in our time the fundamental question posed by Alexander Hamilton as the Constitution was being debated in 1788: "whether societies of men are really capable or not of establishing good government from reflection and choice. . . ."

The Fragmentation of Federal Responsibility

As we reflect on organizational problems in the Federal Government today, one seems to stand out above all others: the fact that the capacity to *do* things—the power to achieve goals and to solve problems—is exceedingly fragmented and broadly scattered throughout the Federal establishment. In addressing almost any of the great challenges of our time, the Federal Government finds itself speaking through a wide variety of offices and bureaus, departments and agencies. Often these units trip over one another as they move to meet a common problem. Sometimes they step on one another's toes. Frequently, they behave like a series of fragmented fiefdoms—unable to focus Federal resources or energies in a way which produces any concentrated impact.

Consider these facts:

Nine different Federal departments and twenty independent agencies are now involved in education matters. Seven departments and eight independent agencies are involved in health. In many major cities, there are at least twenty or thirty separate manpower programs, funded by a variety of Federal offices. Three departments help develop our water resources and four agencies in two departments are involved in the management of public lands. Federal recreation areas are administered by six different agencies in three departments of the government. Seven agencies provide assistance for water and sewer systems. Six departments of the government collect similar economic information—often from the same sources—and at least seven departments are concerned with international trade. While we cannot eliminate all of this diffusion, we can do a great deal to bring similar functions under common commands.

It is important that we move boldly to

[1] The late Louis Brownlow, journalist, public official, and director and trustee, Public Administration Clearinghouse 1931–56, was Chairman of the Committee.

[2] Former President Herbert Hoover was Chairman of the Commission.

[3] The President's Advisory Council on Executive Organization completed its work and resigned on May 7, 1971. A White House announcement of the Council's resignation is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 7, p. 734).

consolidate the major activities of the Government. The programmatic jumble has already reached the point where it is virtually impossible to obtain an accurate count of just how many Federal grant programs exist. Some estimates go as high as 1,500. Despite impressive attempts by individual legislators and by the Office of Economic Opportunity, there is still no agreement on a comprehensive list. Again and again I hear of local officials who are unable to determine how many Federal programs serve their areas or how much Federal money is coming into their communities. One reason is that the assistance comes from such wide variety of Federal sources.

The Consequences of Scattered Responsibility

What are the consequences of this scattering of Federal responsibility? There are many.

In the first place, the diffusion of responsibility makes it extremely difficult to launch a coordinated attack on complex problems. It is as if the various units of an attacking army were operating under a variety of highly independent commands. When one part of the answer to a problem lies in one department and other parts lie in other departments, it is often impossible to bring the various parts together in a unified campaign to achieve a common goal.

Even our basic analysis of public needs often suffers from a piecemeal approach. Problems are defined so that they will fit within established jurisdictions and bureaucratic conventions. And the results of government action are typically measured by the degree of activity within each program rather than by the overall impact of related activities on the outside world.

The role of a given department in the policy making process can be fundamentally compromised by the way its mission is defined. The narrower the mission, the more likely it is that the department will see itself as an advocate within the administration for a special point of view. When any department or agency begins to represent a parochial interest, then its advice and support inevitably become less useful to the man who must serve *all* of the people as their President.

Even when departments make a concerted effort to broaden their perspectives, they often find it impossible to develop a comprehensive strategy for meeting public needs. Not even the best planners can set intelligent spending priorities, for example, unless they have an opportunity to consider the full array of alternative expenditures. But if one part of the problem is studied in one department and another part of the problem is studied elsewhere, who decides which element is more important? If one office considers one set of solutions and a separate agency investigates another set of solutions, who can compare the results? Too often, no official below the very highest levels of the Government has access to enough information to make such comparisons wisely. The result is that the Government often fails to make a rational distribution of its resources among a number of program alternatives.

Divided responsibility can also mean that some problems slip between the cracks and disappear from the Government's view. Everybody's business becomes nobody's business and embarrassing gaps appear which no agency at-

tempts to fill. At other times, various Federal authorities act as rivals, competing with one another for the same piece of "turf."

Sometimes one agency will actually duplicate the work of another; for instance, the same locality may receive two or more grants for the same project. On other occasions, Federal offices will actually find themselves working at cross purposes with one another; one agency will try to preserve a swamp, for example, while another is seeking to drain it. In an effort to minimize such problems, government officials must spend enormous amounts of time and energy negotiating with one another that should be directed toward meeting people's needs. And even when they are able to work out their differences, officials often reach compromise solutions which merely represent the lowest common denominator of their original positions. Bold and original ideas are thus sacrificed in the quest for intragovernmental harmony.

Scattered responsibility also contributes to the over-centralization of public decision making. Because competing offices are often in different chains of command, it is frequently impossible for them to resolve their differences except by referring them to higher authorities, a process which can mean interminable delays. In an attempt to provide a means for resolving such differences and for providing needed coordination, an entire new layer of bureaucracy has emerged at the *interagency* level. Last year, the Office of Management and Budget counted some 850 interagency committees. Even so, there are still many occasions when only the White House itself can resolve such interjurisdictional disputes. Too many questions thus surface at the Presidential level that should be resolved at levels of Government closer to the scene of the action.

Inefficient organization at the Federal level also undermines the effectiveness of State and local governments. Mayors and Governors waste countless hours and dollars touching base with a variety of Federal offices—each with its own separate procedures and its own separate policies. Some local officials are so perplexed by the vast array of Federal programs in a given problem area that they miss out on the very ones that would be most helpful to them. Many State and local governments find they must hire expensive specialists to guide them through the jungles of the Federal bureaucracy.

If it is confusing for lower levels of government to deal with this maze of Federal offices, that challenge can be even more bewildering for individual citizens. Whether it is a doctor seeking aid for a new health center, a businessman trying to get advice about selling in foreign markets, or a welfare recipient going from one office to another in order to take full advantage of Federal services, the people whom the Government is supposed to be serving are often forced to weave their way through a perplexing obstacle course as a condition of receiving help.

The Hobbling of Elected Leadership

Perhaps the most significant consequence of scattered responsibility in the executive branch is the hobbling effect it has on elected leadership—and, therefore, on the basic principles of democratic government. In our political system, when the people identify a problem they elect to public office men and women who promise to solve that problem. If these

71-234—72——34

leaders succeed, they can be reelected; if they fail, they can be replaced. Elections are the people's tool for keeping government responsive to their needs.

This entire system rests on the assumption, however, that elected leaders can make the government respond to the people's mandate. Too often, this assumption is wrong. When lines of responsibility are as tangled and as ambiguous as they are in many policy areas, it is extremely difficult for either the Congress or the President to see that their intentions are carried out.

If the President or the Congress wants to launch a program or change a program or even find out how a program is working, it often becomes necessary to consult with a half dozen or more authorities, each of whom can blame the others when something goes wrong. It is often impossible to delegate to any one official the full responsibility for carrying out a specific mandate, since the machinery for doing that job is divided among various agencies. As a result, there is frequently no single official—even at the Cabinet level—whom the President or the Congress can hold accountable for Government's success or failure in meeting a given need.

No wonder bureaucracy has sometimes been described as "the rule of no one." No wonder the public complains about programs which simply seem to drift. When elected officials cannot hold appointees accountable for the performance of government, then the voters' influence on government's behavior is also weakened.

How Did Things Get This Way?

The American people clearly pay a very high price for the incapacities of governmental structures—one that is measured in disappointment, frustration and wasted tax dollars. But how did things get this way?

What happened, essentially, was that the organization of Government—like the grant-in-aid programs which I have discussed in my special messages to the Congress concerning revenue sharing—grew up in a haphazard, piecemeal fashion over the years. Whenever Government took on an important new assignment or identified an important new constituency, the chances were pretty good that a new organizational entity would be established to deal with it. Unfortunately, as each new office was set up, little or no attention was given to the question of how it would fit in with the old ones. Thus office was piled upon office in response to developing needs; when new needs arose and still newer units were created, the older structures simply remained in place.

Of the twelve executive departments now in existence, only five can trace their origins to the beginnings of our country. The Departments of State and Treasury were set up in 1789; so was the War Department—the predecessor of the Department of Defense. The positions of Attorney General and Postmaster General were also established in 1789, though it was not until later that the departments they head were set up in their present form. One of these five units, the Post Office Department, will soon become an independent corporation. But, under my proposals, the other four "original" departments would remain intact. It is the seven newer departments of the Government which would be affected by the changes I recommend.

These seven departments were set up to meet the changing needs of a growing nation, needs which have continued to

change over the years. The Department of the Interior, for example, was established in 1849 to deal with newly opened western lands and especially with the Indians who inhabited them. The Department of Agriculture was also added in the nineteenth century, at a time when the overwhelming majority of our people were directly affected by the tremendous expansion of agricultural enterprise. In the early years of the twentieth century, in a time of rapid and unsettling industrial growth, the Department of Commerce and Labor was set up. The Labor Department was split off from it in 1913, in response to feelings that labor was suffering from an imbalance of power and needed additional influence. The three newest departments of the Government—Health, Education, and Welfare, Housing and Urban Development, and Transportation—were all created after World War II. Each represented a first step toward bringing together some of the new Federal offices and agencies which had proliferated so rapidly in recent decades.

Organizing Around Goals

As we look at the present organization of the Federal Government, we find that many of the existing units deal with methods and subjects rather than with purposes and goals. If we have a question about labor we go to the Labor Department and if we have a business problem we go to the Commerce Department. If we are interested in housing we go to one department and if we are interested in highways we go to another.

The problem is that as our society has become more complex, we often find ourselves using a *variety* of *means* to achieve a *single* set of *goals*. We are interested, for example, in economic development—which requires new markets, more productive workers and better transportation systems. But which department do we go to for that? And what if we want to build a new city, with sufficient public facilities, adequate housing, and decent recreation areas—which department do we petition then?

We sometimes seem to have forgotten that government is not in business to deal with subjects on a chart but to achieve real objectives for real human beings. These objectives will never be fully achieved unless we change our old ways of thinking. It is not enough merely to reshuffle departments for the sake of reshuffling them. We must rebuild the executive branch according to a new understanding of how government can best be organized to perform effectively.

The key to that new understanding is the concept that the executive branch of the government should be organized around basic goals. Instead of grouping activities by narrow subjects or by limited constituencies, we should organize them around the great purposes of government in modern society. For only when a department is set up to achieve a given set of purposes, can we effectively hold that department accountable for achieving them. Only when the responsibility for realizing basic objectives is clearly focused in a specific governmental unit, can we reasonably hope that those objectives will be realized.

When government is organized by goals, then we can fairly expect that it will pay more attention to results and less attention to procedures. Then the success of government will at last be clearly linked to the things that happen in society

rather than the things that happen in government.

Under the proposals which I am submitting, those in the Federal Government who deal with common or closely related problems would work together in the same organizational framework. Each department would be given a mission broad enough so that it could set comprehensive policy directions and resolve internally the policy conflicts which are most likely to arise. The responsibilities of each department would be defined in a way that minimizes parochialism and enables the President and the Congress to hold specific officials responsible for the achievement of specific goals.

These same organizational principles would also be applied to the *internal* organization of each department. Similar functions would be grouped together within each new entity, making it still easier to delegate authority to lower levels and further enhancing the accountability of subordinate officials. In addition, the proposals I submit today include a number of improvements in the management of Federal programs, so that we can take full advantage of the opportunities afforded us by organizational restructuring.

The administration is today transmitting to the Congress four bills which, if enacted, would replace seven of the present executive departments and several other agencies with four new departments: the Department of Natural Resources, the Department of Community Development, the Department of Human Resources and the Department of Economic Affairs. A special report and summary—which explain my recommendations in greater detail—have also been prepared for each of the proposed new departments.

The Department of Natural Resources

One of the most notable developments in public consciousness in recent years has been a growing concern for protecting the environment and a growing awareness of its highly interdependent nature. The science of ecology—the study of the interrelationships between living organisms and their environments—has experienced a sudden rise in popularity. All of us have become far more sensitive to the way in which each element of our natural habitat affects all other elements.

Unfortunately, this understanding is not yet reflected in the way our Government is organized. Various parts of the *interdependent* environment are still under the purview of highly *independent* Federal offices. As a result, Federal land policies, water programs, mineral policies, forestry practices, recreation activities and energy programs cannot be easily coordinated, even though the manner in which each is carried out has a great influence on all the others.

Again and again we encounter intragovernmental conflicts in the environmental area. One department's watershed project, for instance, threatens to slow the flow of water to another department's reclamation project downstream. One agency wants to develop an electric power project on a certain river while other agencies are working to keep the same area wild. Different departments follow different policies for timber production and conservation, for grazing, for fire prevention and for recreational activities on the Federal lands they control, though the lands are often contiguous.

We cannot afford to continue in this

manner. The challenges in the natural resource field have become too pressing. Some forecasts say that we will double our usage of energy in the next 10 years, of water in the next 18 years, and of metals in the next 22 years. In fact, it is predicted that the United States will use more energy and more critical resources in the remaining years of this century than in all of our history up until now. Government must perform at its very best if it is to help the Nation meet these challenges.

I propose that a new Department of Natural Resources be created that would bring together the many natural resource responsibilities now scattered throughout the Federal Government. This Department would work to conserve, manage and utilize our resources in a way that would protect the quality of the environment and achieve a true harmony between man and nature. The major activities of the new Department would be organized under its five subdivisions: Land and Recreation Resources, Water Resources, Energy and Minerals Resources, Oceanic, Atmospheric and Earth Sciences, and Indian and Territorial Affairs.

The new Department of Natural Resources would absorb the present Department of the Interior. Other major programs which would be joined to it would include: The Forest Service and the soil and water conservation programs from the Department of Agriculture, planning and funding for the civil functions of the Army Corps of Engineers and for the civilian power functions of the Atomic Energy Commission, the interagency Water Resources Council, the oil and gas pipeline safety functions of the Department of Transportation, and the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration from the Department of Commerce. Because of their historical association with the Department of the Interior, the programs of the Bureau of Indian Affairs would be administered by the new Department until such time as an acceptable alternative arrangement could be worked out with Indian leaders and other concerned parties.

The Department of Community Development

A restless and highly mobile people, Americans are constantly creating new communities and renewing old ones throughout our land. In an era of rapid change, this process—which once took generations—can now be repeated in just a few years.

At the same time, the process of community development is becoming even more complex, particularly as the problems of urban and rural communities begin to merge. The elements of community life are many and the mark of a cohesive community is the harmonious way in which they interrelate. That is why we hear so much these days about the importance of community planning. And that is why it is essential that Federal aid for community development be designed to meet a wide range of related needs in a highly coordinated manner.

Often this does not happen under the present system. The reason is that the basic community development programs of the Federal Government are presently divided among at least eight separate authorities—including four executive departments and four independent agencies.

A community that seeks development assistance thus finds that it has to search out aid from a variety of Federal agen-

cies. Each agency has its own forms and regulations and timetables—and its own brand of red tape. Each has its own field organizations, often with independent and overlapping boundaries for regions and districts. Sometimes a local community must consult with Federal offices in three or four different States.

The result is that local leaders often find it virtually impossible to relate Federal assistance programs to their own local development strategies. The mayor of one small town has observed that by the time he finishes dealing with eight Federal planning agencies, he has little time to do anything else.

Occasionally, it must be admitted, a community can reap unexpected benefits from this diffusion of Federal responsibility. The story is told of one small city that applied to six different agencies for help in building a sewage treatment plant and received affirmative responses from all six. If all the grants had been completed, the community would have cleared a handsome profit—but at the Federal taxpayer's expense.

To help correct such problems, I propose that the major community development functions of the Federal Government be pulled together into a new Department of Community Development. It would be the overriding purpose of this Department to help build a wholesome and safe community environment for every American. This process would require a comprehensive series of programs which are equal to the demands of growing population and which provide for balanced growth in urban and rural areas. The new Department would operate through three major administrations: a Housing Administration, a Community Transportation Administration and an Urban and Rural Development Administration. A fourth unit, the Federal Insurance Administration, would be set up administratively by the Secretary.

The new Department of Community Development would absorb the present Department of Housing and Urban Development. Other components would include certain elements of the Economic Development Administration and the Regional Commission programs from the Department of Commerce, the independent Appalachian Regional Commission, various Department of Agriculture programs including water and waste disposal grants and loans, the Rural Electrification Administration, and rural housing programs. The Community Action and Special Impact Programs of the Office of Economic Opportunity would be included, as would the Public Library construction grant program from the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and certain disaster assistance functions now handled by the Office of Emergency Preparedness and the Small Business Administration. Most Federal highway programs and the Urban Mass Transportation Administration would be transferred from the present Department of Transportation.

I would note that while the Department of Transportation is a relatively new entity, it, too, is now organized around methods and not around purposes. A large part of the Department of Transportation would be moved into the new Department of Economic Affairs—but those functions which particularly support community development would be placed in the Department which is designed to meet that goal.

The Department of Human Resources

The price of obsolete organization is evidenced with special force in those Government programs which are directly designed to serve individuals and families. In part this is because there has been so much new legislation in the human resource field in recent decades; the old machinery is simply overstrained by its new challenges. But whatever the reasons, human resource programs comprise one area in which the Government is singularly ill-equipped to deliver adequate results.

I have already commented on the broad dispersion of Federal health and education activities. Similar examples abound. Income support programs, including those which administer food stamps, welfare payments, retirement benefits and other forms of assistance, are scattered among three departments and a number of other agencies. The Department of Agriculture, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and the Office of Economic Opportunity all handle food and nutrition matters. Child care programs, migrant programs, manpower programs, and consumer programs often suffer from similarly divided attention.

In one city, two vocational training centers were built three blocks apart at about the same time and for the same purpose, with money from two different Federal agencies. And for every case of overattention, there are many more of neglect. Consider the plight of a poor person who must go to one office for welfare assistance, to another for food stamps, to another for financial counseling, to still another for legal aid, to a fifth office for employment assistance, to a sixth place for job training, and to a number of additional offices for various kinds of medical help. The social worker who might guide him through this maze often works in still another location.

Such situations are clearly intolerable, yet the Federal Government—which ought to be working to reform these confused systems—actually is responsible for much of the confusion in the first place.

I believe that we can take a major step toward remedying such problems by establishing a new Department of Human Resources which would unify major Federal efforts to assist the development of individual potential and family well-being. This Department would be subdivided, in turn, into three major administrations: Health, Human Development, and Income Security.

This new Department would incorporate most of the present Department of Health, Education, and Welfare with the following significant additions: a number of food protection, food distribution and nutrition programs from the Department of Agriculture, the College Housing program from the Department of Housing and Urban Development, the independent Railroad Retirement Board, various programs from the Office of Economic Opportunity (including nutrition, health, family planning, alcoholism, and drug rehabilitation efforts), and the Manpower Administration, the Women's Bureau, the Unemployment Insurance Program and a number of other employment service and training activities from the Department of Labor.

The Department of Economic Affairs

One of the first things most students learn about economics is that the mate-

rial progress of our civilization has resulted in large measure from a growing division of labor. While a single family or a single community once provided most of its own goods and services, it now specializes in providing only a few, depending increasingly on a far-flung, intricate network of other people and other organizations for its full economic well-being.

The only way the Federal Government can deal effectively with such a highly interdependent economy is by treating a wide range of economic considerations in a comprehensive and coordinated manner. And—as our Gross National Product moves beyond the trillion dollar level and as our productive system, which now accounts for approximately 40 percent of the world's wealth, encounters new challenges from other nations—it is becoming even more important that Federal economic policies be carried out as effectively as possible.

But again, the organization of the Government works against the systematic consideration of economic complexities. The step by step evolution of our Federal machinery has created a series of separate entities—each handling a separate part of the economic puzzle. Some of these entities are relatively autonomous units within departments. Others are independent agencies. But perhaps the most dramatic evidence of our fragmented approach to the economy is the existence of four major executive departments which handle highly interdependent economic matters: Commerce, Labor, Agriculture, and Transportation.

This situation can seriously impair governmental efforts to respond effectively to economic challenges. One department, for example, may be concerned with the raw materials a given industry receives from the farms, while a second department is concerned with getting these materials to the factory and getting the product to its market. Meanwhile, a third department is concerned with the workers who harvest the crops, run the transportation systems and manufacture the product, while a fourth department is concerned with the businessmen who own the plant where the product is made and the stores where it is merchandised.

Such a division of responsibility can also create a great deal of overlap. The Agriculture Department, for instance, finds that its interest in agricultural labor is shared by the Labor Department, its regard for agricultural enterprise is shared by the Small Business Administration, and its concern for providing sufficient transportation for farm products is shared by the Department of Transportation. The Commerce, Labor, and Agriculture Departments duplicate one another in collecting economic statistics, yet they use computers and statistical techniques which are often incompatible.

It has sometimes been argued that certain interest groups need a department to act as their special representative within the Government. In my view, such an arrangement serves the best interests of neither the special group nor the general public. Little is gained and much can be lost, for example, by treating our farmers or our workers or other groups as if they are independent participants in our economic life. Their problems cannot be adequately treated in isolation; their well-being is intimately related to the way our entire economy functions.

I would not suggest these reforms if I thought they would in any way result in the neglect of farmers, workers, minori-

ties or any other significant groups within our country. To the contrary, I propose these reforms because I am convinced they will enable us to serve these groups much better. Under my proposals, the new Department of Economic Affairs would be in a much stronger position really to *do* something about the wide-ranging factors which influence farm income than is the present Department of Agriculture, for example. It could do more to meet the complex needs of workingmen and women than can the present Department of Labor. It would be able to pull together a wider range of resources to help minority businessmen than can the present Department of Commerce.

Federal organization in the economic area has been the target of frequent criticism over the years. During the previous administration alone, two special studies of executive organization recommended that it be substantially altered. I have received a similar recommendation from my Advisory Council on Executive Organization.

I am therefore recommending to the Congress that a new Department of Economic Affairs be established to promote economic growth, to foster economic justice, and to encourage more efficient and more productive relationships among the various elements of our economy and between the United States economy and those of other nations. As this single new Department joined the Treasury Department, the Council of Economic Advisers and the Federal Reserve Board in shaping economic policy, it would speak with a stronger voice and would offer a more effective, more highly integrated viewpoint than four different departments can possibly do at present. The activities of the new Department would be grouped under the following six administrations: Business Development, Farms and Agriculture, Labor Relations and Standards, National Transportation, Social, Economic, and Technical Information and International Economics.

The new Department of Economic Affairs would include many of the offices that are now within the Departments of Commerce, Labor and Agriculture. A large part of the Department of Transportation would also be relocated here, including the United States Coast Guard, the Federal Railroad Administration, the St. Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation, the National Transportation Safety Board, the Transportation Systems Center, the Federal Aviation Administration, the Motor Carrier Safety Bureau and most of the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration. The Small Business Administration, the Science Information Exchange program from the Smithsonian Institution, the National Institute for Occupational Health and Safety from the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and the Office of Technology Utilization from the National Aeronautics and Space Administration would also be included in the new Department.

Other Organizational Reforms

Regrouping functions *among* departments can do a great deal to enhance the effectiveness of government. It should be emphasized, however, that regrouping functions *within* departments is also a critical part of my program for executive reform. Just as like tasks are grouped together within a given department, so similar operations should be rationally assembled within subordinate units. Such a realignment of functions, in and of

itself, would make it much easier for appointed officials to manage their agencies and for both the President and the Congress to see that their intentions are carried out.

Toward this same end, I am recommending to the Congress a number of additional steps for bringing greater managerial discipline into Government. In the first place, I am proposing that the Department Secretary and his office be considerably strengthened so that the man whom the President appoints to run a department has both the authority and the tools to run it effectively. The Secretary would be given important managerial discretion that he does not always enjoy today, including the ability to appoint many key department officials, to delegate authority to them and to withdraw or change such delegations of authority, and to marshal and deploy the resources at his command so that he can readily focus the talent available to him at the point of greatest need.

Each of the new Secretaries would be provided with a Deputy Secretary and two Under Secretaries to help him meet his responsibilities. In addition, each major program area within a department would be headed by a high-level administrator who would be responsible for effectively managing a particular group of related activities. These officials would be appointed by the President and their appointments would be subject to Senate confirmation.

It is my philosophy that we should give clear assignments to able leaders—and then be sure that they are equipped to carry them out. As a part of this same effort, we should do all we can to give the best new management tools to those who run the new departments. There is no better time to introduce needed procedural changes *within* departments than a time of structural change *among* departments. We can reap great benefits if we take advantage of this opportunity by implementing the most advanced techniques and equipment for such tasks as planning and evaluation, data collection, systematic budgeting, and personnel administration.

Finally, I would again stress in this message—as I have in my discussions of revenue sharing—the importance of decentralizing government activities as much as possible. As I have already observed, the consolidation of domestic departments would do a great deal to facilitate decentralization, since it would produce fewer interagency disputes that require resolution at higher levels. It is also true, as many management experts have pointed out, that as the reliability and scope of information expand at higher levels of government, officials can delegate authority to lower levels with greater confidence that it will be used well.

In addition to the consolidation of functions, I am also proposing a reform of the field structures of the Federal Government that would also promote decentralization. Each Department, for example, would appoint a series of Regional Directors who would represent the Secretary with respect to all Department activities in the field. Planning, coordination and the resolution of conflicts could thus be more readily achieved without Washington's involvement, since there would be a "Secretarial presence" at the regional level. Further coordination at lower levels of government would be provided by

strengthening the ten Regional Councils which include as members the Regional Directors of various departments in a given area of the country.

In the first months of my administration I moved to establish common regional boundaries and regional headquarters for certain domestic departments. I observed at that time that the Federal Government has never given adequate attention to the way in which its departments are organized to carry out their missions in the field. It is now time that we remedied this pattern of neglect. Even the best organized and best managed departments in Washington cannot serve the people adequately if they have to work through inadequate field structures.

Industry and government both have found that even the largest organizations can be run effectively when they are organized according to rational principles and managed according to sound techniques. There is nothing mystical about these principles or these techniques; they can be used to make the Federal Government far more effective in a great many areas.

As we consolidate and rationalize Federal functions, as we streamline and modernize our institutional architecture, as we introduce new managerial techniques and decentralize Government activities, we will give Government the capacity to operate far more efficiently than it does today. It will be able to do more work with fewer mechanisms and fewer dollars. It will be able to use its work force more productively. This could mean significant savings for our taxpayers. I would emphasize, however, that any reductions in the Federal work force attributable to this proposal would come by normal turnover; no civil servant should lose his job as a result of this plan.

It is important that these reforms be seen by our civil servants not as a threat to their security but as an opportunity for greater achievement. We have worked hard to bring able people into Government employment. Executive reorganization can help the Nation make even better use of their talent and their dedication and it can also make it easier for us to attract more men and women of great vision and competence into public service at the Federal level.

Focusing Power Where It Can Be Used Best

These proposals for reorganizing the Federal Government are a natural complement to my proposals for revenue sharing; there is a sense in which these two initiatives represent two sides of the same coin. Both programs can help us decentralize government, so that more decisions can be made at levels closer to the people. More than that, both programs are concerned with restoring the general capacity of government to meet its responsibilities.

On the one hand, through revenue sharing, we would give back to the States and localities those functions which belong at the State and local level. To help them perform those functions more effectively, we would give them more money to spend and more freedom in spending it. At the same time, however, we must also do all we can to help the Federal Government handle as effectively as possible those functions which belong at the Federal level. Executive reorganization can help us achieve this end by bringing together related activities which are now frag-

mented and scattered.

A healthy Federal system is one in which we neither disperse power for the sake of dispersing it nor concentrate power for the sake of concentrating it. Instead, a sound Federal system requires us to *focus* power at that place where it can be used to the greatest public advantage. This means that each level of government must be assigned those tasks which it can do best and must be given the means for carrying out those assignments.

The Central Question

Ever since the first settlers stepped upon our shores more than three centuries ago, a central question of the American experience has been: How do we best organize our government to meet the needs of the people? That was the central question as the colonists set up new governments in a new world. It was the central question when they broke from their mother country and made a new nation. It was the central question as they wrote a new Constitution in 1787 and, at each critical turning point since that time, it has remained a dominant issue in our national experience.

In the last forty years, as the Federal Government has grown in scope and complexity, the question of how it should be organized has been asked with even greater intensity and relevance. During this time, we have moved to formulate responsive answers to this question in an increasingly systematic manner. Searching studies of Government management and organization have been made under virtually every national administration since the 1930s and many needed reforms have resulted.

What is now required, however, is a truly comprehensive restructuring of executive organization, one that is commensurate with the growth of the Nation and the expansion of the government. In the last twenty years alone our population has increased by one-third and the Federal budget has quintupled. In the last two decades, the number of Federal civilian employees has risen by almost 30 percent and the domestic programs they administer have multiplied tenfold. Three executive departments and fourteen independent agencies have been tacked on to the Federal organization chart during that brief span.

Yet it still is the same basic organization chart that has set the framework of governmental action for decades. While there have been piecemeal changes, there has been no fundamental overhaul. Any business that grew and changed so much and yet was so patient with old organizational forms would soon go bankrupt. The same truth holds in the public realm. Public officials cannot be patient with outmoded forms when the people have grown so impatient with government.

Thomas Jefferson once put it this way: "I am certainly not an advocate for frequent and untried changes in laws and constitutions," he wrote, "but . . . laws and institutions must go hand in hand with the progress of the human mind. As that becomes more developed, more enlightened, as new discoveries are made, new truths disclosed, and manners and opinions change with the change of cir-

cumstances, institutions must advance also, and keep pace with the times."

"Institutions must advance." Jefferson and his associates saw that point clearly in the late 18th century, and the fruit of their vision was a new nation. It is now for us—if our vision matches theirs—to renew the Government they created and thus give new life to our common dreams.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
March 25, 1971

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released a fact sheet on the four proposed departments.

117 Remarks by Telephone to Workers on the Supersonic Transport Program. *March* 25, 1971

I KNOW this is a deeply disheartening moment for all those of you who have worked so hard and so long to make the American SST a reality. And I am sure that your disappointment is compounded not only of uncertainty about what it means for your own personal future, but also of distress that a project in which you believed has been turned down by the Congress.

I share your disappointment, and I simply want to take this opportunity to express to you personally my thanks for all that you have done over the years to bring this project so close to completion—and also my determination that the remarkable combination of skills and talents your team represents should not be lost to the Nation.

Each time I fly in Air Force One—a Boeing plane—I am reminded of the role Boeing has played in making America the world's leader in commercial aviation. Throughout the world, the 707, the 727, the 737, and now the giant 747 have become symbols of America's leadership. I am counting on you here at Boeing to remain a dynamic force in our determined effort, even in the face of this defeat for the SST, to maintain that leadership.

The reason I fought so hard to keep the SST project alive was that I believe deeply that America must remain in the vanguard of scientific and technological progress—the kind of progress your team represents, and to which you have been dedicated. Congress action on the SST has come as a severe blow to us all. But I am determined that America must and will continue pushing outward the horizons of the unknown. I am also determined that we must and will make full use of the most valuable resource we have as a nation—the skill, the dedication, and the imagination of its people, such as you on the SST team, who have made our advances possible in the past and on whom we depend to go forward in the future.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:50 p.m. from the Oval Office at the White House to employees of the Boeing Aircraft Company in Seattle, Wash., and Wichita, Kans.

118 Remarks on Presenting the Presidential Medal of Freedom to Samuel Goldwyn. *March* 27, 1971

Mr. Goldwyn and Mrs. Goldwyn, members of the Goldwyn family, and ladies and gentlemen:

We are here today for the purpose of presenting the Medal of Freedom to Mr. Sam Goldwyn.

I found in talking to him that he started producing movies the year before I was born, in the year 1912.

When I think of the enormous contribution he has made to the motion picture industry, to entertainment in America and in the world, I can think of no man who more deserves the Medal of Freedom than Mr. Sam Goldwyn.

He particularly, I think, receives it at a time in which we are well reminded of what his contribution was, the movies that he made. They weren't square. They were exciting entertainment. They were great box office. They had all of the interest and all of the beauty of great art.

But he proved that you could have a movie that was good box office, that was entertaining, that was exciting, that was not square, that was not dull, and still that was not dirty.

I noted from an NBC report last night that a new trend has developed where, of the 30 top movies of last year, only two of them were X-rated. It may be that the movie producers of today are learning what Sam Goldwyn practiced throughout his life: the making of great movies that the whole family could go to see.

Now I would like to read the citation which expresses not only my feeling personally as a Californian, my great pride and my friendship for Sam Goldwyn and his for me, and his counsel and advice through the years, but the feelings of all Americans, millions of moviegoers in those years, many years ago, and those who see them even now, today:

THE PRESIDENT OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
AWARDS THIS
PRESIDENTIAL MEDAL OF FREEDOM TO
SAMUEL GOLDWYN

His career as a producer of distinguished motion pictures spans the entire history of the American film industry. Since 1913 he has exercised forceful, creative leadership in helping the medium of film to realize its great twofold potential in twentieth century life: Goldwyn movies have not only entertained and delighted millions—they have also broadened the dimensions of dramatic art. Professionally, he has built a body of work whose excellence is unequalled; personally, he stands as a well-loved and widely respected giant on the Hollywood scene. The hallmarks of his life and work are fierce independence, deep respect for quality, strict ethics, and uncompromising integrity. For these, generations of film artists and a nation of moviegoers are in his debt.

MRS. GOLDWYN. Mr. President, I thank you very much for my husband. We are exceedingly proud.

MR. GOLDWYN. Everything he does is wonderful. You are my favorite President. That is saying enough.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:11 a.m. at the Goldwyn residence in Beverly Hills, Calif.

On the same day, the White House released an announcement containing biographical data on Mr. Goldwyn and a fact sheet on the Presidential Medal of Freedom.

119 Statement About Stabilization of Wages and Prices in the Construction Industry. *March* 29, 1971

I HAVE today signed an Executive order establishing a cooperative mechanism for the stabilization of wages and prices in the construction industry.

The operation and success of the order will rest largely on the determined effort, the practical wisdom, and the mutual understanding of labor and management in an industry whose future is now being undermined by its own excesses.

Wage increases negotiated last year in the construction industry were more than twice those of factory wage increases in the same period. These increases, along with other distortions in the economy of the industry, were reflected in the rising costs of construction, including the costs of homebuilding to hard-pressed families and the costs of defense and other Government construction projects to the hard-pressed taxpayer. But at the same time that wages and prices in the construction industry were soaring, unemployment in the industry rose to a level which is nearly double the national average.

The leaders of the construction industry—from both labor and management—are aware that unless this trend is countered disaster lies ahead. There is a limit to what those who pay for construction can afford. Continued excesses can lead only to less building, to continued unemployment, and to further distortions in the practices of the industry and in the economy of the Nation.

I am confident, however, that if sensible restraint is practiced the construction industry can look forward to a bright and prosperous future. Accordingly, the Federal Government has taken the initiative in what is essentially a corrective enterprise. Contractors and labor leaders have indicated their willingness to cooperate with the Government in fair measures to achieve greater wage and price stability.

I am therefore today reinstating the Davis-Bacon Act, which I suspended on February 23, 1971, and I am substituting a system of constraints to which I expect all parties will subscribe.

The Executive order delegates to the Secretary of Labor the responsibility to appoint a tripartite industry committee of 12 members, which—with the assistance of joint craft dispute boards established by contractor associations and international unions—will review all collective bargaining agreements negotiated in the construction industry after the date of this order.

The boards and the committee will determine whether future negotiated wage agreements fall within certain criteria established in the Executive order. Agreements that violate the criteria shall be disregarded in making wage determinations under the Davis-Bacon Act for Federal and federally assisted construction. In addition, all Federal departments and agencies shall review their construction plans in this light.

The Executive order also establishes a committee on construction to develop criteria for determining the acceptable level for prices in construction contracts as well as the acceptable level for compensations, including bonuses and stock options that are not subject to the terms of a collective bargaining agreement. The members of this committee shall be ap-

pointed by the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development.

The causes of the inflationary wage and price pattern in the construction industry are extremely complex. They are related in part to the highly fragmented way in which the industry and its bargaining processes are organized. A full solution to this problem will come only through patient, persistent efforts to change these fundamental conditions. Meanwhile, however, the action I have taken today will provide a framework within which management, labor, and Government can work together in limiting the dangerous consequences of continued wage and price inflation in the construction industry. All Americans have a stake in its success.

NOTE: The statement was released at San Clemente, Calif.

On March 29, 1971, the President signed Executive Order 11588 establishing the Construction Industry Stabilization Committee and an Interagency Committee on construction, and Proclamation 4040 reinstating the Davis-Bacon Act.

On the same day, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing and the text of a statement by Secretary of Labor James D. Hodgson on the President's action. Secretary Hodgson's statement is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 7, p. 582).

120 Memorandum About the Federal Summer Employment Program for Youth. *March* 30, 1971

Memorandum for Heads of Executive Departments and Agencies:

When schools close for the summer, many students will seek summer employment. Some will need the earnings to continue their education or to help out at home. To others the job might mean a start toward a new career, or a chance to relate classroom theory to practical experience. Under the Federal Summer Employment Program for Youth, we have the opportunity to support the aspirations of young Americans by:

—Making it possible for them to obtain employment experience and concurrently to witness the functioning of their Government at close range.

—Broadening their career horizons to include the wide variety of occupations in Government.

—Providing them opportunities to exchange ideas and to receive advice and counsel from Government officials.

In addition to students employed through merit staffing procedures on the basis of their abilities, we must provide opportunities for needy youth to earn money and learn about the world of work. For this latter purpose, your general goal should be to employ one needy youth for every 40 regular employees on your payroll.

The Chairman of the Civil Service Commission will continue to provide the leadership and necessary guidelines for all aspects of our Federal Summer Employment Program for Youth, and will report to me on its results.

RICHARD NIXON

NOTE: The memorandum was dated March 29, 1971, and released March 30 at San Clemente, Calif.

121 Remarks Announcing Plans To Make Land in Camp Pendleton, California, Available for Public Recreational Use. *March* 31, 1971

Ladies and gentlemen:

I am sending today to the Secretary of Defense a directive that he is to report to the House and Senate Committees on Armed Services that 6 miles of beach and 3,400 acres of upland, which presently are part of Camp Pendleton, will be declared excess and will become available for public use.

In the case of the beach property—and Mr. Ehrlichman will brief you later with regard to the technical details—in the case of the beach property, 3 miles of it will be available starting this Sunday, because there will be approximately a 30-day, and maybe a 45-day period, in which the two committees have an opportunity to veto the President's declaration of the property being excess. If they do veto it, and I do not expect them to, that would mean that we would have to reconsider what we are doing.

But in that 30-day period, and particularly with the Easter vacation period coming up, we have arranged on a temporary basis to lease 3 miles of beach, the best beach, right in this area, so that starting Sunday all of the many people that like to go to the beach in the Easter vacation period will have 3 more miles of the best beach in the world to go to.

I should point out that this action, while it deals with property very close to my home in California, relates to the whole Nation, but I should also point out that what we are doing here has triggered my thoughts with regard to activities throughout the Nation.

Just 2 years ago I was walking along this beach, and I realized that here in southern California there were millions of people who wanted to go to the beach, and that when you go by Santa Monica or Long Beach or any of the other great beaches that I used to go to as a youngster, that they are just too crowded these days, and there is a great need for more beaches where people can go.

Consequently, I checked and found, and with the cooperation of the Marine Corps, that they did not need the total of 18 miles of beach which they presently occupy. So we have worked out that this 6 miles will be declared excess, and that in the future, millions of particularly young people in California, and older ones as well, that enjoy the beach will have greater access to this property which has been closed since World War II when the Marine Corps took it over for obvious reasons.

In addition to that, having made that decision 2 years ago with regard to this particular property, I asked that a survey be made of all properties held by the Federal Government, properties held by the Department of Defense, by the GSA, by the Veterans Administration, by the Department of the Interior.

Over half the land, for example, in the Western States is owned by and controlled by the Federal Government. This is apart from parklands. This is land which is used by, controlled by [the Federal Government], and denied to the public, as far as their use is concerned.

Much of this use is not proper in terms of the best use. And consequently, this is

the first of a series of announcements that will be made over the next few months in which, in all sections of the country, in northern California as well as in southern California, in the East, the North, the South, announcements will be made whereby we will declare excess property that presently is being used by the Federal Government or some agency of the Federal Government, but in a way that we have determined is not the best use.

That means that then the State, in this case, gets the opportunity to use this as parkland. In other cases, it may be determined that property, for example, that is in the middle of a city may be turned over to the tax rolls, and the funds that are acquired thereby can then be used to develop parks.

In any event, this is an indication of the scope of this program. I say that it probably wouldn't have happened unless I had taken a walk on the beach 2 years ago at San Clemente and walked an extra mile and saw the great possibilities and decided that the time had come for Presidential initiative, Presidential initiative which has overridden, I must say, very deep and understandable bureaucratic opposition and very deep and understandable opposition in some segments of the Congress, only because Members of the Congress at times were reflecting the views of the bureaus. Most Members of the Congress, I am sure, will applaud this decision.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:55 a.m. at the Western White House in San Clemente, Calif. Shortly after his remarks, the President boarded his helicopter for an aerial inspection of the Camp Pendleton beach front property.

On the same day, the White House released a fact sheet on the Camp Pendleton property and the transcript of a news briefing on the President's action by John D. Ehrlichman, Assistant to the President for Domestic Affairs.

122 Statement About Plans To Make Land in Camp Pendleton, California, Available for Public Recreational Use. *March* 31, 1971

CAMP Pendleton, California, is part of the legacy which the World War II era left for the seventies. For 30 years these 18 miles of choice coastal land have served as an important training center for the U.S. Marine Corps. During that same period, California has become the Nation's most populous and most urban State; several million people now live within an hour's drive of Camp Pendleton in the San Diego-Los Angeles metropolitan complex.

For these people, as for all Americans, we must seek to leave a legacy that goes beyond good housing, vital industries, and strong defense. We must also provide an endowment of parklands and recreational areas that will enrich their leisure opportunities and make the beauties of the earth and sea more accessible to them. As an important step toward creating such a legacy for the people of southern California, I am pleased to announce today that fully one-third of the beach front area within Camp Pendleton will soon be made available for recreational use by the general public.

I recently requested the Secretary of Defense to initiate proceedings which will offer approximately 6 miles of the Camp

Pendleton beach front, located on both sides of the San Onofre nuclear generating station, for parkland and public use, by transfer of title to the State of California. Another 3,400 acres of undeveloped land lying in back of Highway 101 on the San Clemente side of the base will also be made available either to public bodies, or for public sale, in which case the proceeds would under the law be added to the Land and Water Conservation Fund and used for Federal and local park development. In accordance with statute, Secretary Laird will inform the interested committees of the Congress that this property is to be released.

On Tuesday the Department of the Navy signed a lease agreement making some 3 miles of beach front south of the nuclear generating station available for immediate public use. This is a temporary arrangement undertaken in order to provide immediate public access to the beach area and to avoid any interference with plans which have been made by the State of California to open this segment of the beach front to the public during the school holidays in April. As soon as it becomes possible formally to declare that the entire 6 miles of beach front are in excess of Federal Government needs, the lease will be terminated and the 6-mile beach front area—with the exception of the site of the San Onofre nuclear generating station—will be deeded to the State of California for park purposes.

The Property Review Board, which I established last year, has studied the Camp Pendleton lands at my request, and has recommended the action I am announcing today. The Board is continuing its survey of the real property held by the Federal Government in every area of the country, and will make further recommendations concerning lands which can be better utilized if they are opened to the public. Further announcements will be forthcoming as quickly as additional properties can be cleared for improved use. I am confident that the result will be better Federal property management, improvements in the preservation and enjoyment of our natural environment, and a growing legacy of parks and recreational facilities that will benefit all Americans just as the Camp Pendleton action does.

NOTE: The statement was released at San Clemente, Calif.

123 Letter to the Chairman and Ranking Minority Member of the House Committee on Ways and Means About the Welfare Reform Bill. *March* 31, 1971

AS YOU know, I have been following closely the House Ways and Means Committee deliberations on the welfare reform bill, H.R. 1. I appreciate your continued support of the basic principles of the proposal and your determination to obtain early enactment. There is no doubt in my mind that the Nation earnestly wants and needs the reforms in welfare that we seek. The present system is a demoralizing disgrace and must be changed. There is no time to lose.

From the earliest days of the 92nd Congress, we in the Administration have expressed our willingness to consider Committee proposals that would further strengthen H.R. 1 and facilitate Congressional passage. At this time, I want to

reaffirm my support of proposals made by Department officials in this spirit, especially those that strengthen the employment and work incentive provisions of H.R. 1.

I believe it is incumbent upon the Federal government to make the link between employment and basic income support as strong as possible. Unlike proposals for a "guaranteed annual income" which others have advocated, my welfare reform program has always included strong work incentives and requirements. I emphatically believe that those recipients who can become self-supporting should be provided both the incentive and the means to work their way to independence. At the same time, we must be certain that the responsibility for effecting this transition from support to self-sufficiency is clearly fixed and that the necessary resources are provided. I believe that H.R. 1, strengthened in the ways suggested below, will meet this charge.

1. *Public service employment.* The Administration has proposed public service employment for recipients for whom no other work or training is available. In the first year, 200,000 jobs would be provided at a net cost of $495 million. These would not be dead-end jobs; rather, they would be administered in a way to facilitate movement into competitive and permanent employment with significant advancement potential.

2. *Fixing responsibility for the "working poor" and those with employment potential.* Administration of these groups by the Department of Labor would *establish clear accountability* for training, employment and provide movement from the rolls of Family Assistance recipients who are "working poor" or are found to have employment potential. Those who are presently unemployed would also get appropriate development services (for example, job counseling, referral, training, day care for their children). Those who cannot work would receive services more suited to their particular needs. Initially, the Administration proposed mandatory registration of these groups with manpower agencies. The outlines of our new proposal being considered by your Committee would go even further:

- The working poor (families headed by an individual presently working, but at wages below the poverty level) would be distinguished from the traditional welfare population. In the same way, those with employment potential but presently unemployed, would receive similar special attention. Manpower training and upgrading programs could then be focused on these groups and carefully tailored to their needs.
- The fact that training and employment assistance will be provided by the manpower agencies of government will serve as positive steps to move individuals into the world of work.

3. *Increased penalty for refusal to register for or accept work or training.* The Administration has proposed an increase in the penalty for those who refuse appropriate work or training. This provision stipulates a reduction of benefits equivalent to the full payment for an adult family member who refuses work or training opportunities. We have also recommended the reduction of any State supplementation for such refusal.

4. *Strengthened anti-fraud provisions.* The Administration also believes it is essential to have a strong base for the detection and prosecution of persons pur-

posefully defrauding the welfare system. Thus, we urge your consideration of specific inclusion in H.R. 1 of Section 208 of the Social Security Act that clearly defines fraud, corresponding fines, and other punishment.

5. *Cashing-out Food Stamps.* The Administration has encouraged action by your Committee in cooperation with the House Agriculture Committee to cash-out the Food Stamp Program for families. The result would eliminate overlapping and duplication between these two programs.

The Administration will continue to work closely with the Committee on these and other matters. I hope this assistance will be of value to the Committee in its efforts to reform welfare. All of us agree that this is one of the most urgent items on our domestic agenda.

Sincerely,

RICHARD NIXON

NOTE: The text of identical letters addressed to the Honorable Wilbur D. Mills, chairman of the House Committee on Ways and Means, and to the Honorable John W. Byrnes, ranking minority member of the committee, was released at San Clemente, Calif.

On the same day, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing on the welfare reform bill by John D. Ehrlichman, Assistant to the President for Domestic Affairs.

124 Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report on Operation of the International Coffee Agreement. *April* 2, 1971

To the Congress of the United States:

I transmit herewith my report on the operations in 1970 of the International Coffee Agreement of 1968.

Events during 1970 once again demonstrated the capacity of the Agreement to protect the interests of both its consumer and producer members. The International Coffee Council acted decisively in August to curb a precipitous increase in world coffee prices caused by damage to the Brazilian coffee crop in mid-1969. At the same time the judicious measures adopted by the Council enabled producing countries to maintain their foreign exchange earnings from coffee exports at a level consistent with the objectives of the Agreement.

I am also pleased to inform the Congress that we have reached an agreement with Brazil relating to our trade with that country in soluble coffee, which settles the U.S. complaint against Brazil under Article 44 of the International Coffee Agreement. This agreement improves the competitive conditions of access to Brazilian green coffee by U.S. soluble coffee processors in a manner which safeguards the interests of consumers.

In terms of the bilateral accord, which will be valid as long as the United States continues to implement the International Coffee Agreement, Brazil will make available for sale to American soluble coffee manufacturers an appropriate quantity of green coffee free of Brazilian contribution quota. American firms will qualify to purchase this coffee, which will be of suitable quality, in proportion to their historical production of soluble coffee. The enclosed letter from the Secretary of State provides a more detailed account of the settlement and the negotiations which led up to it.

In the light of the Agreement's benefit to American consumers in 1970, its undoubted value to the developing coffee producing countries, and the resolution of our problem with Brazil, I urge timely Congressional action to extend the necessary implementing legislation until September 30, 1973, when the 1968 International Coffee Agreement terminates. Prompt passage will reaffirm to the Agreement's 41 exporting members the strength of our commitment to their economic development. Expeditious approval will, moreover, remove any uncertainty on the part of our own industry as well as foreign countries concerning the future of international coffee cooperation.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
April 1, 1971

NOTE: The message, dated April 1, 1971, was transmitted to the Congress on April 2. The text of the message was released at San Clemente, Calif.

The report, entitled "1970 Annual Report of the President to the Congress on the International Coffee Agreement" (13 pp. plus annexes), was published by the Department of State.

125 Letter to Governors Urging Their Cooperation in the Observance of Earth Week. *April* 2, 1971

IN A special message to the Congress on February 8, I proposed a series of measures whose prompt adoption will provide a cleaner, healthier environment for every living being. Apart from a number of specific proposals for legislation, the message emphasized the need for enlisting active participation in this effort by all of our fellow Americans.

I have proclaimed the week beginning April 18 as Earth Week, and I ask for your cooperation in making this period a time when all of us work together to clean up the nation. Because a better environment depends ultimately on the wishes of a citizenry deeply concerned and fully informed about the choices before us, the critical role of our system of education cannot be overemphasized. The difficult decisions before us must be wise ones, and I hope that Earth Week will see educational institutions of all levels considering ways in which the learning process can best foster understanding of environmental needs and opportunities, for the challenges of the future clearly require that each and every week be Earth Week so that we may achieve the quality of life we seek.

With best personal regards,

Sincerely,

RICHARD NIXON

NOTE: The text of identical letters addressed to the Governors of the States and Territories was released at San Clemente, Calif.

On the same day, the President signed Proclamation 4042, Earth Week, 1971.

126 Remarks Following a Meeting on Welfare Reform Proposals in San Clemente, California. *April* 2, 1971

Ladies and gentlemen:

We have just completed one of the most constructive meetings on the problem of welfare reform that I have attended since this subject has been before the Administration.

The State of California has 10 percent of the Nation's population and 16 percent of the Nation's welfare recipients. It is particularly noteworthy to point out that the State of California has taken the initiative in terms of welfare reform, an initiative which has the same goal as the welfare reform that we have undertaken at the national level, and that is to give more assistance to those who cannot help themselves, those truly in need, but to stop helping those who can help themselves and refuse to do so.

We have had a very long meeting with the Secretary of HEW, the Governor, and Mr. Cap Weinberger of the Bureau of the Budget. We have found many areas of agreement and particularly have discovered that the California plan in major details can be implemented without being in violation or contrary to the Federal regulations or Federal law.

We welcome this initiative because this kind of initiative can tell us from the State level—in this largest State, with the largest proportion of welfare recipients—it can tell us something that we might apply also at the national level in the regulations that we eventually may issue.

As far as the details are concerned, the Governor will speak to that point, and Secretary Richardson is here, too, to answer your questions.

But I can simply conclude by saying that you could perhaps describe this as a summit conference on welfare reform, a conference which both the Governor and I have asked for because we felt it was important to see how the Nation's first State and the Federal Government could work together toward our common goal.

I would say that the conference has been eminently successful. There are some areas still to be worked out, but generally, in the majority of the areas, we have found agreement and a way to work together toward a common goal.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:12 p.m. at the Western White House in San Clemente, Calif.

On the same day, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing on welfare reform by Gov. Ronald Reagan of California, Elliot L. Richardson, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, and Caspar W. Weinberger, Deputy Director, Office of Management and Budget, following their meeting with the President.

127 Statement About Policy on Abortions at Military Base Hospitals in the United States. *April* 3, 1971

HISTORICALLY, laws regulating abortion in the United States have been the province of States, not the Federal Government. That remains the situation today, as one State after another takes up this question, debates it, and decides it. That is where the decisions should be made.

Partly for that reason, I have directed that the policy on abortions at American military bases in the United States be made to correspond with the laws of the States where those bases are located. If the laws in a particular State restrict abortions, the rules at the military base hospitals are to correspond to that law.

The effect of this directive is to reverse service regulations issued last summer, which had liberalized the rules on abortions at military hospitals. The new ruling supersedes this—and has been put into effect by the Secretary of Defense.

But while this matter is being debated in State capitals and weighed by various courts, the country has a right to know my personal views.

From personal and religious beliefs I consider abortion an unacceptable form of population control. Further, unrestricted abortion policies, or abortion on demand, I cannot square with my personal belief in the sanctity of human life—including the life of the yet unborn. For, surely, the unborn have rights also, recognized in law, recognized even in principles expounded by the United Nations.

Ours is a nation with a Judeo-Christian heritage. It is also a nation with serious social problems—problems of malnutrition, of broken homes, of poverty, and of delinquency. But none of these problems justifies such a solution.

A good and generous people will not opt, in my view, for this kind of alternative to its social dilemmas. Rather, it will open its hearts and homes to the unwanted children of its own, as it has done for the unwanted millions of other lands.

NOTE: The statement was released at San Clemente, Calif.

128 Message on the Opening of the 1971 Baseball Season. *April* 5, 1971

BY TRADITION the President of the United States or his representative signals the beginning of the major league baseball season by throwing out the first ball.

Although I regret that I cannot be at Kennedy Stadium in Washington for this opening game, I am very proud that my representative is Master Sergeant Daniel L. Pitzer of the United States Army. No President has ever been better represented than I am today.

For four long years, Sergeant Pitzer was a prisoner of the Viet Cong in South Vietnam. As he performs this American ritual of throwing out the first ball, he does so as a reminder that there are still

a great many of our men in uniform—some sixteen hundred of them—who have not seen a ball game in a long time, much less seen their homes or their families. Like Sergeant Pitzer, they are brave American men who risked their lives in serving their country. And they still are missing in action in Southeast Asia or are held prisoner in North Vietnam, South Vietnam or Laos.

Sergeant Pitzer stands before you as a symbol of our deep and continuing national concern for the plight of these young men—and of our national determination to hasten the day when they too can come home.

NOTE: The President's message was read by Secretary of Defense Melvin R. Laird at Robert F. Kennedy Stadium. The text of the message was made available to the press at San Clemente, Calif.

M. Sgt. Pitzer of Fairview, W. Va., was released from captivity in South Vietnam on November 13, 1967. He was assigned to the Fifth Special Forces Group, Fort Bragg, N.C.

The official party also included the sons and daughters of five U.S. military men who are missing in action or prisoners of war in Southeast Asia.

129 Special Message to the Congress on Special Revenue Sharing for Education. *April* 6, 1971

To the Congress of the United States:

A very substantial part of what American government does is directed to the future and to the creation of a suitable legacy for generations to come. In this sense, government reflects a central purpose of the basic family unit and seeks to serve that purpose: as we move to condition the future, we move also to prepare our children to take their place in that future. In this task, all levels of government recognize the Nation's responsibility for educating its youth.

Primary responsibility, of course, rests with State and local governments, as it should. The Federal Government can help provide resources to meet rising needs, but State and local education authorities must make the hard decisions about how to apply these resources in ways that best serve the educational needs of our children. To enable State and local authorities to do this more effectively, I am proposing today a new system of special revenue sharing as a means of providing Federal financial assistance for elementary and secondary education.

This message is the last of six special revenue sharing proposals which I have put forward over the past two months. Combined with the administration's $5 billion general revenue sharing plan and welfare reform proposals, special revenue sharing—as a new and more flexible approach to Federal aid—would fundamentally reform the fiscal roles and relationships of American federalism. The other five special revenue sharing proposals have been in the areas of urban community development, rural community development, transportation, manpower training and law enforcement assistance.

The plan I am putting forward today for Education Revenue Sharing brings together more than 30 Federal aid categories and deals with one of the Nation's most complex systems for providing public services. There are 46 million students presently enrolled in public schools in America, with more than five and a half

71-234—72——35

million more in non-public schools. There are more than 117,000 schools and nearly 18,000 public school districts, each with its own unique conditions and each with its own problems.

Federal expenditures for elementary and secondary schooling over the past decade are projected to increase from $0.9 billion in fiscal year 1961 to $5.5 billion in fiscal year 1972. Yet there are serious problems with the way in which this aid is provided.

The Present System

Under the present piecemeal system of Federal aid, education grants are available to local schools under 38 separate authorizations for "instruction," 37 separate authorizations for low-income students, and 22 separate authorizations for reading instruction. The confusion is so great that some school districts have had to hire separate staffs charged solely with cutting through the maze of applications, guidelines, regulations and reporting requirements which are an intrinsic part of the present grant system.

There are other problems:

—The time, energy and imagination needed to bring educational reform is frequently drained off into what is an essentially non-productive effort to qualify for Government grants. Yet, at the same time, rigid qualifications for grants frequently stifle creative initiative. In the end, a system which ought to promote innovation instead discourages it. And because Federal programs are resistant to change, we see money being spent on programs which may have outlived their usefulness, or that simply are ineffective, while funds for new ideas cannot be obtained.

—Educational planning is made difficult because of the fragmentation of grants. Under the present system, a community must make a series of separate applications to a series of Federal officials. There is no assurance that every proposal will be funded, or that any proposal will be funded. Consequently, the present fragmented procedures virtually eliminate any possibility of preparing a comprehensive, coordinated program.

—There is little accountability under the present system; if a program fails it is difficult to assess responsibility. Although it is the common response to blame Washington if something does not function according to design, such an exercise is usually futile given the cumbersome nature of the Federal bureaucracy.

—There is little flexibility in the present system. Individual grants are often too narrowly defined and designed to achieve the things Washington wants, while at the same time allowing little latitude to meet individual community needs.

—There has been little useful evaluation of how Federal aid programs under the present system help children learn more effectively, or of how they provide the children with equal educational opportunities. The diversity of the country and the large number and great variety of Federal aid programs have made it impossible for those at the Federal level to measure the success or failure of their efforts, and so we resort to judging

effectiveness by how much we spend rather than by how much we accomplish.

My proposal for special revenue sharing for education is designed to overcome these problems by substituting a basic new approach to providing Federal assistance. To help formulate this proposal, the Office of Education held ten regional hearings to discuss the specifications for Education Revenue Sharing, and my proposal has benefitted from the views of educators and those interested in education all across the Nation.

Education Revenue Sharing

Education Revenue Sharing would revitalize the relationship between the Federal Government and State and local governments. It would stimulate creativity and new initiatives at State and local levels. My proposal would establish a new instrument of Federal assistance which would bring together more than thirty major Office of Education programs representing approximately $2.8 billion in grants in the 1972 budget, and provide for an increase of $200 million in total funding in the first year.

These funds would provide support for educational activities in broad areas where there are strong national interests in strengthening school programs. The national priority areas included are compensatory education for the disadvantaged, education of children afflicted by handicapping conditions, vocational education, assistance to schools in areas affected by Federal activities, and the provision of supporting services.

This new Federal aid instrument would have the following important features:

AUTOMATIC DISTRIBUTION OF FUNDS

Funds would be distributed automatically on the basis of a statutory formula which takes account of the total school age population in each State, the number of students from low-income families, and the number of students whose parents work or live on Federal property. No State would receive less money under Education Revenue Sharing than it receives under the present grant system. In addition, authority for advance funding would be requested to facilitate careful planning free from the vagaries of the present practice of delayed appropriations.

NO FEDERAL APPROVAL OF STATE PLANS

States would no longer be required to submit exhaustive plans for extensive Federal review or Federal approval, but would simply develop and publish a plan in line with State and local needs so as to permit all concerned citizens to become involved with the allocation of these Federal resources. States would also appoint an advisory council broadly representative of the public and the education community, in order to further insure that all interests are heard. This new system would substitute genuine citizen participation for routine bureaucratic sign-off.

BROAD DEFINITION OF PURPOSES

The areas of Federal assistance would be broadly defined in keeping with national interests.

—The provision of equal educational opportunities to all of our children is a key national priority. As I pointed out a year ago, the most glaring short-

coming in American education today is the lag in essential learning skills among large numbers of children of poor families. The largest Federal program in education—Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act—was designed to meet the special educational needs of these children. The Education Revenue Sharing Act would provide that over one-half of the $3.0 billion proposed for the first year be used for providing compensatory education for disadvantaged children. These funds would be passed through directly to local school districts which enroll large concentrations of these children.

—The specific needs of handicapped children are and would continue to be a matter of concern to the Federal Government. When time is so critical to the training and social development of these youngsters, any delay in the funding of their education can have irreparable consequences. Nevertheless, in the present circumstances, delay is common. I propose to change this. Funds would be allocated directly to the States and the procedures for obtaining these funds would be simplified.

—For many years, the Federal Government has provided assistance for training in industry, agriculture and the crafts in our Nation's schools. This training is vital to the Nation's economy. But the needs in these areas are constantly changing. Vocational education of tomorrow may bear little resemblance to today's form, but its task will be the same: to demonstrate to American youth the worth and dignity of work, and to help them to obtain the specific skills that other forms of education cannot supply. As with my proposal for Manpower Revenue Sharing, States and local educational authorities would be authorized to determine how best to use Federal funds for vocational education in order to meet the needs of particular communities and individual workers.

—An ongoing responsibility of local public schools is to provide education for Federally connected children. The Federal Government rightly provides aid to help meet the financial burden of children who live on Federal property—hence property which provides no taxes for education. To offset the loss of local school taxes, Education Revenue Sharing would provide a direct pass-through to local school districts enrolling such children. For those students whose parents only work on Federal property, and live on locally taxable land, funds would also be provided. In this case, however, the funds would be distributed to the States which would determine the degree of financial need created by those circumstances and allocate funds accordingly.

—The Federal Government currently offers an array of programs designed to purchase specific educational materials or services. These programs range from the provision of textbooks and other library resources to the support of guidance and counseling services. Education Revenue Sharing would continue this aid but would pull together programs from

at least fourteen separate statutory provisions into one flexible allocation under which States can decide how best to meet local education needs.

GREATER FLEXIBILITY

Under this proposal for Education Revenue Sharing, States and local school districts would be given far greater flexibility than is presently the case in deciding how funds should be spent in serving the national priority areas. In addition to the broader definition of national purpose, States would have the authority to transfer up to thirty percent of funds—except those which are passed through directly to local schools—from one purpose to another. This would enhance flexibility in the application of funds for education, and permit the States to make substantial adjustment in their educational plans as their educational needs require.

OTHER FEATURES

As with my previous special revenue sharing proposals, Education Revenue Sharing would preserve all existing safeguards against infringements of civil rights by assuring that these funds would be subject to Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Non-public schools bear a significant share of the cost and effort of providing education for our children today. Federal aid to education should take this fully into account. This proposal would do that by considerably broadening the authority for extending aid to students in non-public schools. Non-public school students would be counted in the reckoning of population for purposes of allocation, and all forms of educational services would be available to them.

As an important precondition to the receipt of Federal funds for education of the disadvantaged, I propose a requirement for States to certify that services provided in all schools within a given school district from State and local funds must be fully comparable. This is a considerable improvement over the present law. It would assure that Federal funds for compensatory education programs would actually be spent on services beyond those provided for all children, and thus for the first time would truly guarantee that these funds would be used to help equalize learning opportunity for the disadvantaged.

THE FEDERAL ROLE IN EDUCATION

The proposal I am putting forward today reflects what this administration considers to be the appropriate Federal role in elementary and secondary education. This Federal role is three-fold: (1) the allocation of financial resources on a broad and continuing basis to help States and local school districts meet their responsibilities, (2) the provision of national leadership to help reform and renew our schools to improve performance, and (3) the concentration of resources to meet urgent national problems during the period when they are most intense.

Education Revenue Sharing would strengthen the first by providing a new and expanded system of Federal aid to our schools. It should be noted in this connection that my proposals for general revenue sharing and welfare reform would also both provide and free additional fiscal resources which States and localities could

devote to the rising costs of education. At the present time, State and local governments spend forty percent of their revenues for education. Under general revenue sharing, which would distribute a fixed portion of the Federal tax base to the States and localities to use as they determine, education would most certainly be a major beneficiary. These funds would total $5 billion in the first full year of operation. Similarly, the administration's proposals to reform the Nation's failing welfare system would free the States of a significant portion of fast-growing welfare costs at the same time that it would provide a better and more stable home environment for millions of children.

To strengthen the Federal leadership role in reforming and renewing our Nation's schools, I proposed a year ago the creation of a National Institute of Education to bring to education the intensity and quality of research and experimentation which the Federal Government has, for example, devoted to agricultural and medical research. The National Institute of Education would serve as a focal point for identifying educational problems, developing new ways to alleviate these problems, and helping school systems to put the results of educational research and experimentation into practice.

As an example of the concentration of Federal resources to meet urgent national problems during a period of intense need, I proposed in May 1970 an Emergency School Aid Act to provide $1.5 billion over a two-year period to help meet the special problems of desegregating our Nation's schools. Progress in school desegregation has been accelerating. The Emergency School Aid Act would help local communities expedite and adjust to this change, while maintaining and improving the quality of education in affected schools.

Taken together, the National Institute, the Emergency School Aid Act and Education Revenue Sharing represent a bold new approach to fulfilling the Federal role in education and to meeting the educational needs of the 1970s.

Conclusion

The education of our children transcends partisan politics. No one benefits from failures in our system of education, and no one can fail to benefit from improvements in the means by which education in America is given all the assistance proper at the Federal level. The effort to provide that proper assistance, the effort to encourage reform where reform is needed, and the effort to extend to all American children the advantage of equal educational opportunity have all been a concern of this administration as, indeed, they have been of other administrations. These efforts continue.

I believe we must recognize that the Federal Government cannot substitute its good intentions for the local understanding of local problems, for local energy in attacking these problems, and for local initiatives in improving the quality of education in America. We must also recognize that State and local authorities need Federal resources if they are to meet their obligations and if they are to use the peculiar advantages of State and local knowledge, responsibility, and authority to their fullest potential. Education Revenue Sharing accommodates the Federal

role in national education to both these realities, and it lays the foundation for a new and more productive Federal-State relationship in this area of vital national concern, just as the previous revenue sharing proposals have afforded similar possibilities in their areas of specific concern.

I consider each of these proposals vitally important in and of itself. But in the aggregate, the importance of revenue sharing is greater than the sum of the parts which comprise this series of legislative proposals. For we are seeking nothing less than a new definition of the relationship between Federal Government and State and local governments—one which answers the needs of the present and anticipates the needs of the future.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
April 6, 1971

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released a fact sheet and the transcript of a news briefing on the program by Elliot L. Richardson, Secretary, Sidney P. Marland, Jr., Commissioner of Education, and John R. Ottina, Deputy Commissioner for Management, Office of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

The White House also released the transcript of a news briefing by Edwin L. Harper, Special Assistant to the President, on the hold harmless base line figures for States and localities under special revenue sharing, and a fact sheet on the figures for education special revenue sharing.

130 Statement About an Alaska Natives' Claims Bill. *April* 6, 1971

RESOLVING the issues concerning the Alaska Natives' claims will be the last major original Indian claims settlement in American history.

In a message to the Congress on January 26, 1971, I promised that an Alaska Native Claims bill would be submitted, to resolve equitably the Native claims in that State.

I have today approved Secretary Morton's sending to the Congress a new Administration bill which proposes what I consider a fair and equitable settlement—and one more generous to the Alaska Natives than any heretofore put forward by a President or Congressional committee. It goes beyond the bill proposed by the Administration in 1969, and it goes beyond the bill passed by the Senate in 1970.

The economic development of all of Alaska, Native and non-Native communities alike, depends on the just resolution of this long-deferred issue.

Natives have asserted claims to 340 million acres of the State of Alaska. A settlement which the Department of the Interior proposed in 1967 would have extinguished those claims in exchange for giving the Natives the right to sue in the Court of Claims and to be compensated in money at the 1867 value of the lands, while granting trust title to some 10 million acres for village use.

The new bill being submitted by Secretary Morton, developed in close consultation with representatives of the Alaska Federation of Natives themselves, provides for a cash payment of $500 million and also provides that the Natives shall have a 2 percent share, up to a maximum of $500 million, in the oil revenues generated in Alaska, that they shall have full title to 40 million acres of

land, and that the corporation which manages these assets shall be entirely Native controlled. The Federation of course retains its freedom to advocate still further positions before the Congress.

I congratulate Secretary Morton on this new bill, and I am particularly pleased at the success of the consultative process which also involved Mr. Don Wright, the president of the Alaska Federation of Natives, the Vice President, and Senator Ted Stevens of Alaska.

NOTE: The bill was introduced as H.R. 7432 and S. 1571.

On the same day, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing on the proposed legislation by Senator Ted Stevens of Alaska, Secretary of the Interior Rogers C. B. Morton, and Donald R. Wright, president, Alaska Federation of Natives.

131 Toasts of the President and Ambassador Guillermo Sevilla-Sacasa of Nicaragua at a Dinner Honoring the Chiefs of Mission of the Americas. *April* 6, 1971

Mr. Secretary of State, Ambassador Sevilla-Sacasa, Your Excellencies:

This is a very special dinner tonight in the State Dining Room, special because of those who attended and special because of the relationship we have.

Speaking of a special relationship, I know that you, as members of the diplomatic corps, watch every word and every phrase that whoever is President may utter. And you notice that from time to time we refer to the special relationship that the United States has with Great Britain. It is a special relationship because of common situations with regard to language, the common law, our system of debate in Parliament, and so forth.

Tonight, I do not refer to a special relationship. I refer to something that is more meaningful, a personal relationship, a very personal relationship with so many of you here personally, to all of the people of your countries, and to the American family of which we are all members.

We are glad that we speak tonight, not just of Latin America but of Canada and the Caribbean, the whole American family, *la familia americana.*

And in speaking of that personal relationship, I know that there must be times when you must wonder, as representatives of your country, about the interest the United States seems to have—as we must have, because our interests must be in the areas where the problems seem to be the greatest at the moment—the interests we have in the Mideast, in Europe, in Asia, in Africa, and that perhaps we do not seem to express often enough the interest we have and the feeling that we have in our hearts for our closest friends, our closest neighbors.

I want to try to express that feeling tonight, express it in very personal terms, not about each of you personally here—the time would not permit that—but about our own experience.

As the Ambassador from Mexico knows, and as many of you know, my wife and I spent 2 weeks in Mexico on our wedding trip. We went back there 25 years later with our two daughters.

And as a Californian, we have a very personal and special feeling about the common tradition that we in California share with our neighbors to the south, in Mexico and all the other countries.

Some of you may not know that in 1941,

a year after we were married, due to the fact that my wife at that time was very affluent—I was just a poor lawyer—but my wife being a teacher had acquired enough money that we were able to get the cheapest berth on the last of the old banana boats, the *Ulúa,* that took the Caribbean cruise. Some of you may remember the *Ulúa.* You have to go back that far to remember it because it was sunk by the Germans in 1942. But in 1941, we shall never forget the trip that we took. It took us to Panama and it took us to San José. It took us to the countries of Central America.[1]

And, again, at that time we acquired a personal feeling for those countries—many years before we thought we might be in this place or even considered that there would be a possibility of our being here as a guest, let alone as a host.

And then all the other times are too numerous to mention. The inaugurations that we have been honored to attend in Mexico and other countries in South America, the trips that we have taken, 1955, 1958, and then personally in 1964, 1967.

I would imagine perhaps that I am the first President of the United States who has visited every country of North and South America personally before I became President.

Now, let me tell you what it means. I could put it in quite concrete terms tonight. When my very fine staff and Secretary Rogers and Assistant Secretary Meyer [2] and Dr. Kissinger prepared the talking notes, they said these are good things that you could mention: the fact, first, that I am devoted to the proposition that we must complete the links in the Pan American Highway. We are doing so. It will be done, not as fast as I would like. Nothing ever happens as fast as a President would like, no matter how much power you think he has. But it will be done.

And the fact that we plan to submit to the Congress, as soon as we can get the proper climate, the proposal that I made that some of you will remember at a dinner where all the press covering Latin America were present, the Inter American Press Association, for a general tariff preference.[3] It will happen. It will happen while I am in this office.

And these things I could mention.

But all of that I could mention to any group of visitors, because, whether it is Europe or Asia or Africa or the Mideast, there are these individual, very pragmatic, materialistic things that we could do. And they do matter. They matter a great deal. How much will the loan be or the aid or the cooperation or the assistance, whatever the case might be. I do not mean for one moment to say that we do not have an enormous interest in that and that you do not have our total commitment to the programs on which we are working together.

And the Secretary of State will expand on that commitment when he meets with you all in the beautiful city of San José just starting almost a week from today.

But let me put it in more personal terms. I could tell you about sugar quotas, I could speak about Pan American highways. I could speak about tariff prefer-

[1] The S.S. *Ulúa,* named for a river in Honduras, was operated by the United Fruit Company in the Caribbean between 1919 and 1942. She served with the U.S. Navy during World War II and in 1946 was retired to the James River Fleet and scrapped.

[2] Charles A. Meyer, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs.

[3] See 1969 volume, Item 424.

71-234—72——36

ences. I could speak about new methods of financing, all of these things. But what does it mean? How do you know that I mean it, that our country means it, in a very personal way?

Now, I have to turn, really, to an experience my wife had to illustrate it. A few months ago she went to Peru. It was a time of great tragedy, Mr. Ambassador, for Peru. It is no secret around this table that the Government of the United States had very significant differences with the Government of Peru, but believe me, the people of the United States have no differences with the people of Peru.

My wife went there, and she came back with memories of the wonderful people that she saw in a period of tragedy—still proud, still strong, still determined to stand on their feet, welcoming assistance from abroad, but not being completely dependent upon that assistance.

What I am trying to say to all of you here tonight very simply is this: that we in this house do not consider we have a special relationship with our friends in the American family because you are closest to us, and, therefore, very important to us, which you are, but that the relationship is personal going back over so many years, personal going back over so many memories, personal in the sense that when something happens, a tragedy in your house, it also happens in our house. You feel it in your hearts. We feel it in ours. When there is happiness in your house or in your country, we feel happiness in ours.

That is the personal message I would convey to you tonight.

In that spirit, because I cannot toast all of the countries that are represented here and their heads of government, and not all the ambassadors and other distinguished people that are represented here, I am going to propose the toast tonight to the dean of the diplomatic corps because—not to tell this group who know his record—it is quite unusual, quite unusual in the sense that he has been dean of the diplomatic corps longer than anybody in history. He has lived through, as dean, six Presidents and nine Chiefs of Protocol, nine Secretaries of State—that shows who lives longest in this business—four Speakers and four Chief Justices.

Any man who can survive that long has to be quite a man.

To my personal friend, your personal friend, the friend of the Americas, the dean of the diplomatic corps, Ambassador Sevilla-Sacasa.

The dean.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:44 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House.

Ambassador Sevilla-Sacasa responded as follows:

Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen:

I have the honor to propose a toast to the President of the United States of America and Mrs. Nixon: To the President and Mrs. Nixon.

Mr. President, the Chiefs of Mission of the Americas and the Ambassadors, representatives of those republics to the Organization of American States, as well as our wives, are very grateful to Your Excellency and the First Lady, Mrs. Nixon, for the tribute you are so graciously rendering to us tonight at the White House.

The kindness of your invitation, Mr. President, the hospitable atmosphere of the White House, the elegance of your table, the kindness of your words, the presence of the Secretary of State and other distinguished personalities of your Government enhance our rejoicing tonight.

Today, Mr. President, as on many previous occasions, we are most pleased to be enjoying your lavish hospitality. Just last February 8, the Chiefs of Mission and our wives enjoyed the elegant reception you offered in our honor at the White House—an unforgettable night, Mr. President.

Tonight, you feast your very good friends of Latin America by offering this splendid dinner that has given us the opportunity to share with Your Excellency and the First Lady the bread and wine of friendship that is so gratifying to us all.

Friendship, Mr. President, is a sacred word, a marvelous and noble sentiment that is like a rare essence that perfumes our life.

Friendship, Mr. President, that is the main tie that united the men who live in America, the continent of peace and hope.

We come from peoples who are friends of your people, Mr. President, friendly peoples who respect and esteem the North American nation, the glorious nation that is the bulwark of peace and liberty.

We represent peoples who have for Your Excellency great respect and affection, Mr. President, and for your distinguished wife, Mrs. Nixon, immense admiration and esteem because of her noble nature and her personal charms.

We all know that you harbor in your hearts affectionate feelings for our nations and that you wish to contribute in solving our problems and preoccupations.

Very close to us, the cherry blossoms perfume the air. Here with you at the White House on this beautiful night in April, very close to the celebration of the Pan American Day, a date which is for all of us a source of inspiration, we can again say that there is a rare essence that perfumes the atmosphere, the sacred friendship of our people with yours, the friendship of our nations with you, and our friendship with Your Excellency, Mr. President, and with the worthy companion of your life, Mrs. Nixon.

Thank you for your very nice words about myself. As you know, Mr. President, one of my greatest honors of my life is to be dean here in your great country. To be dean certainly is my official title. But I have many other titles. One of my best is considered loyalty for you and your nation.

Thank you again for your kind attention, which gratified and honored us.

Thank you, Mr. President.

132 Special Message to the Congress About the District of Columbia. *April 7, 1971*

To the Congress of the United States:

Too often in the time since President Washington met with Pierre L'Enfant in Georgetown to review plans for the new District of Columbia—180 years ago last month—the Federal responsibility to the Federal District has not been honored as it should be. Too often Presidents and Congresses have overlooked the opportunity to validate their designs for the Nation by realizing them here in the District of Columbia. But in recent years we have begun to write a new record, one in which the Federal Government can take pride, one which is lifting the city of Washington from the status of a stepchild into the ranks of the firstborn among America's great cities.

The single unifying motive behind all of the diverse proposals and initiatives I am putting forward in this message today is to give Washingtonians, as American citizens, and Washington, as the Nation's capital, the very best in the performance of the responsibilities of government—as they deserve. Let the New American Revolution which we seek for all Americans begin here, in the Nation's Capital—and now, in 1971.

Toward Self-Government and Full Citizenship

If we are to bring the New American Revolution to the people of Washington, we must start by securing for them the

benefits of the original American Revolution, in which they still do not fully share. The fundamental rights for which George Washington's armies fought—men's rights to be represented in the legislature that taxes them and to hold consent over the government that rules them—can no longer be denied to the city that bears Washington's name.

Reorganization Plan No. 3 of 1967, which broke almost a century of stagnation in the progress of District government and set up a new system with a Mayor-Commissioner and a City Council, represented an important first step toward making Washingtonians full citizens of their own city. I am in full support of the letter and the spirit of that reorganization, and my administration will continue to work to strengthen the city government's hand in managing its own affairs more effectively.

One of my most pressing goals for this Nation is to place local functions under local control, and to equip local governments with the authority and the resources they need in order to serve their communities well. To this end I solicit the cooperation of the Congress in transferring many of the routine municipal functions it now must exercise itself, into the hands of the District government. Several such functions whose transfer is requested in the District's 1971 legislative program include the setting of liquor license fees, the execution of long term lease agreements, and the issuance of no-cost driver's permits for use by District police officers on duty. It is clearly time to stop tying the city's hands, and squandering the Congress' valuable time, by holding on Capitol Hill minor powers that belong in the District Building.

Further managerial reforms will be recommended by the Commission on the Organization of the Government of the District of Columbia (Nelsen [1] Commission) created last year and charged (in legislation now pending) to report its findings to the Congress in March 1972. Such recommendations are needed—but there is another dimension of need as well. District government must become not only more efficient but also more democratic.

Therefore, we will shortly submit legislation adding six months to the life of the Nelsen Commission and authorizing it to prepare a second report stating its views on the subject of expanded self-government for the District of Columbia. This would be a logical use of the expertise assembled on the Commission, and a natural extension of its area of study. From the first report on improving government *for* the people, it would move to a second report on shaping government *by* the people.

Evolving hand in hand with the movement toward full popular participation in District government is the steady progress toward giving the people of Washington full participation in the Federal Government. They have now voted in two Presidential elections, and now they have elected their first Congressional delegate in a century. I was proud to personally congratulate the Reverend Walter Fauntroy immediately after his election to this important post two weeks ago. Establishment of the nonvoting House delegate position—by legislation which my administration introduced and advocated—gives Washington a voice in the Congress. But it is only an interim step, for the city should be entitled to a vote there as well.

---

[1] Representative Ancher Nelsen of Minnesota was Chairman of the Commission.

I reaffirm my strong support for a Constitutional amendment granting to the District at least one full voting representative in the House of Representatives, plus such additional representation in one or both houses as the Congress may approve.

There is a wide range of other fronts on which local government in the Nation's Capital could be strengthened and its responsiveness to the people increased. Electoral reform is one, and there are many others. This administration will continue to work receptively and cooperatively in this area with the Congress and with all interested groups in the District of Columbia.

Taking the Lead in Crime Reduction

Forms of government are important—yet they can mean little in a city whose people are ruled by fear for their personal safety and the security of their property. One of my administration's first priorities in the District of Columbia has been to move the city from its place near the top of the list in the incidence and increase of crime, into a position of leadership in crime reduction. Only when this is done can we move toward healthy development for Washington and a fuller life for its people. And now, it is being done.

The District's crime rate declined 5.2 percent from 1969 to 1970, reversing the rapid increases of the late 1960s. Thus people who live in the District, people who work here, and our millions of visitors from around the world, are safer on the city's streets. Equally important, the decline in the District's crime rate, together with crime decreases in 21 other major cities last year, demonstrates that urban crime throughout the Nation can be successfully challenged through decisive action.

Action taken to combat crime in Washington has included:

—An increase in the Metropolitan Police Force from 4,100 to 5,100 officers, with a greater percentage of the force moved into the law enforcement front lines by using civilian personnel to perform many routine functions.

—Landmark legislation which modernized the D.C. court system and provided law enforcement officers with new criminal procedures.

—A substantial narcotics treatment and enforcement program, to rehabilitate narcotics victims and to reduce the criminal activity which supports drug addiction.

—A program of experimental, high-intensity street lighting in selected areas of the city.

—An increase in minority representation on the police force from 28 percent to 37 percent—the highest in the Nation—through a determined community recruiting program.

—A language training program to improve police service in Spanish-speaking neighborhoods.

—Creation of the Executive Protective Service to enhance protection of foreign embassies and free D.C. police for regular civil assignments.

In addition, an increasingly metropolitan perspective is developing among law enforcement agencies in and around Washington. The administration will help to reinforce this trend toward coordinated action, so that crime reductions within the District of Columbia are not rendered hollow by a growing crime problem in the suburbs. The first logical place to begin

applying some of the lessons we have learned about combatting crime in the District is right in our neighboring communities.

Looking to the future, we will continue to press the combination of programs that has proved so successful over the past two years. In order to strengthen the D.C. Narcotics Treatment Administration—one of the keystones of the District's success in crime reduction, and a national leader in the fight against hard drug abuse—I have requested the Attorney General to provide the program with a total of $3 million in grant assistance during calendar year 1971 from the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration. This will enable the program to reach more of the city's addicts and to expand the job counseling and other services it offers them.

My 1972 budget requests, together with those of the District government, provide for:

—Full-year funding for Washington's 35 new U.S. Attorneys and 13 new U.S. District judgeships, which were approved by the Congress in a 1971 supplemental appropriation.

—Upgrading the efforts of the Executive Protective Service in protecting the foreign embassies in the District.

—Maintenance of police strength at 5,100 men with additional training to improve force effectiveness.

—Implementation of the new court reform legislation.

—Improved care and custody for the growing institutional population, and expansion of the community-based correctional program.

I urge the Congress to contribute to the momentum of our winning battle against crime in the Nation's Capital by approving these requests.

Helping the District Help Itself

Central to my proposals for revitalizing State and local government across this country in the years ahead is the recognition that all the political authority a community may possess is only paper power if it lacks the resources—the dollars—it needs to deliver services and amenities to its people. Our program for some $16 billion in general and special revenue sharing — the last portion of which I transmitted to the Congress yesterday—is essentially an effort to give the cities and States the tools they need to do their jobs.

"Revenue sharing" of a sort has been a way of life in the District of Columbia for many years, as it properly should be in view of the Federal presence in the District. My budget requests for fiscal year 1972 call for Federal payments of $153 million to the District government—an increase of more than 20 percent over the currently authorized level. And General Revenue Sharing, when enacted, would bring the city an additional $23 million share during the first year. Welfare reform, besides extending new dignity and tangible benefits to the District's welfare recipients, would lead to further large savings for the city government.

Beyond the fiscal relief which these national reform proposals would afford Washington, there are several areas where the Federal interest in the District warrants special financial support. These include the metropolitan rapid rail mass transit system (METRO); improved water quality facilities and other public

works construction projects; and public higher education.

Federal Guarantees for METRO Revenue Bonds

Excavations for METRO's subway tunnels and stations already dot the District. When it goes into operation at the beginning of 1974 it will be the Nation's most modern mass transit system. It should do much to unify the metropolitan Washington community, to improve the quality of life by reducing congestion and pollution in the area, and to stimulate the metropolitan economy by the increased labor mobility it will provide. I am confident that disagreements over implementation of the 1968 and 1970 Highway Acts—now tying up needed METRO funds—can be resolved, and I have urged all of the parties involved to give priority to meeting these legislative obligations.

To remove another major obstacle now confronting METRO, I am today proposing that the Federal Government guarantee the revenue bonds of the Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority so as to expedite their sale. Severe inflation in the construction industry has combined with unexpected delays in the METRO development timetable to create a $450 million gap in the financial plan originally advanced by WMATA, and to impair the marketability of the METRO revenue bonds. By guaranteeing these securities, we can help WMATA sell all its originally planned bonds so that METRO construction can go forward at once. The bonds would become taxable as a condition of the guarantee, providing a revenue flowback to the Treasury from the interest paid on them. This flowback in turn would permit the Federal Government to cover 25 percent of the Authority's anticipated interest costs on the bonds, enabling the issuance of $300 million in additional bonds. Federal assistance would thus help WMATA close two-thirds of its $450 million revenue gap, in keeping with the two-thirds Federal and one-third local cost sharing arrangement that has prevailed for METRO funding in general.

Bonding for Clear Water and Other Public Works

Washington's efforts to improve its public services and to enhance the urban environment are doubly deserving of Federal support—not only for the sake of the city and the people themselves, but for the sake of the whole Nation as well. This applies to the city's hopes of showing the Nation the way in urban mass transit, and it applies equally to the ecological and esthetic imperatives of purifying our waters.

The Potomac, the great river that George Washington loved and that was the principal influence on his choice of a site for the Federal District, must be restored as an asset to the entire region. The Congress last year indicated its strong interest in this matter by ordering a thorough study of the water resources and waste treatment problems of the Washington metropolitan area. The Environmental Protection Agency has completed that study and it is now being reviewed within the administration.

A vital factor in whatever strategy we adopt will be the regional water pollution control plant at Blue Plains. Work is now underway to increase the capacity of this plant in response to population growth in the metropolitan area, and to upgrade its treatment level so it can meet required

water quality standards. My 1971 environmental proposals and my FY 1972 budget provide for continued support of this improvement project by the Environmental Protection Agency. I will shortly submit to the Congress a District FY 1971 supplemental appropriation request to permit the District of Columbia to maintain its share of support for the work.

The money which the District government is required to spend to meet its share of the Blue Plains improvement costs is raised by direct borrowing from the United States Treasury—the standard means of financing all District public works and capital outlays. However the borrowing authority of the District government under present law is insufficient to meet the Blue Plains needs in FY 1972 and subsequent years. Rather than merely seeking an ad hoc extension of this borrowing authority, I am renewing my proposal that all capital financing for the District of Columbia be shifted from direct Treasury loans to municipal bonds. The 91st Congress did not enact this needed reform, and I have now placed it before the 92nd Congress. The features of this bonding proposal parallel those I have just described for METRO bonds: D.C. capital bonds would be Federally guaranteed and Federally taxable, with a Federal subsidy covering approximately 25 percent of interest costs. Under this arrangement the District of Columbia would gain most of the advantages of ordinary municipal bonds while retaining an extra degree of Federal support in keeping with the unique Federal interest in District affairs. Blue Plains is only the most urgent of many public works projects which could progress more quickly and efficiently as a result.

Extending this type of bonding authority to the District government is exactly in line with a cardinal principle of the New American Revolution: that the way to help local government become more responsible is to entrust it with more responsibility.

Assistance for Public Higher Education

A city can have no obligation higher, and no investment more worthy, than the development of its human resources. The Nation can be proud of the way this priority is being recognized in the District of Columbia. The Washington Technical Institute and the Federal City College, both created in recent years, are helping thousands of young Washingtonians expand their opportunities by developing their potential beyond the high school level. The work that these institutions have done under a variety of handicaps and hardships is remarkable, and this administration is committed to helping the District eliminate their handicaps as quickly as possible. For this reason, my proposal for District of Columbia public works bonding makes a special provision to assist the construction of permanent campuses for the Institute and the College. It would shift the financing of these projects from Treasury loans to direct Federal grant support.

This approach would simplify and speed the effort to give Washington Technical Institute and Federal City College the kind of physical facilities they deserve to match the levels of dedication and performance they have shown from the first. It would also remove a substantial burden on the future public debt of the District government. Purely from a business standpoint, these grants can be regarded as a

sound investment in upgrading the local work force—with the Federal Government, as Washington's major employer, certain to be one of the principal beneficiaries.

It has seemed particularly desirable that the Washington Technical Institute be relocated from its temporary quarters in the southern portion of the old National Bureau of Standards site in Northwest Washington. Since 1968 this land has been earmarked by the Congress for construction of an International Center which would house foreign chanceries and the headquarters of the Organization of American States. Many countries have been unable to find adequate quarters for their chanceries here in Washington, and the Congress by this action recognized the importance of providing suitable space for them. At the same time, it is important that the Washington Technical Institute be moved with minimum interruption of its outstanding educational programs.

After a thorough review of alternative sites for the Institute and the International Center, I have accepted the recommendations of the National Capital Planning Commission, other affected Federal agencies, and the Washington Technical Institute that the two activities share the old Bureau of Standards site. The International Center can occupy the south end—the present Institute grounds—while the northern portion of the site can become an excellent permanent campus for the Institute. Planning is proceeding accordingly. During construction of its new buildings, the Institute will be housed in suitably adapted existing buildings on the north side of the site.

I will shortly transmit budget requests for this move and for the relocation of Federal agency activities now on the site. In the coming years, both the Institute and the International Center will be important new landmarks on upper Connecticut Avenue, symbolizing side by side the Capital City's dedication to human development and to international understanding.

Planning for the permanent campus of Federal City College has not progressed as quickly as that for the Washington Technical Institute site, and so I will not discuss the various alternatives and possibilities at length here. I would stress, however, my firm commitment to assisting the College not only through construction grants but also through active interest in the process of translating those dollars into land, classrooms, and other facilities which can begin benefitting Federal City's students in the near future.

A Development Bank for the District of Columbia

All of the areas in which I have proposed that the Federal Government give special attention to helping the District government help itself—mass transit, clean water, and human resources development—bear directly on the support of a vigorous, expanding economy in the Nation's Capital. They would help to create a climate that favors economic growth. I now urge the Congress to assist business and industry in taking advantage of that climate by establishing a Development Bank for the District of Columbia, as proposed in legislation which the administration is submitting. Such a Development Bank, forging a new partnership among Federal officials, local officials, and representatives of the private sector, would serve as an action center in assembling the necessary combinations

of capital and management skills so that economic development opportunities do not go begging as they have sometimes done in the past.

Washington has been called, not too kindly but with a measure of truth, a "company town." Inevitably the Federal Government will remain a dominant factor in the metropolitan economy, but one-industry communities all over the Nation are seeing the wisdom of diversifying, and often it is the major employer in the community which takes the lead in broadening the economic base to create new jobs and a wider prosperity. Certainly that should be the case in Washington, and can be if we move to establish the Development Bank.

Preparing for the Bicentennial

The bicentennial of American independence, now only five years away, is a natural focal point for our hopes and plans of what the Nation and the Nation's Capital can become. Many cities will take part in this great observance as we celebrate our heritage and map our third century that lies ahead. Boston as the cradle of liberty, and Philadelphia as the scene of the bold political strokes leading to independence and union, will both play leading roles. But Washington, truly the child of the American Revolution, will have an especially exciting chance to show the world how that child has come to full maturity.

We must give urgent and continuing attention to enhancing the Nation's Capital as "the city of magnificent distances"—the gracious description a Portuguese diplomat gave it when it was little more than a village in the wilderness. To insure vigorous Federal participation in the work of readying Washington's public buildings, avenues, and open spaces for the bicentennial year, I have asked Robert Kunzig, the General Services Administrator, to serve as my Special Assistant for District Bicentennial Development Projects. I have also resubmitted to the Congress legislation to create a Federal City Bicentennial Development Corporation which would exercise leadership in public and private efforts to realize the development potential of the Pennsylvania Avenue area.

A number of construction projects included in my budget for fiscal year 1972 also point to an attractive new look for Federal Washington by 1976. These include the Smithsonian Institution's plans to build a new National Air and Space Museum on the Mall and a new display area for cultural and technological advances of the past two centuries in the National Museum of History and Technology; the National Sculpture Garden which the National Park Service will build on the Mall; new buildings for the Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare, and the United States Tax Court; and the James Madison Memorial Library addition to the Library of Congress. I ask the Congress to appropriate the necessary funds for these projects.

As we work to beautify the official face of the city, we will not neglect the task of healing its residential heart. The wounds of anguish inflicted on portions of Washington in the tragic aftermath of Martin Luther King's assassination three years ago this week are still far too evident, depressing the lives of residents and scarring their neighborhoods. The riot-torn areas, as well as those suffering from blight and decay, deserve accelerated urban re-

newal assistance—this the administration is cooperating with local officials to provide. One of my first Executive actions as President was to pledge "full support . . . and . . . the utmost Executive energy" for neighborhood redevelopment efforts in the District of Columbia. A start has been made, but through Federal and local determination we can do still better. We shall.

Georgetown, the District of Columbia's living link to the colonial and Revolutionary eras, also merits special attention in the course of our bicentennial preparations. We have come to the point where failure to act immediately on an overall development and preservation plan for the Georgetown waterfront area will mean the loss by default of its unique combination of historical, scenic, and natural values. While many imaginative ideas for such a plan have been advanced over the years, none has been adopted. Now roads and commercial development threaten to change the waterfront forever, piecemeal. I have asked the District government, the National Capital Planning Commission, and the Departments of HUD, Transportation, and Interior to join with private citizens and move ahead at once in developing an overall plan for the Georgetown waterfront. The purpose of the plan will be to insure the preservation of historic buildings, to increase park lands, to save the open vistas of the river and Roosevelt Island, and to provide for the harmonious development of public, commercial, and residential facilities.

Intentions for the Living City

Charles Dickens, visiting the United States in 1842, took issue with the Portuguese diplomat's characterization of Washington. It should be called, he said, the city of magnificent *intentions*. His novelist's eye missed no detail of the bustling human life of the Capital, and the whole scene suggested to him visions and dreams—social and political as well as architectural—unfulfilled, still striven for.

Dickens' insight remains pointed and valid today. For it is clear that Washington's role as we enter America's third century must be not only that of a political and ceremonial capital, but also that of a living city—a city alive in its own right with three-quarters of a million Americans, the life-center of all these United States. Our intentions for Washington still outreach our achievements, as they may for decades to come. But let us at least be very clear about what those intentions are; let us make them as magnificent as L'Enfant's physical plan for the District; and let us begin moving apace to realize them.

The reality may be long in coming, but the right intention is simple enough to state: Washington should embody the essence of what is best in America. The direction of Federal effort then is plain. Federal effort should contribute wherever possible to making this a city unexcelled in quality of life, urban grace and efficiency, and economic opportunity. Federal effort should follow the principle that since government is Washington's *raison d'être,* we will do the city the greatest credit by making its local government a model and by making the Federal Government that is centered here as effective and democratic as we can.

Washington as a living city, and an exemplary one—Washington as the seat of a local and a Federal Government that are truly of the people, by the people, and for the people: I invite the people of the

District of Columbia and the Congress of the United States to share in these exciting hopes for the years ahead.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
April 7, 1971

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing on the President's message by John A. Volpe, Secretary, and John P. Olsson, Deputy Under Secretary, Department of Transportation; and Richard P. Nathan, Assistant Director, Office of Management and Budget.

133 Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Manpower Report of the President. *April 7, 1971*

To the Congress of the United States:

In a recent special message to the Congress [1] which forms the first part of this volume, I urged prompt consideration and enactment of a Manpower Revenue Sharing Act of 1971, a long overdue and fundamental reform of the country's manpower programs.

This second Manpower Report of my administration provides factual background for this recommendation. A major feature of the report recounts the strenuous efforts we have made over the past two years to coordinate and strengthen the present multiplicity of manpower programs. Nevertheless, they remain much too rigid and narrowly focused to meet differing and changing local needs. Transfer of responsibility for planning and administration to State and local governments is essential if the programs are to become adequately responsive to the problems of local areas and their people.

The report analyzes in depth the critical employment and manpower utilization problems of urban labor markets and of rural areas. Because these problems differ in nature and intensity from State to State and community to community, there is no single, simple national solution. While job opportunities have expanded more in the suburbs, the central cities generally have not lost jobs and most cities have had some employment increase. The problem is that the inner city residents are confronted simultaneously by a number of obstacles—poor education, lack of skill training, bias in hiring practices. Overcoming these multiple, self-reinforcing barriers to employment is the hard challenge to imaginative local leadership in best using shared manpower revenues.

The States face equally challenging human resources utilization problems in our rural areas. Continued decline in farm employment is borne on the wings of ever-increasing farm productivity. Development of employment opportunities in our rural communities is vital, both to improve the quality of life for rural residents and to stem the tide of migration to our already crowded cities.

Another aspect of the labor market developed analytically in this report is the effects on employment of government purchases of goods and services. The shifting "mix" of government buying has far-reaching implications for the pattern of employment offered in the job market. The expected rapid growth in State and local government services over the decade of the 1970s offers real opportunity for improving job prospects for our disadvantaged fellow citizens.

[1] See Item 86.

As I said in transmitting last year's Manpower Report, full opportunity for all citizens remains a central goal for this Nation. The present report is concerned with the progress we have already made toward this goal and the distance we still have to travel. The report provides important new information clarifying the obstacles in the way and pointing to the new legislation and other public and private action essential to overcome them.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
April 7, 1971

NOTE: The report is entitled "Manpower Report of the President Including a Report on Manpower Requirements, Resources, Utilization, and Training by the United States Department of Labor—Transmitted to the Congress April 1971" (Government Printing Office, 328 pp.).

134 Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report on Marine Resources and Engineering Development. *April 7, 1971*

To the Congress of the United States:

Creation last year of the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA) and the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) has given us the capacity to manage our Federal oceanic, atmospheric and environmental responsibilities with substantially greater effectiveness and efficiency.

The United States' marine science program was marked in 1970 by a number of sound accomplishments and new departures.

Internationally, we worked successfully with other nations to produce a seabed arms control treaty. We proposed development of a treaty governing the exploration and exploitation of seabed resources and submitted a working draft of such a treaty to the United Nations. And we are also joining forces with others in earnest efforts to preserve the quality of the marine environment.

A major step toward more rational use of the oceans was taken in December, 1970, when the nations of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization resolved to achieve by 1975, if possible, and by the end of the decade at the latest the elimination of intentional discharges of oil and oily wastes into the oceans. We are earnestly pursuing this worthy objective. It is my hope that the Senate, as part of this effort, will soon give its advice and consent to the international oil spills conventions and amendments which were transmitted last May.

I have also asked the Congress to enact the Ports and Waterways Safety Act, which would increase the Coast Guard's authority to protect against oil spills, and the Wholesome Fish and Fishery Products Act, which would provide for the inspection of fish and fishery products during their harvesting, processing and transport.

These accomplishments are reported in detail in the annual report of the National Council on Marine Resources and Engineering Development, "Marine Science Affairs," which I am today transmitting to the Congress. During 1970, the Council, which is chaired by the Vice President, has continued to assist me in

the development of marine science policy, the coordination of Federal programs, and the effecting of an orderly transition during the reorganization of Federal agencies in the marine sciences. As the Council now completes its work, we can take pride in the new policies and programs that fulfill the objectives of the Marine Resources and Engineering Development Act. The Council deserves our gratitude for a job well done.

My budget request for fiscal year 1972 provides $609.1 million for marine science, technology and services—an increase of more than $70 million over my request of a year ago. These funds would permit NOAA to undertake priority programs of fundamental importance to the Nation's marine science interests; they will permit us to continue the accomplishments of the Sea Grant program; to further our participation in the International Decade of Ocean Exploration; to insure that necessary marine research and development is conducted for national security purposes; and to make certain that marine research and development, generally, continue to make productive contributions to our growing use of the sea.

We have embarked on a strong marine science program for the 1970s. In the year ahead the Federal Government will build on these accomplishments. And we will look to all sectors of the Nation's marine science community—State and local governments, industry and the universities—to contribute to the fullest to the United States' efforts to make better use of the oceans and to provide world leadership on the major ocean issues before the community of nations.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
April 7, 1971

NOTE: The report is entitled "Marine Science Affairs: Annual Report of the President to the Congress on Marine Resources and Engineering Development" (Government Printing Office, 114 pp.).

135 Address to the Nation on the Situation in Southeast Asia. *April 7, 1971*

GOOD EVENING my fellow Americans. Over the past several weeks you have heard a number of reports on TV, radio, and in your newspapers on the situation in Southeast Asia.

I think the time has come for me as President and as Commander in Chief of our Armed Forces to put these reports in perspective, to lay all the pertinent facts before you and to let you judge for yourselves as to the success or failure of our policy.

I am glad to be able to begin my report tonight by announcing that I have decided to increase the rate of American troop withdrawals for the period from May 1 to December 1. Before going into details, I would like to review briefly what I found when I came into office, the progress we have made to date in reducing American forces, and the reason why I am able to announce a stepped-up withdrawal without jeopardizing our remaining forces in Vietnam and without endangering our ultimate goal of ending American involvement in a way which will increase the chances for a lasting peace in the Pacific and in the world.

When I left Washington in January of 1961, after serving 8 years as Vice President under President Eisenhower, there were no American combat forces in Vietnam. No Americans had died in combat in Vietnam.

When I returned to Washington as President 8 years later, there were 540,000 American troops in Vietnam. Thirty-one thousand had died there. Three hundred Americans were being lost every week and there was no comprehensive plan to end the United States involvement in the war.

I implemented a plan to train and equip the South Vietnamese, to withdraw American forces, and to end American involvement in the war just as soon as the South Vietnamese had developed the capacity to defend their country against Communist aggression. On this chart on my right, you can see how our plan has succeeded. In June of 1969, I announced a withdrawal of 25,000 men; in September, 40,000; December, 50,000; April of 1970, 150,000. By the first of next month, May 1, we will have brought home more than 265,000 Americans—almost half of the troops in Vietnam when I took office.

Now another indication of the progress we have made is in reducing American casualties. Casualties were five times as great in the first 3 months of 1969 as they were in the first 3 months this year, 1971. South Vietnamese casualties have also dropped significantly in the past 2 years. One American dying in combat is one too many. But our goal is no American fighting man dying anyplace in the world. Every decision I have made in the past and every decision I make in the future will have the purpose of achieving that goal.

Let me review now two decisions I have made which have contributed to the achievements of our goals in Vietnam that you have seen on this chart.

The first was the destruction of enemy bases in Cambodia. You will recall that at the time of that decision, many expressed fears that we had widened the war, that our casualties would increase, that our troop withdrawal program would be delayed. Now I don't question the sincerity of those who expressed these fears. But we can see now they were wrong. American troops were out of Cambodia in 60 days, just as I pledged they would be. American casualties did not rise; they were cut in half. American troop withdrawals were not halted or delayed; they continued at an accelerated pace.

Now let me turn to the Laotian operation. As you know, this was undertaken by South Vietnamese ground forces with American air support against North Vietnamese troops which had been using Laotian territory for 6 years to attack American forces and allied forces in South Vietnam. Since the completion of that operation, there has been a great deal of understandable speculation—just as there was after Cambodia—whether or not it was a success or a failure, a victory or a defeat. But, as in Cambodia, what is important is not the instant analysis of the moment, but what happens in the future.

Did the Laotian operation contribute to the goals we sought? I have just completed my assessment of that operation and here are my conclusions:

First, the South Vietnamese demonstrated that without American advisers they could fight effectively against the very best troops North Vietnam could put in the field.

Second, the South Vietnamese suffered heavy casualties, but by every conservative

estimate the casualties suffered by the enemy were far heavier.

Third, and most important, the disruption of enemy supply lines, the consumption of ammunition and arms in the battle has been even more damaging to the capability of the North Vietnamese to sustain major offensives in South Vietnam than were the operations in Cambodia 10 months ago.

Consequently, tonight I can report that Vietnamization has succeeded. Because of the increased strength of the South Vietnamese, because of the success of the Cambodian operation, because of the achievements of the South Vietnamese operation in Laos, I am announcing an increase in the rate of American withdrawals. Between May 1 and December 1 of this year, 100,000 more American troops will be brought home from South Vietnam. This will bring the total number of American troops withdrawn from South Vietnam to 365,000. Now that is over two-thirds of the number who were there when I came into office, as you can see from this chart on my left. The Government of South Vietnam fully supports the decision I have just announced.

Now, let's look at the future:

As you can see from the progress we have made to date and by this announcement tonight, the American involvement in Vietnam is coming to an end. The day the South Vietnamese can take over their own defense is in sight. Our goal is a total American withdrawal from Vietnam. We can and we will reach that goal through our program of Vietnamization if necessary.

But we would infinitely prefer to reach it even sooner—through negotiations. I am sure most of you will recall that on October 7 of last year in a national TV broadcast, I proposed an immediate cease-fire throughout Indochina, the immediate release of all prisoners of war in the Indochina area, an all-Indochina peace conference, the complete withdrawal of all outside forces, and a political settlement. Tonight I again call on Hanoi to engage in serious negotiations to speed the end of this war. I especially call on Hanoi to agree to the immediate and unconditional release of all prisoners of war throughout Indochina. It is time for Hanoi to end the barbaric use of our prisoners as negotiating pawns and to join us in a humane act that will free their men as well as ours.

Let me turn now to a proposal which at first glance has a great deal of popular appeal. If our goal is a total withdrawal of all our forces, why don't I announce a date now for ending our involvement? Well, the difficulty in making such an announcement to the American people is that I would also be making that announcement to the enemy. And it would serve the enemy's purpose and not our own.

If the United States should announce that we will quit regardless of what the enemy does, we would have thrown away our principal bargaining counter to win the release of American prisoners of war, we would remove the enemy's strongest incentive to end the war sooner by negotiation, and we will have given enemy commanders the exact information they need to marshal their attacks against our remaining forces at their most vulnerable time.

The issue very simply is this: Shall we leave Vietnam in a way that—by our own actions—consciously turns the country over to the Communists? Or shall we leave in a way that gives the South Vietnamese a reasonable chance to survive as a free

people? My plan will end American involvement in a way that would provide that chance. And the other plan would end it precipitately and give victory to the Communists.

In a deeper sense, we have the choice of ending our involvement in this war on a note of despair or on a note of hope. I believe, as Thomas Jefferson did, that Americans will always choose hope over despair. We have it in our power to leave Vietnam in a way that offers a brave people a realistic hope of freedom. We have it in our power to prove to our friends in the world that America's sense of responsibility remains the world's greatest single hope of peace.

And above all, we have it in our power to close a difficult chapter in American history, not meanly but nobly—so that each one of us can come out of this searing experience with a measure of pride in our Nation, confidence in our own character, and hope for the future of the spirit of America.

I know there are those who honestly believe that I should move to end this war without regard to what happens to South Vietnam. This way would abandon our friends. But even more important, we would abandon ourselves. We would plunge from the anguish of war into a nightmare of recrimination. We would lose respect for this Nation, respect for one another, respect for ourselves.

I understand the deep concerns which have been raised in this country, fanned by reports of brutalities in Vietnam. Let me put this into perspective.

I have visited Vietnam many times, and, speaking now from that experience and as Commander in Chief of our Armed Forces, I feel it is my duty to speak up for the two and a half million fine young Americans who have served in Vietnam. The atrocity charges in individual cases should not and cannot be allowed to reflect on their courage and their self-sacrifice. War is a terrible and cruel experience for a nation, and it is particularly terrible and cruel for those who bear the burden of fighting.

But never in history have men fought for less selfish motives—not for conquest, not for glory, but only for the right of a people far away to choose the kind of government they want.

While we hear and read much of isolated acts of cruelty, we do not hear enough of the tens of thousands of individual American soldiers—I have seen them there—building schools, roads, hospitals, clinics, who, through countless acts of generosity and kindness, have tried to help the people of South Vietnam. We can and we should be very proud of these men. They deserve not our scorn, but they deserve our admiration and our deepest appreciation.

The way to express that appreciation is to end America's participation in this conflict not in failure or in defeat, but in achievement of the great goals for which they fought: a South Vietnam free to determine its own future and an America no longer divided by war but united in peace.

That is why it is so important how we end this war. By our decision we will demonstrate the kind of people we are and the kind of country we will become.

That is why I have chartered the course I have laid out tonight: to end this war—but end it in a way that will strengthen trust for America around the world, not undermine it, in a way that will redeem

the sacrifices that have been made, not insult them, in a way that will heal this Nation, not tear it apart.

I can assure you tonight with confidence that American involvement in this war is coming to an end.

But can you believe this? I understand why this question is raised by many very honest and sincere people. Because many times in the past in this long and difficult war, actions have been announced from Washington which were supposed to lead to a reduction of American involvement in Vietnam. And over and over these actions resulted in more Americans going to Vietnam and more casualties in Vietnam.

Tonight I do not ask you to take what I say on faith. Look at the record. Look again at this chart on my left. Every action taken by this Administration, every decision made, has accomplished what I said it would accomplish. They have reduced American involvement. They have drastically reduced our casualties.

In my campaign for the Presidency, I pledged to end American involvement in this war. I am keeping that pledge. And I expect to be held accountable by the American people if I fail.

I am often asked what I would like to accomplish more than anything else while serving as President of the United States. And I always give the same answer: to bring peace—peace abroad, peace at home for America. The reason I am so deeply committed to peace goes far beyond political considerations or my concern about my place in history, or the other reasons that political scientists usually say are the motivations of Presidents.

Every time I talk to a brave wife of an American POW, every time I write a letter to the mother of a boy who has been killed in Vietnam, I become more deeply committed to end this war, and to end it in a way that we can build lasting peace.

I think the hardest thing that a President has to do is to present posthumously the Nation's highest honor, the Medal of Honor, to mothers or fathers or widows of men who have lost their lives, but in the process have saved the lives of others.

We had an award ceremony in the East Room of the White House just a few weeks ago.[1] And at that ceremony I remember one of the recipients, Mrs. Karl Taylor, from Pennsylvania. Her husband was a Marine sergeant, Sergeant Karl Taylor. He charged an enemy machinegun singlehanded and knocked it out. He lost his life. But in the process the lives of several wounded Marines in the range of that machinegun were saved.

After I presented her the Medal, I shook hands with their two children, Karl, Jr.—he was 8 years old—and Kevin, who was 4. As I was about to move to the next recipient, Kevin suddenly stood at attention and saluted. I found it rather difficult to get my thoughts together for the next presentation.

My fellow Americans, I want to end this war in a way that is worthy of the sacrifice of Karl Taylor, and I think he would want me to end it in a way that would increase the chances that Kevin and Karl, and all those children like them here and around the world, could grow up in a world where none of them would have to die in war; that would increase

[1] The private ceremony took place on February 16, 1971. The text of the citation of Sergeant Taylor's posthumous award is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 7, p. 229).

the chance for America to have what it has not had in this century—a full generation of peace.

We have come a long way in the last 2 years toward that goal. With your continued support, I believe we will achieve that goal. And generations in the future will look back at this difficult, trying time in America's history and they will be proud that we demonstrated that we had the courage and the character of a great people.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9 p.m. in the Oval Office at the White House. His address was broadcast live on radio and television.

An advance text of the President's address was released on the same day.

Before delivering his televised report on Southeast Asia, the President met with the bipartisan leadership of the Senate and the House of Representatives to discuss the address.

136 Statement Announcing Plans for Summer Programs for Disadvantaged Youth. *April* 9, 1971

FOR YOUNG people, and especially for the disadvantaged, summer can be a time of frustration and despair. But it does not have to be. It can also be a time of great opportunity:

—It can be a time of opportunity for the youth to learn new skills, and to test his skills in the world of work;

—It can provide him an opportunity to contribute to the well-being of others, thus both improving their lives and enriching his own;

—It can open opportunities to take part in physical fitness, health, and organized recreational activities.

I am pleased today to announce plans for 1971 summer programs for disadvantaged youth which will help convert these opportunities into realities.

I will transmit to the Congress, as soon as it returns from its current recess, a supplemental request for $64.3 million to provide an additional 100,000 Neighborhood Youth Corps summer employment opportunities for high school students and to finance the Recreation Support Program in the largest cities across the Nation.

Combined with currently available resources, these supplemental funds would raise the number of summer jobs for disadvantaged youth to 576,000.

Of this total, 514,000 would participate in the Neighborhood Youth Corps in all 50 States, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, and the Trust Territories, with special emphasis on the Nation's 50 largest cities. This program has been modified in important directions which will yield long range educational and career benefits to enrollees in addition to serving America. One major new activity, for example, operating with assistance from the Environmental Protection Agency and the Office of Education, will involve enrollees in the work of preserving our environment while introducing them to the possibilities of careers in this crucial area of public interest.

In addition, 62,000 young people will be employed in Federal offices, where they will have a chance to become acquainted with people in Government, the functions Government performs, and the problems it faces.

All of these summer jobs will offer work opportunities while encouraging the young employees to complete their education. Wages will be increased from $1.45 per hour to $1.60, an indication that this

employment program is not "make-work"; we expect these young employees to make a meaningful contribution.

In addition to the summer jobs opened up by these programs, other projects will provide almost 2 million youth with an opportunity to participate in projects to improve physical fitness and provide health services, meals, transportation, and exposure to local cultural institutions.

—A $3 million grant to the National Collegiate Athletic Association will enable it, through its member colleges, to provide organized sports and other related activities for 50,000 inner-city youths.

—The Recreation Support Program, serving children too young for employment and who have lacked the opportunity to engage in sports and other recreational activities, will provide such opportunities for 1.9 million youth in the Nation's 100 largest cities. Neighborhood Youth Corps enrollees will be employed as recreation aides in the Support Program, providing both practical experience and encouragement for the development of career interests in this expanding area.

These summer employment and recreation proposals represent a positive response to many of the handicaps faced by America's disadvantaged youth. Early action by the Congress will enable the States and communities to make timely plans for ensuring that these programs are carried out to the fullest advantage. I also urge the States and localities to expand their own summer youth programs, so as to make this summer truly one of youth opportunity.

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing on summer programs for disadvantaged youth by James D. Hodgson, Secretary, and Malcolm R. Lovell, Jr., Assistant Secretary for Manpower, Department of Labor; and Capt. James A. Lovell, Jr., Chairman, President's Council on Physical Fitness and Sports.

137 Statement Announcing a Program To Inform Disadvantaged Vietnam-Era Veterans of Educational and Job Training Benefits. *April* 12, 1971

AS OUR American troops return from Vietnam in increasing numbers, one of the most crucial questions facing the Nation is what they return to.

We owe these men a debt of gratitude for their service—but we also owe them something more. We owe them an extra measure of help in making the difficult transition back to civilian life.

The help available under existing Federal programs has been substantially increased during the past 2 years, but the dismaying fact is that unemployment among Vietnam-era veterans still is significantly greater than it is among non-veterans in the same age bracket. This poses a challenge to government at all levels—Federal, State, and local—to business, to the educational community, and to all of us as citizens.

One key factor in this problem is that many returning veterans who could profit most from the benefits available—and particularly the disadvantaged—are not making full use of them.

As part of the Administration's continu-

ing effort to improve services to returning veterans and to encourage fuller use of them by those eligible, a new program is being launched today to acquaint disadvantaged veterans with the educational and job training benefits available and to encourage them to participate. I welcome the public-spirited cooperation of the many groups and individuals that are making this imaginative new venture possible and urge all concerned to help make it a success.

This is the latest in a series of moves that have been made to provide more help to veterans. For example:

—The GI bill allowance for education has been increased by 35 percent.

—Veterans have been permitted to draw these benefits concurrently with other Federal benefits.

—I have proposed new legislation to reduce the financial hardship borne in the early months of school enrollment by making advance payments of GI bill benefits.

In October 1970, I created the Jobs for Veterans Program under Mr. James F. Oates, Jr. This group has sought the active help and cooperation of employers, labor unions, voluntary organizations, and State and local governments in opening job and training opportunities to returning veterans.

As a result of these and other Administration efforts, we can point with pride to greatly increased participation in GI bill benefits. More than 1 million veterans are now receiving benefits. This is an increase of 36 percent over last year, 70 percent over the level 2 years ago, and 240 percent over 1966. By the end of 1972, we expect to be providing these benefits to 1.8 million people.

We have also provided substantial improvements in other important benefits for veterans, including:

—a 10 percent average increase in compensation for death or disablement from military service;

—a 10 percent average increase in pension benefits for needy veterans (or their survivors and dependents) of wartime service;

—higher quality medical care by providing staffing increases of almost 4,000—raising the staff-to-patient ratio from 1.51:1 to 1.8:1 for general medical patients, and higher for surgical patients—and adding some 170 specialized medical units in such areas as spinal cord injury treatment, rehabilitation of the blind, drug abuse clinics, and many others.

The venture being announced today—involving the Office of Economic Opportunity and the Nation's communities together in a joint effort to reach out to the veteran and help him obtain needed training benefits—is but one of a number of new measures being developed by the Administration to assist the returning veterans.

As a nation, we bear a profound and very special responsibility to those who have been called upon to serve. All of us share in that obligation—and each veteran, by his service, has earned assistance in assuming his rightful place in the civilian community. The Federal Government must do its full share in meeting that obligation, and I also urge all others who can help to do so.

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing on the program by Frank C. Carlucci, Director, Office of Economic Opportunity; Donald E.

Johnson, Administrator of Veterans Affairs; James F. Oates, Jr., Chairman, Jobs for Veterans Program; Mayor Richard G. Lugar of Indianapolis, Ind., cochairman, Veterans Education and Training Action Committee (VETAC); and Robert Penn, Vietnam veteran from Buffalo, N.Y.

138 Statement Announcing Plans for a White House Conference on the Future of the American Business System. *April* 12, 1971

WE MUST become the managers of change. The private enterprise system is facing new challenges on every front. Corporations are being called upon increasingly to help provide solutions to complex national, social, and economic problems. Business, labor, and government must work in partnership for the public good.

Plans must be made now to make the most of the opportunities ahead. I feel it is time for key leaders with an interest in our industrial society to take a long range look and develop policies that will help shape that future. It is for this reason that I am calling this White House Conference.

NOTE: The statement was made available as part of a White House release announcing the President's call for a White House Conference on "The Industrial World Ahead: A Look at Business in 1990," to be held in Washington, D.C., November 8–10, 1971.

The release noted that the Conference, chaired by Secretary of Commerce Maurice H. Stans and Secretary of Labor James D. Hodgson, would have four major themes: The Structure of the Private Enterprise System, Jobs Ahead, Technology and Resources for Business, and The Social Responsibility of Business. Each theme would provide a focal point for assessment of the challenges faced by American business, and attempts would be made to present suggestions for policy development to meet those challenges.

The full text of the release is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 7, p. 627).

139 Statement Announcing Changes in Trade and Travel Restrictions With the People's Republic of China. *April* 14, 1971

IN MY second annual Foreign Policy Report to the Congress on February 25, 1971, I wrote, "In the coming year I will carefully examine what further steps we might take to create broader opportunities for contacts between the Chinese and American peoples, and how we might remove needless obstacles to the realization of these opportunities."

I asked the Under Secretaries Committee of the National Security Council to make appropriate recommendations to bring this about.

After reviewing the resulting study and recommendations, I decided on the following actions, none of which requires new legislation or negotiations with the People's Republic of China:

—The United States is prepared to expedite visas for visitors or groups of

visitors from the People's Republic of China to the United States.

—U.S. currency controls are to be relaxed to permit the use of dollars by the People's Republic of China.

—Restrictions are to be ended on American oil companies providing fuel to ships or aircraft proceeding to and from China except on Chinese-owned or Chinese-chartered carriers bound to or from North Vietnam, North Korea, or Cuba.

—U.S. vessels or aircraft may now carry Chinese cargoes between non-Chinese ports and U.S.-owned foreign flag carriers may call at Chinese ports.

—I have asked for a list of items of a nonstrategic nature which can be placed under general license for direct export to the People's Republic of China. Following my review and approval of specific items on this list, direct imports of designated items from China will then also be authorized.

After due consideration of the results of these changes in our trade and travel restrictions, I will consider what additional steps might be taken.

Implementing regulations will be announced by the Department of State and other interested agencies.

NOTE: On June 10, 1971, the White House released an announcement and the text of a statement by White House Press Secretary Ronald L. Ziegler on the termination of trade controls on nonstrategic items for export to and on imports from the People's Republic of China. The texts of both are printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 7, pp. 890 and 891).

On the same day, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing on relaxation of trade controls by Winthrop G. Brown, Deputy Assistant Secretary for East Asian and Pacific Affairs, and Robert B. Wright, Director, Office of East-West Trade, Department of State; and Ernest B. Johnston, Jr., National Security Council Staff.

140 Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report of the National Endowment for the Arts and the National Council on the Arts. *April* 14, 1971

To the Congress of the United States:

In recent years, the arts have come to play an increasingly important role in American life—and not as the exclusive province of a few great art centers, but in the daily lives of thousands of communities, both large and small, throughout the country.

This heightened appreciation of the arts and of America's artists has been an immensely enriching experience for us all, both individually and as a Nation. For the arts are more than a form of entertainment, or a way of filling up leisure hours. They provide an indispensable means through which the imagination can be freed, and through which we can gain new perceptions and heightened understanding. They contribute beauty and grace to our lives. They inspire us to see things in new ways. They help us to a fuller appreciation of the infinite wonder of man and his world.

The extent to which America's artistic

heritage is being enriched and extended should be a source of great pride to this Nation and its people. And the extent to which its enjoyment is becoming more broadly available should be a source of great satisfaction.

Throughout the United States, poets, painters and sculptors are now at work in our schools; symphony orchestras are reaching new and larger audiences; touring companies are bringing theatre, opera and dance to communities which, until now, have not experienced these art forms at first hand. All this is being accomplished through programs funded by the Congress, and carried out by the National Endowment for the Arts and the fifty-five councils that are now at work in every State and Territorial Jurisdiction.

I therefore take particular pleasure in transmitting to the Congress the Fifth Annual Report of the National Endowment for the Arts.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
April 14, 1971

NOTE: The 112-page report is entitled "National Endowment for the Arts and National Council on the Arts; Annual Report, Fiscal Year 1970."

141 Statement About a Proposal for Internment of Prisoners of War in a Neutral Country. *April* 14, 1971

I WELCOME the Republic of Vietnam's proposal, made on April 8 in the Paris negotiations, for internment of prisoners of war in a neutral country. Although short of the release of prisoners of war which is our goal, this would be a reasonable and responsible way of alleviating the plight of prisoners of war on both sides. I hope the other side will respond positively to this initiative.

Third country internment of prisoners of war is specifically envisaged by the Geneva Prisoner of War Convention of 1949, by which both sides in the Indochina conflict are bound. There can be no constructive purpose in the continued long detention of prisoners of war. They and their families have suffered too much already. Agreement to intern prisoners of war in a third country would mean that the prisoners would no longer serve as hostages for political or military purposes.

NOTE: On May 3, 1971, during a news briefing at the Western White House, San Clemente, Calif., White House Press Secretary Ronald L. Ziegler read the following statement on the Swedish Government's offer of assistance in the prisoner of war matter:

President Nixon today noted with great satisfaction that according to press reports the Government of Sweden has offered the use of its vessels and its territory to provide internment of prisoners of war from the conflict in Vietnam. The President would hope that Hanoi will move promptly to negotiate an agreement on this issue to take advantage of this humanitarian offer on the part of the Swedish Government.

142 Message to the Senate Transmitting Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Seizure of Aircraft. *April* 15, 1971

To the Senate of the United States:

With a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, I transmit herewith a copy of the Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Seizure of Aircraft, signed at The Hague on December 16, 1970. I transmit also for the information of the Senate the report of the Secretary of State with respect to the Convention.

The problem of aircraft hijacking has become a serious global threat to international aviation. No country or area is immune from this threat.

The Diplomatic Conference which met at The Hague December 1–16, 1970 had before it the urgent task of preparing a Convention to ensure that all hijackers, wherever found, would be subject to severe punishment for an act which endangers the safety and lives of passengers and crew aboard. I believe that the Conference achieved this objective and that it will be fully realized when States have ratified or acceded to the Convention and it has become widely accepted.

Because of the worldwide threat of hijacking, the Convention provides that all States may become parties. I hope that it will be applied universally. I made my views clear on September 11, 1970 when I stated that:

"It is imperative that all countries accept the multilateral convention providing for the extradition or punishment of hijacking [hijackers] which will be considered at the international conference which will be held under the auspices of the International Civil Aviation Organization. I affirm the support of the United States both for this convention and for the Tokyo convention, which provides for the prompt return of hijacked aircraft, passengers and crew. I call upon other governments to become parties to these conventions."

I believe that the Convention will be an important step in the development of international law and practice with respect to deterring hijacking. I urgently recommend, therefore, that the Senate give early and favorable consideration to the Convention.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
April 15, 1971

NOTE: The text of the convention is printed in United States Treaties and Other International Agreements (22 UST 1641).

143 Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Plan for United States Participation in the World Weather Program. *April* 15, 1971

To the Congress of the United States:

Through the World Weather Program, the nations of the world are combining their efforts to gain new knowledge of the global atmosphere, provide better weather forecasts and warnings to all countries,

71-234—72——37

and assess the damage man has inflicted upon the earth's atmosphere.

I am pleased to report that the program is making significant progress which will enhance the comfort, health, safety and economic well-being of men everywhere:

—Satellite technology is being used with increasing effectiveness to gather global information for earlier, more accurate predictions and warnings of hazardous weather.

—New stations are being established for long-term measurement of atmospheric change.

—Computers have been programmed to determine the effect of pollution upon the atmosphere.

—A major international experiment in the Atlantic Ocean is being prepared under the Global Atmospheric Research Program. During the past year many nations, including the United States, have indicated their support of this tropical experiment and have made tentative commitments to provide ships, aircraft, satellites, and other observing facilities. Linked with an increased computer capability to assess and integrate results, this experiment should be an important step toward attaining a true understanding of the global atmosphere.

The scientific understanding which will be developed by the World Weather Program is critical to the solution of environmental problems which are of immense concern to all nations.

Senate Concurrent Resolution 67 of the 90th Congress recognizes the importance of vigorous U.S. participation in the World Weather Program. In accordance with that resolution, I am transmitting this annual report, describing the most significant activities of the program and the planned participation of Federal agencies in the program for the coming fiscal year.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
April 15, 1971

NOTE: The message is printed in "World Weather Program, Plan for Fiscal Year 1972" (Government Printing Office, 29 pp.).

144 Panel Interview at the Annual Convention of the American Society of Newspaper Editors. *April* 16, 1971

THE PRESIDENT. [1.] *President Noyes, President-elect McKnight,*[1] *all of the distinguished guests at the head table, and all of the distinguished delegates and members of the ASNE:*

It is a very great privilege for me to appear again before this organization, as the president indicated a few moments ago, for the first time in my new capacity. I also wish to congratulate President Newby Noyes on his service as president of this organization.

I understand you have a one-term tradition. I am not sure that is a good idea—

[1] Newbold Noyes, Jr., editor of the Washington Star, was president of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, and C. A. (Pete) McKnight, editor of the Charlotte, N.C., Observer, was vice president and president-elect of the Society.

[*laughter*]—but, nevertheless, I congratulate Mr. McKnight on his election as your new president. I understand that after we finish with this distinguished panel you will have the opportunity to have him sworn in, and then he will make his inaugural speech, to which we will all listen.

Tonight, the panel has already been introduced, and we will go directly to the questions because I know there will be many. I understand that Mr. Dickinson, on my right—I always turn right first—[*laughter*]—Mr. Dickinson will have the first question.

QUESTIONS

THE PRESIDENT'S WORRIES

[2.] Mr. Dickinson.

WILLIAM B. DICKINSON (executive editor, Philadelphia Bulletin). Mr. President, I suppose that like most of us, you must have times when you wake up at 3 a.m. or 4 a.m. and you lie there in the predawn darkness and you think or even worry a little bit. I wonder, sir, if you would tell us what thoughts or worries at this stage of your Presidency come to mind at a time like that?

[*Inaudible*]

THE PRESIDENT. We have six members of the panel, too.

Well, Mr. Dickinson, it is quite true that just like every other person who has problems, the President of the United States does wake up in the middle of the night, and he worries about sometimes personal problems but usually about problems of the Nation, with which he has tried to wrestle during the day.

I think more often than not the problems I worry about at night are those involving foreign policy. That seems to be necessary at this time in the Presidency—not that the great domestic problems, the problems of the economy, the problems of race relations, the problems of the younger generation, et cetera, do not often also cause great concern in the middle of the night as well as in the daytime.

But at night, if there is any one subject that more often than not comes across my mind, it is what can I do the next day that will contribute toward the goal of a lasting peace for America and for the world.

That is almost a trite statement. Every President wants that. Every President has worked for it. But we have seen so much in this century—wars ended and then another war coming, wars ended with great hopes of lasting peace and then the foundations laid for another war.

I believe now we are ending American involvement in a war we are in, a very difficult war. But we are going to end it in a way that will contribute to a lasting peace. And then beyond that I believe that we are entering a new era of relations with other super powers in the world, a new era, for example, in our relations with the Soviet Union and a new era in potential relationships with the People's Republic of China. I don't mean that at 3 a.m. in the morning I make decisions as to what we are going to do about China policy or Soviet policy or the Mideast or Berlin or the rest, but I do know that sometimes the mind is clearer then; the thoughts come through much sharper than they do in the morning.

I have a little habit—I will let you all in on my secrets. You can use it for the p.m.'s, if you don't mind. But I write it down. And sometimes in the morning it doesn't look so good, but sometimes the

ideas are pretty good. I haven't answered your question as well as I might, except to indicate that I am sure that President Johnson when he was there, President Kennedy when he was in that room, President Eisenhower when he was there, whenever they woke up in the middle of the night, their primary concern must have been peace for America and for the world. It is something we haven't had for a full generation in this century. It is something I think we can have now, and that is what we are working for and that is what we are going to get.

U.S. INVOLVEMENT IN VIETNAM

[3.] EMMETT DEDMON (vice president and editorial director, Chicago Sun-Times and Chicago Daily News). Mr. President, you mentioned ending our involvement in the war in Vietnam, and vet the Secretary of Defense said the other day that our Air Force and naval power would remain in South Vietnam.

How do you reconcile those two statements or is there a conflict there in your opinion?

THE PRESIDENT. No, Mr. Dedmon, there really isn't a conflict between the two statements. I said that we would end our involvement in Vietnam. You will recall my speech last Wednesday. I said that our goal is a total American withdrawal from Vietnam.

On October 7 of last year, you may recall, I said that we not only propose a total American withdrawal but a cease-fire all over Southeast Asia, which would, of course, mean no airpower, no American forces there, no use of power in any way.

As far as Mr. Laird's statement was concerned, what he was referring to was that pending the time that we can have a total withdrawal consistent with the principles that I laid down in my speech last week, it will be necessary for the United States to retain airpower and to retain some residual forces.

Our goal, however, is a total withdrawal. We do not have as a goal a permanent residual force such as we have in Korea at the present time.

But it will be necessary for us to maintain forces in South Vietnam until two important objectives are achieved: one, the release of the prisoners of war held by North Vietnam in North Vietnam and other parts of Southeast Asia; and two, the ability of the South Vietnamese to develop the capacity to defend themselves against a Communist takeover—not the sure capacity, but at least the chance.

Once those two objectives are achieved, then the total American withdrawal can be undertaken and will be undertaken.

We can achieve them earlier, provided the enemy will negotiate. As you noticed, on October 7 I indicated we will have a total withdrawal in 12 months if they would be willing to mutually withdraw their forces.

And so, in sum, the goal of American policy in Vietnam is a total withdrawal with no residual force. But, as long as the prisoner issue remains unsettled, and as long as they hold prisoners, and as long as the South Vietnamese have not yet developed the capacity to defend themselves to take over from us the defense of their own country—a capacity that they rapidly are developing—we will have forces there.

TROOP WITHDRAWAL GOALS

[4.] MR. DEDMON. Mr. President, may I follow up with one more question?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, I understand—all follow up if you want to.

MR. DEDMON. I realize that you do not wish to state a date at this time at which we will withdraw, and that there was some confusion in the press about what Senator Scott said following a meeting at the White House. Could I ask this question: Is Senator Scott's use of the date January 1, 1973, in your opinion, a practicable goal?

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Dedmon, that is a very clever way to get me to answer a question that I won't answer. [*Laughter*] I would expect that from an editor as well as from a reporter.

The date, let me say, cannot and must not be related to an election in the United States. Let's begin with that. I don't want one American to be in Vietnam one day longer than is necessary to achieve the two goals that I have mentioned: the release of our prisoners and the capacity of the South Vietnamese to defend themselves against a Communist takeover.

Now, as far as that date is concerned, it will depend upon the circumstances. I have announced a troop withdrawal which takes us through November [December] 1. In the middle of October [November], I will make another troop withdrawal announcement.

I will then analyze the training of the South Vietnamese forces and particularly their air force at that time. I will then analyze enemy activity and, also, any progress in negotiation, particularly in negotiation with regard to prisoners.

At that time, I will be able to make a further announcement with regard to what our withdrawal will be. But for me to speculate about a date would not help us; it would only serve the enemy, and I am not going to do that even though it might be politically popular to set a date.

I have to do what is right for the United States, right for our prisoners, and right for our goal of a South Vietnam with a chance to avoid a Communist takeover, which will contribute to a lasting peace in the Pacific and the world.

THE CALLEY CASE

[5.] EUGENE V. RISHER (White House correspondent, United Press International). Mr. President, I would like to ask you about the Calley case.[2] Captain [Aubrey M.] Daniel, the prosecutor in the case, has said that by publicly interjecting yourself in it, you have undermined the military system of justice and done a disservice to some of the people that are fighting in Vietnam honorably. Can you respond to this?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, Captain Daniel is a fine officer. And, incidentally, the six members of that court had very distinguished military records. Five of the six, as you know, Mr. Risher, had served with distinction in Vietnam. I respect the prosecutor. I respect also the judicial process under which they acted, and I respect those that served on the court.

I acted as I did because one of my capacities is Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces. There was enormous in-

[2] On March 29, 1971, a court-martial jury convicted 1st Lt. William L. Calley, Jr., of premeditated murder of not less than 22 Vietnamese noncombatant civilians and of assault with intent to murder of one Vietnamese noncombatant civilian in the village of Sonmy at Mylai on March 16, 1968.

terest in this case. There was concern expressed throughout the Nation with regard to that decision, going far beyond the innocence or guilt of Captain [Lieutenant] Calley with regard to the specific charges.

I felt that under the circumstances, I should take two steps that I think are completely consistent with upholding the judicial process of the Armed Forces.

One, it seemed to me that if in civilian cases where an individual is charged with a crime, he can get out on bail, it seemed to me that the least that could be done would be to say that Captain [Lieutenant] Calley, pending the time that an appeal made his sentence final, should not be sent to Leavenworth Prison, but should be confined to his quarters.

I think that was the right decision to make about that man at that time.

The second point had to do with my decision that I announced, as you recall, you and Mr. Cormier, in California on Saturday morning, when I said that I, as President and as Commander in Chief, would exercise the authority which I had in such cases to review the case, that I would not pass the buck to a commission, I would not pass it to the Secretary of the Army, but in this case, because of the great public interest in the case and because it went beyond simply the innocence or guilt of this one man, that I would review the case personally before final sentence was passed.

Now, as far as Captain Daniel's charge is concerned, I can only say that the action of the President, I think, was proper in terms of releasing him from going to Leavenworth and confining him to quarters on the base, and, second, I think it was proper to indicate that at some point in the judicial process, without impinging upon or impugning that process, that I would review the case.

That is what I intend to do. I think it is consistent with the judicial process.

Yes, do you want to follow up? Go ahead.

[6.] FRANK CORMIER (White House correspondent, Associated Press). A follow-up on that.

When John Ehrlichman told us of your decision to make the final review, he said, "Certainly, the widespread public interest in the case is a factor. It is not a determining factor." And he was rather vague as to what the determining factor was, apart from the flood of telegrams and so forth.[3]

Could you enlighten us on that?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, Mr. Cormier, the widespread public interest was a factor in the sense that when people all over the Nation, their Congressmen and their Senators, are stirred up about a particular issue, a President, the President, has a responsibility to do what he can within the law to try to quiet those fears, to try to bring some perspective into the whole matter.

I think a pretty good indication that the action that I took was effective in that respect is that since that action we have seen the fears with regard to the Calley case subside because they know that he is going to get a fair review and a final review by the President of the United States.

Now, as far as the other factors, however, are concerned, it goes to this: As I

[3] The transcript of a news briefing by John D. Ehrlichman, Assistant to the President for Domestic Affairs, on the President's decision to review the Calley case was released by the White House on April 3, 1971.

have already implied in my answer to Mr. Risher, in addition to the innocence or guilt of Captain [Lieutenant] Calley with regard to the specific charges involved, there is the problem of trials for war crimes generally, and there is, of course, debate with regard to what should happen in those trials.

There are many other cases — not many—several other cases like his. Some have already been decided, some are still to be decided. It seemed to me under the circumstances that a Presidential statement at the highest level should be made once this case is completed, should be made setting the whole thing into perspective and without infringing upon his rights, a decision that would let the American people know, and the world know, why such a prosecution did take place and why it was upheld, or why it is not upheld.

I, of course, will not prejudge it at this time before it goes through the judicial process. I think it should be done and that is why I am doing it.

MR. CORMIER. On the other hand, Mr. President, the whole military system of justice was overhauled a very few years ago to try to eliminate, or at least minimize, command influence.

This, I think, is Captain Daniel's main argument, that just by the fact that you, as President of the United States and Commander in Chief, interjected yourself into it months before otherwise necessary, it is going to have a filter-down effect all the way.

THE PRESIDENT. The military system of justice, Mr. Cormier—and I checked this, before I acted, with the Secretary of Defense—provides implicitly that the President of the United States at any time has the right to review, at any time has the right to intercede, if he believes that the national interest or the interests of the accused require it.

I felt that under these circumstances, the national interest required it, and that is why I acted.

U.S. GOALS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

[7.] Mr. Meyer of the Miami News.

SYLVAN MEYER (editor, Miami News). I would like to return, sir, to the matter of Southeast Asia.

The withdrawal of our troops from Vietnam—it now appears a relatively shortrun matter at whatever date it occurs.

Does this mean that we will be abandoning or materially changing our long-range strategic goals, the concepts in that part of the world, and do we regard our interests in that part of the world as having changed substantially because of this war?

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Meyer, it does not mean that our interests have changed. It does mean that our method of contributing to the achievement of those interests has changed.

That is where what has been called the Nixon Doctrine comes in.

Again, Mr. Cormier and Mr. Risher will remember that when I was at Guam, I explained the Nixon Doctrine in brief.

It provides that where we have a situation, as we have in South Vietnam, of a country that is threatened by an aggressive force from the outside, that the United States will try to help that country develop the capacity to defend itself, but that we will not do, if we can possibly avoid it, what we did in Korea and then what we again did in Vietnam—go in, in effect,

and do the fighting for them—if we can avoid it.

Under our Vietnamization policy, we are getting out. That is one-half of it. But the other very important half of it is that the South Vietnamese are developing and, by the time we get out, will have developed the capacity to defend themselves.

And, so, how that fits into our policy to Southeast Asia, it seems to me, is quite clear. Once we leave South Vietnam, South Vietnam will be strong enough, at least for the foreseeable future, to defend itself.

That will mean that in Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, with which country, of course, we have a treaty, the Philippines, with which we have a treaty, will also have a greater assurance of stability.

And I think the repercussions will go clear up to Japan, because as we look at the rimland of Asia, we must remember that in all of the debate at the present time and the great interest, understandably, in what has happened with regard to Mainland China this last week, that on the rimland of Asia live 300 million people. They produce three times as much as Mainland China and whether those people are going to remain free nations, independent nations, depends upon whether they think they have the capability and whether they can develop the capability of self-defense.

The policy of the United States—and this is a very significant change—is to help other nations, to help the Thais, to help the Indonesians, to help the Vietnamese, to help the Japanese, the others, develop the capability of defending themselves, except, of course, where a nuclear attack would be involved and then the United States assumes the responsibility.

U.S. PRISONERS OF WAR

[8.] Mr. Chandler.

OTIS CHANDLER (publisher, Los Angeles Times). Mr. President, what reason do you have to believe that—I realize that you hope to negotiate for the release of the prisoners of war but, assuming that might not be successful—what reason do you have to believe that the North Vietnamese might not keep our prisoners of war there for some time to come as hostages and to try to force the United States into withdrawing or ceasing all aid after our troops have left Vietnam, ceasing all military and economic aid to South Vietnam?

In other words, using them as hostages way into the future.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, Mr. Chandler, as you know, we have had some pretty bitter experiences with some Communist nations with regard to American prisoners. We have had a very difficult experience with the North Vietnamese who have, without question, been the most barbaric in their handling of prisoners of any nation in modern history. Under the circumstances, however, let's put ourselves in the position of North Vietnam. What is in it for them? What is in it for them is to get the United States residual force, including our airpower, out of that part of the world.

Now, that is a lot for them. That, it seems to me, will be a great incentive when the time comes that they have to make the decision as to whether they are going to retain prisoners or whether they are going to have to continue as they will have to continue to be exposed to an American presence in South Vietnam and to American airstrikes which, of course, we will continue in the event that they

play that kind of a game with the prisoners.

We have some cards to play, too, and we are going to play them right to the hilt where the prisoners are concerned.

MR. CHANDLER. Does this mean that if you are unsuccessful in negotiating at Paris on the POW question, that we will have to leave troops in there until you are successful?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, Mr. Chandler, it means that, first, we haven't given up on the Paris talks. I would suggest that the moment of truth is arriving with regard to the Paris talks because time will soon run out. As the number of our forces goes down, our stroke at the negotiating table recedes and the South Vietnamese's greatly increases.

So, if they want to negotiate with the United States, the time for negotiation, except for the prisoner issue, of course, is rapidly drawing to a close. But I would say that as far as our presence in South Vietnam is concerned—I am speaking of an American force, of a residual force, and of an air presence—that as long as they do retain prisoners, no American President could simply remove our forces and remove the threat to them.

We have the responsibility, as long as there is one American being held prisoner by North Vietnam, to have some incentive on our side to get that man released, and that is why we are going to retain that force until we get it, and I think it will work in the end.

U.S. AIRBASES IN THAILAND

[9.] Mr. Risher.

MR. RISHER. Mr. President, I would like to follow up on this. Does this mean that if Hanoi agreed to release the American prisoners, that we would close down the five airbases that we have in Thailand? Would this be part of the withdrawal?

THE PRESIDENT. No. Mr. Risher, the airbases that we have in the area around Vietnam, of course, are there for reasons other than Vietnam. Vietnam is part of the reason. As you know, we have a treaty with Thailand, and those air forces are maintained there, in part, in order to sustain that treaty.

What it does mean, though, is that in terms of the use of airpower, the use of airpower against North Vietnam and its forces, that if at an appropriate time two things have been accomplished—one, the return of our prisoners, and the capability of the South Vietnamese to defend themselves—once those two things are achieved, then the use of that airpower as against North Vietnam would no longer be contemplated and, therefore, our airpower in that respect could be reduced.

I should also point out, incidentally, that we have had a great deal of attention, naturally, paid to the fact that we have withdrawn now almost half of the Americans that were there when we came into office, and that we will be down to 184,000 by November [December] 1 of this year.

Our airstrikes, as you know from having covered this closely from the White House, have also been reduced; our attack air sorties since we came into office have been reduced by 45 percent. They will continue to go down.

But, on the other hand, we must retain that airpower, as well as residual forces, as long as we have the prisoner problem

71-234—72——38

and as long as there is still a time needed for the South Vietnamese to develop the capability of self-defense.

IMPACT OF INDOCHINA POLICY ON ASIAN LIVES

[10.] MR. DICKINSON. Just one more question on Indochina. Most of your comments on our Indochina policy have emphasized that it is saving American lives.

What I want to ask is, what about the lives of Asians and the many, many refugees created by the incursions into Laos and Cambodia?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, Mr. Dickinson, let's look at the Asian lives. I think of the 50,000 South Vietnamese civilians who have been murdered by North Vietnamese and VC since this war began. I think of a half million, by conservative estimates, in North Vietnam who were murdered or otherwise exterminated by the North Vietnamese after they took over from the South.

I visited South Vietnam just after the North Vietnamese took over in North Vietnam. As a matter of fact, I am one of the few people, at least in public life, who has been to Hanoi. I was there in 1953 and then came back in 1956. I visited a refugee camp. A million refugees came from North Vietnam to South Vietnam. And they came there because of the terrible atrocities that were visited upon them by the Government of North Vietnam.

Now, let's talk for a moment to put that in balance. We say, what about the people in Laos? As far as the activities in Laos are concerned, the bombing activities in Laos are concerned, if you will look at that particular area that is totally occupied by the North Vietnamese at this time, the number of civilians could be very, very small. As far as civilian casualties in South Vietnam are concerned from airstrikes, they are very, very small, because the war has moved out of South Vietnam. The South Vietnamese now have taken it over. And as far as our activities are concerned, on balance I would say that the United States, by its actions in South Vietnam—and I say I understand the controversy, the difficulty, the moral concern that many Americans have about all wars, and particularly this kind of a war, so difficult to understand—but on balance, I will say this: that if the United States were to fail in Vietnam, if the Communists were to take over, the bloodbath that would follow would be a blot on this Nation's history from which we would find it very difficult to return.

Now, it is not necessary—we are now in a position where we can and, I can confidently say, we are ending American involvement; we are going to end it in a way that will, we believe, give South Vietnam a chance—not guarantee it—to defend itself against a Communist takeover. And I believe that this will save many more thousands of Asian lives than it is contended were lost because of American activities.

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

[11.] MR. DEDMON. Mr. President, when you last appeared before this convention prior to becoming President, you mentioned that laying the groundwork for future relations with the People's Republic of China would be one of the primary goals of your Administration.

In light of recent events, as well as the trade review which you have ordered, it looks like this is one area where you are

considerably ahead of schedule.

Do you think that we can anticipate an establishment of diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China in your first Administration rather than your second?

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Dedmon, since you have been so kind to me, I will be kind to you.

Let the record show—and some of you will remember that time I was here in 1968—that Mr. Dedmon was the one that asked me the question about the People's Republic of China, or Mainland China if you want to call it that, and also let the record show, as you may recall, that at an editorial conference at the Chicago Sun-Times last year you asked me the question again.

The first two times I struck out. The third time we got a hit. That is all we can say.

Let me put it all in perspective, however.

What we have here is the result of a long process that began in my own thoughts even before 1968, the spring of 1968, when I answered that question at this convention. I wrote an article for Foreign Affairs—as a matter of fact, I think your question played off of that article at that time—in which I pointed out that we could not have what will be by the end of the century a billion of the most creative and able people in the world isolated from the world and that whoever was President of the United States had to develop a policy which would bring the isolation of a billion Chinese from the rest of the world to an end.

I also pointed out that that was a long-range goal. The long-range goal of this Administration and of the next one, whatever it may be, must be two things: one, a normalization of the relations between the Government of the United States and the Government of the People's Republic of China, and two, the ending of the isolation of Mainland China from the world community.

Those are long-range goals.

Let's begin with what we have done then. We can't go that far that fast in one jump. We cannot do it now. I will not speculate on it now, because it is premature to talk about either of those subjects, either recognition or admission to the U.N.

But I can point to the goal and what we have done to get toward that goal and what it can mean to the future.

Over a year ago we relaxed, as you know, our travel conditions with regard to going to China, and also we made some relaxation with regard to trade.

Finally, we had a response from the Chinese, as you know, last week. Then, on Wednesday of this week, I announced an additional relaxation with regard to trade restrictions and a relaxation with regard to Chinese who wanted to come to the United States.

Now it is up to them. If they want to have trade in these many areas that we have opened up, we are ready. If they want to have Chinese come to the United States, we are ready. We are also ready for Americans to go there, Americans in all walks of life.

But it takes two, of course. We have taken several steps. They have taken one. We are prepared to take other steps in the trade field and also with regard to the exchange field, but each step must be taken one at a time.

I know that as editors and as reporters, looking for that, you know, that hot lead or headline for the morning, this is not a

satisfying answer. But from the standpoint of policy, it is the right answer. Because to try to make a headline by saying that tomorrow we are going to do this or that or the other thing would be misunderstood among many countries of the world where this matter has to be discussed and also might have exactly the reverse reaction with the Chinese.

I think the steady, ordered process that we have engaged on now begins to bear fruit. I will just conclude with this one thought:

The other day was Easter Sunday. Both of my daughters, Tricia and Julie, were there—and Tricia with Eddie Cox—I understand they are getting married this June—and Julie and David Eisenhower.

And the conversation got around to travel and also, of course, with regard to honeymoon travel and the rest. They were asking me where would you like to go? Where do you think we ought to go?

So, I sat back and thought a bit and said, "Well, the place to go is to Asia." I said, "I hope that sometime in your life, sooner rather than later, you will be able to go to China to see the great cities, and the people, and all of that, there."

I hope they do. As a matter of fact, I hope sometime I do. I am not sure that it is going to happen while I am in office. I will not speculate with regard to either of the diplomatic points. It is premature to talk about recognition. It is premature also to talk about a change of our policy with regard to the United Nations.

However, we are going to proceed in these very substantive fields of exchange of persons and also in the field of trade. That will open the way to other moves which will be made at an appropriate time.

[12.] Mr. Risher.

MR. RISHER. I just want to follow up on that if I could. Do you think that this might lead to a resumption of the meetings in Warsaw that were broken up about a year ago, I think?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, Mr. Risher, as you recall, those meetings were resumed after we came into office. That, again, was a result of an initiative that we took. And then they were broken off again. We are ready to meet any time they are ready to meet.

I cannot—I don't have any information indicating that they want to resume them at this time, but we certainly have the door open. We are not pressing them, although we would welcome them opening them.

CUBA AND CHILE

[13.] Mr. Meyer.

MR. MEYER. Mr. President, in view of the long-range attempt to normalize relations with China, and in view of the fact that we seem to be trying to maintain normal relations with Chile in view of the changes in that government, are we thinking also about long-range or short-range normalizing our relations with Cuba?

THE PRESIDENT. Certainly not short-range. As far as long-range, until Cuba changes its policy toward us, we are not going to change our policy toward Cuba. Let me distinguish, Mr. Meyer, because coming from Miami I know you have a big Cuban readership, and they are torn—I mean they would like to be able to have some communication with their friends back in Cuba and yet they are concerned about the government, as you well know how strong they feel.

Chile has what is termed a Communist-leaning government, at least. We will call it a Marxist government. Allende is a Marxist, with strong Communist support.

As far as Chile is concerned, we don't particularly approve of that type of government. We wouldn't want it here. On the other hand, the Chilean people voted for it. So, as far as our attitude toward Chile is concerned, it will be affected by what Chile's attitude is toward us.

If the Chilean Government does some things internally, that is their business and and the business of the Chilean people. They voted the government in, and they will have to live with it. If, however, they do things in Chile or outside of Chile in their foreign policy that is detrimental to us, then that is our business, and we will react accordingly. We are waiting to see what they will do. As long as they treat us properly we will treat them properly.

Now, let's look at Cuba. As far as Castro is concerned, he has already drawn the line. He is exporting revolution all over the hemisphere, still exporting it. His line is against the United States, not only within Cuba but outside of Cuba.

As long as Castro is adopting an antagonistic, anti-American line, we are certainly not going to normalize our relations with Castro. As soon as he changes his line toward us, we might consider it. But it is his move.

FBI DIRECTOR HOOVER

[14.] MR. CORMIER. Mr. President, J. Edgar Hoover very recently seems to have become one of the favorite "whipping boys" of a number of prominent Americans.

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, I am glad to have somebody else there for a change.

MR. CORMIER. Is there the slightest chance that the criticisms would hasten his retirement?

THE PRESIDENT. No. I think the criticisms, particularly when they are unfair, as many of them have been, and malicious, as many of them have been—and I haven't discussed Mr. Hoover's retirement with him; he has not brought it up with me—but if I know Mr. Hoover, such unfair and malicious criticisms would tend to have exactly the opposite effect: not to hasten his retirement, but to have him dig in.

I can only say this: that with regard to Mr. Hoover, I would ask the editors of the Nation's papers to be fair about the situation. He, like any man who is a strong man and an able man, who has led this Bureau for so many years, has made many enemies. But we can also be thankful that in the FBI he has developed an organization which is recognized throughout the world as the best law enforcement agency in the world.

He has been nonpolitical. He has been nonpartisan. And despite all of the talk about surveillance and bugging and the rest, let me say I have been in police states and the idea that this is a police state is just pure nonsense. And every editorial paper in the country ought to say that.

MR. CORMIER. Well, Mr. President, earlier this week, I think speaking in Detroit, the Vice President said that he felt the Director should remain on the job as long as he is physically and mentally sound.

Is that more or less your attitude?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, Mr. Cormier, I am not going to discuss the situation with regard to Mr. Hoover's tenure in office when the matter has not been raised with me, either by me or by him.

I will only say at this time that I believe it would be most unfortunate to allow a man who have given over 50 years of dedicated service to this country to go out

under a cloud, maligned unfairly by many critics.

Now, I don't mean that some criticism of him, of me, of anybody, is not justified. But he is taking a "bad rap" on a lot of things, and he doesn't deserve it.

AMERICAN YOUTH

[15.] MR. CHANDLER. Mr. President, I would like to change the subject, if we could for a moment, to the youth of America and ask you to give us your reading on the attitude and temperature of America's youth on our campuses.

They apparently have turned away, at least in recent months, from violence and seem to be going about their education, and yet I wonder if there is even deeper despair on their minds than there was when they were practicing violence. Do you have any views on that, sir?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, Mr. Chandler, it always does my heart good when I look down on that beach that you and I share [*laughter*]——

MR. CHANDLER. We do? I can't surf there any more, sir.

THE PRESIDENT. ——and see young Americans surfing and enjoying it.

Seriously, the problem of American youth concerns us all, and I suppose that we concerned our parents. But youth today is a more difficult problem. There is more alienation.

Let's spend a moment on it, if I could, analyzing it.

One, all the old values aren't there any more—the faith and religion, family ties. What they hear in the colleges and universities generally is against the system: the system is bad, it pollutes the air, it is wrong to minorities, it is repressive, and, of course, it wages war.

All of this concerns youth because youth basically, young people basically, by nature, by definition—we all remember how we were—we tend to be idealistic, hopeful, and we want the world to be better. So, I think that young people, particularly in the sixties, the late sixties, fell into a period of great disillusionment. That disillusionment, of course, was certainly increased by what they heard in school, what they heard sometimes in their churches, maybe sometimes what they heard at home.

Now, let's look to the future. We are removing some of the problems. As we end the involvement in the war, as the draft calls come to an end, which they will, as we have programs to deal with the problems of pollution of air and water—we are not going to solve them immediately, we have programs to deal with it—as we make progress in the problems of minorities—and we are making progress, not enough, not as much as we would like, but we are making a lot of progress—and as we see in perspective, and, if I may say so, what I really believe, what a really great and good country this is, I think we are going to find great numbers of American youth reestablishing their faith in America.

You asked a moment ago, Mr. Dickinson, the question: "What do you think of when you wake up at 3 o'clock in the morning and what do you really want for this country?"

What I want first and above all, of course, is to end the war that we are in, and to build a lasting peace, through what we are doing in China, the Soviet Union, the SALT talks, the Mideast—there are problems all over the world.

But second, we want to build a new economy and a new prosperity which is not based on war. And third, we want to have a revolution in this country, of government, to make it more responsive, to make government work, to make it cost less. That is why we have revenue sharing and government reorganization.

We want to reform our welfare system and all the rest. Now, I believe that if we can just make some progress on all these fronts, that the millions of young, idealistic Americans will take another look at America, and they will say, "Well, maybe this system isn't hopeless. Maybe it is possible that it will work. Maybe the United States is"—which I firmly believe—"the world's best hope for peace and for freedom."

That is what we are. And once American youth sees that and once they see that their idealism can be fulfilled within the system, I think that this enormous frustration that has torn down can turn into creative activity that will build up.

That is what I would like to leave when I leave office, that kind of feeling in American youth.

THE ECONOMY

[16.] MR. DICKINSON. Mr. President, the economic activity in the first quarter, despite the rise in the GNP, apparently did not measure up to the expectations of your Administration.

Do you have new measures in mind in the battle against unemployment and inflation, or are you going to stick to the present game plan?

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Dickinson, I have analyzed those figures pretty closely.

While, as you do point out, it did not reach the projections of our own economic target, it was far above the projections of people like Otto Eckstein,[4] who said $22 billion. We went to $28½ billion. But let me be quite objective about it.

We all know that when we look at that, what was the gross largest increase in the GNP in any one quarter in history, that part of that is due to inflation, part of it is due to the comeback, the snapback, from the auto strike.

But why I am optimistic about the economy has to do with what went into that figure. Let's look at the real numbers.

Automobile sales: Automobile sales in the first 10 days of this year, GM, the highest on record, the highest in history, in the first quarter, the highest in about 20 years.

Housing starts: Housing starts in the first quarter, the highest in 20 years and the figure just announced today, 1,900,000 in the month of March.

Retail sales: This may not yet be reflected in advertising, but it will come. Retail sales: We find that retail sales went up a big 9½ percent. But look at what that retail sale was. It wasn't just the Easter bulge, because Easter was late and it was a cold spring—but it was in those things that really build an economy for the future—appliances, home furnishings, and the rest.

Then to take another number, the stock market: The stock market, we all think, is just something for the rich. But there are 27 million people in the market apart from those that are in institutions [*laughter*]—I understand about 11 months ago a few went into institutions too!—but when we look at those that are affected by the market, approximately 60

[4] Professor of economics at Harvard University

million Americans are investors in the stock market, either through insurance companies or funds or directly.

What do we find?

We find that the stock market had the biggest growth in the last 11 months, 50 percent gain. People do not buy stocks because they are pessimistic about the future. What I am saying is this: The consumers in America now have confidence. I believe we are going to see that confidence grow in April, May, June. If that confidence grows, the economy will grow with it.

And I would say that at this time, with the movement not being as fast as we had hoped, but with the movement sharply up in the last week in March and the first two weeks of April, that my predictions of a good year in 1971 and a very good year in 1972 still stand, and I don't think we should change the plan now.

We will continue to wage the battle against inflation by holding spending within the full employment surplus, within the full employment revenue, and we will continue, of course, to do everything that we can with pockets of unemployment, like in southern California and the Northwest where we have airframe and other unemployment, but I believe that at this time we are going to see a strong second half, particularly, and a very, very strong 1972.

I am speaking, of course, economically.

THE VICE PRESIDENT'S CRITICISM OF THE PRESS

[17.] MR. DEDMON. Mr. President, this is a new question. Inasmuch as this is an editors convention, I think it would be inappropriate not to discuss the criticism which has been made of the press, particularly by the Vice President, who is now not only criticizing our viewpoint but analyzing some of our stories in detail.

I was wondering, quite apart from his prowess as a golfer, if you would care to compare his abilities as Vice President and as editor for the Nation's press.

Do you think that the Vice President is better as a Vice President or as an editor?

THE PRESIDENT. You mean you are looking for an editor? [*Laughter*]

Mr. Dedmon, I am going to make an offer to these distinguished publishers, editors, and so forth that are here. I have had the privilege of being in your offices and to have been in editorial conferences with every paper represented here.

I would like for all of you to have the Vice President in. See what kind of a man he really is.

The trouble is he only makes news when he hits the press or a golf ball.

Here is a man, yes, he is controversial. He says what he thinks, and he says it very hard.

As a matter of fact, I believe that some of his criticisms, if you look at them very objectively, some of the criticisms that he has made in terms of some network coverage and press coverage, you really cannot quarrel with if you examine the whole record.

I believe that the Vice President's national image of simply being a man who is against a free press, who is against all the press, is just not accurate.

The difficulty is that he is not known—the things that he does, his capability in the foreign field, his capability in the domestic field. He is one of the best salesmen we have for revenue sharing because he knows what local government is. He was a Governor and he also was a county official, and all over this country he goes

out and makes effective speeches. They get two sticks back with the corset ads. They never get up there in the front page.

So, I guess you don't advertise corsets anymore, though.

MR. DEDMON. No.

THE PRESIDENT. That is different. Nevertheless, I am simply saying this: I am simply saying that this old game—and Frank Cormier and Gene Risher have heard me say this often to the White House press corps—of having the President disagree with his Vice President goes on and on, but I am an expert at it and I am not going to get into it. I defend my Vice President.

[18.] Mr. Chandler.

MR. CHANDLER. Mr. President, could I ask a followup question on the Vice President? Do you think seriously, sir, in his attacks on the press, that they have been successful in causing any change, in your opinion, for the better in the press? In other words, have his attacks been successful? Has the press reacted in a positive way, in your opinion and, if so, how?

THE PRESIDENT. I suppose that is the dilemma, isn't it, of anyone who dares to criticize the press or the television, that if he does he is probably going to get worse treatment than he thought he was getting before? Of course, I am being very guarded, as you noticed.

I will simply say this, Mr. Chandler: You may recall that back in 1962, immediately after running for Governor of California, after I was out of office and had no visible prospects of success, I had some things to say about the press. I have had nothing to say about it since. That's my answer.

SURVEILLANCE BY GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

[19.] MR. RISHER. Mr. President, I would like to get back to Mr. Hoover and the FBI. Is there any credence to the complaints by some Congressmen, as far as you know, that they are under surveillance by the FBI?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, Mr. Risher, let me answer that question in terms of what I know, because I checked this personally. I was in the House, I was in the Senate, and I am very jealous of the right of Senators and Congressmen, and every citizen actually, not to have surveillance when he is engaged in public activities. Particularly, I can assure you that there is no question in my mind that Mr. Hoover's statement that no telephone in the Capitol has ever been tapped by the FBI is correct. That is correct.

The case you referred to, the Dowdy [5] case, did not involve the tapping of a Congressman's telephone.

The second point that I should make is this: Let's get this whole business of surveillance and the rest into some perspective. First, when we talk about police states, there are 205 million people in this country.

Did you know, even the Nation's editors, sophisticated as you are, that over the past 2 years there were only 300 taps by the FBI through court orders?

Do you know what was accomplished from those taps? There were 900 arrests and 100 convictions, and particularly convictions in the important area of narcotics, where millions and millions of dollars worth of narcotics that otherwise would

[5] Representative John Dowdy of Texas.

have gone to the young people of America were picked up. That was why those taps were carried on.

Now let's talk about the other area which I think Mr. Risher and the people are more concerned about. They say what about the taps that are not made by court order but that are made for the national security? I checked that, too. The high, insofar as those taps are concerned, were in the years 1961, 1962, and 1963. In those years, the number of taps was between 90 and 100. Now, in the 2 years that we have been in office—now get this number—the total number of taps for national security purposes by the FBI, and I know because I look not at the information but at the decisions that are made—the total number of taps is less, has been less, than 50 a year, a cut of 50 percent from what it was in 1961, '62, and '63. As far as Army surveillance is concerned, once we saw what had happened to the Democratic National Convention, that had even been carried to the surveillance of Adlai Stevenson,[6] who later became a Senator, we stopped them.

I simply want to put this all in perspective by saying this: I believe the Nation's press has a responsibility to watch Government, to see that "Big Brother" isn't watching.

I don't want to see a police state. I argued the right of privacy case in the Supreme Court, and I feel strongly about the right of privacy. But let's also remember that the President of the United States has a responsibility for the security of this country and a responsibility to protect the innocent from those who might engage in crime or who would be dangerous to the people of this country.

In carrying out that responsibility, I defend the FBI in this very limited exercise of tapping.

One final point: You talk about police state. Let me tell you what happens when you go to what is really a police state:

You can't talk in your bedroom. You can't talk in your sitting room. You don't talk on the telephone. You don't talk in the bathroom. As a matter of fact, you hear about going out and talking in the garden. Yes, I have walked many times through gardens in various places where I had to talk about something confidential, and you can't even talk in front of a shrub. That is the way it works.

What I am simply saying is this, my friends: There are police states. We don't want that to happen to America. But America is not a police state, and as long as I am in this office, we are going to be sure that not the FBI or any other organization engages in any activity except where the national interests or the protection of innocent people requires it, and then it will be as limited as it possibly can be. That is what we are going to do.

MR. DICKINSON. Thank you very much, Mr. President.

NOTE: The interview began at 9 p.m. in the Regency Ballroom at the Shoreham Hotel. It was broadcast live on radio.

[6] Senator Adlai E. Stevenson III of Illinois.

145 Remarks at the Republican Governors Conference in Williamsburg, Virginia. *April* 19, 1971

Mr. Vice President, Governor Nunn, Governor Holton, all of the other distinguished Governors, and all of the distinguished guests who are gathered here in this historic room and this historic city today:

I said to Governor Holton, as we were riding in from the heliport, that this is the only State in the Union that I visited twice in 1 month. I am glad that historic Williamsburg, here in Virginia, attracts such distinguished convocations as this one, and also the one which I addressed previously on law enforcement and the reform of our procedures with regard to the enforcement of law, when I addressed the Judicial Conference here.

Also, the Governor told me that in this room were, naturally, the Republican Governors who are gathered around this U-shaped table. He said that there were some others who were distinguished guests, including a number of Democrats from the State legislature.

I want all of you to know today—you who are Governors, Republicans, and you who are our guests—that my remarks will not be partisan, because I happen to believe that when we talk about such great problems as reforming government, when we talk about problems of better government, good government, making government work, making it cost less, making it more responsive to the people, that the problem of good government is not one that is a Republican problem or a Democratic problem, and you don't have a Republican solution or a Democratic solution. The business of good government is everybody's business. That is what I want to talk about today.

As I talk about it today, I want to remind those who are the Governors here that you will recall when we last met in Washington, in February, the whole Republican Governors Conference was there, joined, of course, with all from the Democratic Governors' Conference. In other words, the National Governors' Conference was meeting.

I spoke then about revenue sharing, and I found that after that particular Conference that we had very strong support for those proposals.

Since that time, there has been some progress. Every one of the six legislative proposals for special revenue sharing have now been submitted to the Congress. Of course, the general revenue sharing proposal has also been submitted to the Congress. And now, of course, you wonder how is it coming? What is going to happen? Are we going to get some action?

I know you have been reading reports, pessimistic reports in some instances, and perhaps ones not quite so pessimistic, about what the Congress may do with regard to these historic reforms of government in the field of revenue sharing, both general and special.

I expressed optimism in February with regard to what the Congress would do. I am more optimistic now. I want to tell you why. I am more optimistic because I have found, since February, in meeting with Governors, with mayors, with county officials, and people from all walks of life, that an overwhelming majority of the Governors of this country, whether they are Democrat or Republican, are for revenue sharing. An overwhelming majority

of the mayors of this country, and most of them are Democratic rather than Republican—particularly where the larger cities are concerned—they are for revenue sharing.

An overwhelming majority of the county officials of this country, and most of them are Democrats rather than Republicans, are for revenue sharing. And when you look at the polls, an overwhelming majority of the people of this country are for revenue sharing.

Now, when a majority of the Governors and a majority of the mayors and a majority of the county officials and the majority of the people are for something, the Congress eventually will reflect what the people want. That is why we are going to get revenue sharing. But we need your continued support.

We do not suggest that our plan is the completely perfect plan, but we do say that there needs to be action on this front, and that until someone else in the Congress has a better plan then they should support ours. And with your continued support, we believe we can get the action.

Today I am not going to talk about revenue sharing because we covered it so completely in that other appearance. I am going to talk about another subject that is related to it. I want to begin by a statement that all of you as Governors who labor with this problem in your own budgets will agree is an accurate appraisal of the situation.

It is hardly enough to make great efforts to solve the problems on the one hand, while on the other, we pursue policies which compound the problem. In other words, where we have the problems of deficits and the rest and we say we are going to have revenue sharing to solve those problems, we must get at the heart of the problem.

Now there are several reasons why government at the State level has grown more and more expensive. There are reasons why property taxes in the States of this Union on an average have gone up two and a half times over the past 10 years; why debt at the State and local level, particularly the local level as far as bonds are concerned, has increased by a percentage of five times.

And when we look at the situation, I think that we find one of the major causes—and I say this based on conversations with many of the people around this table—is the present disastrous system of public welfare. I want to talk about that system today. You have heard me talk about it before, but I have had an opportunity since I first presented our program for welfare reform almost 2 years ago—I have talked to a number of you around this table.

We have, as a result of that, amended our own proposals to make them more, it seems to me, responsive to the needs and to the problem. Rising welfare costs are not only placing heavier and heavier burdens on the Federal budget—what they are doing is crushing our States and our cities, and they will continue to do so until something is done about it.

What we need is not a tinkering with the present welfare system which would merely relocate the financial disaster areas from the States and the cities to Washington—what we need is an entirely new approach that will reach to the reasons for soaring welfare costs and not simply deal with the results as we are doing now.

As you know, we have an entirely new approach in this Administration, a proposal for welfare reform which is before

the Congress. I consider it our most urgent legislative proposal. Now, how can I say that when everybody around this table will say, "Well, the most urgent proposal from our standpoint is revenue sharing"?

Let me tell you why it is related. I consider welfare reform the most urgent proposal because if the present welfare system is allowed to go on unchecked, it will soon erode the benefits to be gained from revenue sharing and other reforms in other areas.

The House of Representatives has recognized this fact, as Congressman Ford can well tell you when he addresses you this afternoon, because it has designated welfare reform as H.R. 1. It is going to be White House priority number one until it is enacted.

We in this Administration have urged welfare reform for 3 years, actually—not only since I have been in office, because, as you recall, I discussed it in the 1968 campaign. The country responded, and I mean the whole country, not just the taxpayer who sees his money going down the drain but also many of the welfare recipients who see their lives going down the drain.

While we are trying to bring some order into this chaos at the Federal level, some of you—and I could name many around this table—but I know that some of you particularly have moved on your own at the State level with the same purpose. I want especially to commend Governor Reagan of California, Governor Rockefeller of New York, for their efforts in this area which I have discussed with both of them in some detail.

What they have done is to bite a bullet. They have bitten the bullet that the entire country is going to have to bite if we are going to bring the financial and, worse, the human costs of the present welfare system under control.

To them, and to others around this table, from other States, who have tried to bite the bullet of welfare reform in your own States, I pledge Federal cooperation—cooperation within the existing law until we get it reformed, but to the extent the existing law will allow, we will cooperate with any State that wants to bite the bullet of welfare reform to the full extent that the law allows.

The abuses in this system are not only unconscionable, they are contagious as well, as you know. It is a system which not only destroys the incentive of those who are on welfare to get off of it but it attacks the motivation of those who are not on welfare, the working poor, to stay off.

It is incredible that we have allowed a system of law under which one person can be penalized for doing an honest day's work and another person can be rewarded for doing nothing at all. It can happen, and it does happen under the present system. The person on welfare can often have a higher income than his neighbor who holds a low-paying job. Every Governor around this table knows that that is the case in his State.

Tragically, these situations often exist right in the same neighborhood, side by side in the same apartment houses, and you can see what the effect is. It is entirely corrosive. It creates bitterness on the part of the worker, and, in the end, I would imagine that it creates resignation, and we end up with just another person on welfare. "Give up the job. Go on welfare. Everybody else is at the trough, why not me?"

At a time when we see all about us the problems of the disintegration of the

family, what we are doing is continuing with the system that encourages family disintegration. And that is what the present welfare system does.

Let's look at the man out of work, or one struggling to support his family with a low-paying job. He sees that his family can have a higher income on welfare, and yet he is torn by the knowledge that they cannot qualify for welfare as long as he is there in the house—and so what does he do? He leaves. His children grow up either entirely without a father, or with a father who sneaks in and out of the house one step ahead of the welfare worker. Now, what conclusion should his children draw about the morality and the compassion and the justice of a system which forces their father to desert them in order to feed them? This is wrong. It must be changed. We have got to change it in this country, and I pledge to you we will.

What I say now is not news to the Governors. Virtually all of you that I have talked to have told me this. But I am going to reflect it to you, and to those on television and radio, and those in this distinguished audience here. These are my conclusions: The fact is that the welfare establishment and system in the United States is a monumental failure. It makes the taxpayer furious; it makes the welfare recipient bitter; and it inflicts the distillation of all this anger and bitterness on the children who will inherit this land. It is a disgrace to the American spirit.

And now I want to put in context our welfare program, because it is one that has been understandably, perhaps, not understood as well as it could be throughout the country. First, we do not advocate, and I do not advocate, broadening welfare. I do not advocate simply refining the present system.

What I advocate is a fundamental change of direction. I do not advocate putting more people on welfare rolls, as some have contended our program would do. What I advocate is getting more people off of welfare rolls. And the way to get them off is to provide incentives and disincentives, which will make them get off, while providing an opportunity for people to recapture the sense of dignity that comes with knowing that what you have, that you have earned. I have been guided from the outset by that principle, and I reaffirm my commitment to that principle now.

Now another point: Is the program that we have advocated one that provides for a guaranteed annual income? The answer is no. And let me make the record very clear right here and now. I do not favor a guaranteed annual income. This program does not provide it. I do believe in a system which insures that a man is rewarded for working, and not penalized. And I think it is a very sensible investment to insure that that reward is there in order to keep people safely out of the reach of welfare.

I advocate a system that will encourage people to take work, and that means whatever work is available. It does not mean the attitude expressed not long ago at a hearing—I read about it in the paper and heard it on television. A lady got up at a welfare hearing, and she screamed, "Don't talk to us about any of those menial jobs." I am not sure what she considers a menial job, but I have probably done quite a few in my lifetime. I never thought they were demeaning.

If a job puts bread on the table, if it

gives you the satisfaction of providing for your children and lets you look everyone else in the eye, I don't think that it is menial. But it is just this attitude that makes others, particularly low-income workers, feel somehow that certain kinds of work are demeaning. Scrubbing floors, emptying bedpans—my mother used to do that—it is not enjoyable work, but a lot of people do it. And there is as much dignity in that as there is in any other work to be done in this country, including my own.

In the course of reforming the welfare system, we have to reestablish the recognition of that fact—the dignity of work, any work, which will enable an individual to take care of his responsibilities without going on welfare.

I do not think we can tolerate a system under which working people can be made to feel like fools by those who will not work.

On the contrary, I think those who refuse to register for work and accept work or training should be ineligible for welfare payments. We have written such a stipulation into our welfare reform proposal.

In addition, we have urged including in this proposal the language of section 208 of the Social Security Act, which clearly defines fraud and establishes fines and other appropriate criminal punishment for abuses of the new welfare system.

These are two new, stronger proposals that we have put into the law, into our recommendations for the law, I would say in great part because Governors around this table, mayors, and others, out on the firing line, have told us we have to have better proposals with regard to work requirements.

Now let me speak quite candidly about a subject that I know must come to your attention even more than mine, because you are out on the firing line, and you do hear from those who resent it whenever any change is made in a system in which they have a vested interest, whether they are administering the system or whether they are the recipients of what are called its benefits.

The moment that you suggest that an individual must work, if an opportunity is provided for him to work, or he doesn't get welfare, or the moment you suggest that you are going to enforce a law which clearly defines fraud and establishes fines and other punishments for abuses, then you are charged—and I know that probably every Governor in this room who has tried to reform his system has been charged with this—you are charged with being hardhearted, unkind. You don't care about the poor children; you don't care about those who can't take care of themselves.

Let me give you the answer, my answer and yours. I know every one of the men around this table, every one of you, has been in public life because you believe in this country, because you want your government to be the very best possible government it can be, and because rather than being hardhearted you want to have a country strong enough and rich enough and generous enough that we can do an even better job in taking care of those who cannot help themselves. What we want to do, in other words, is, if we possibly can in this great, rich, good country of ours, provide greater benefits for those Americans, and there are many, who cannot take care of themselves.

But I also suggest, and this is our principle, the way to be able to provide more generously for those who are unable to help themselves is to quit helping those

who are able to help themselves and refuse to do so. That is what we have to do.

And so to those who see our present welfare system as a simple refinement of the old program, let me say strongly, this is not the case. We have no intention of measuring the success of this Nation's welfare programs by the money spent or the number of people supported. We are going to measure it by the money saved and the number of people who are given back the incentive and the opportunity to support themselves. We are going to measure it by the dignity it promotes and not by the dole it provides.

One of the great strengths of America has always been that we believed in the value of work. We need a system of caring for the poor, for those who are unable to care for themselves, that rewards and encourages work.

Another great strength of America is that we believe in a helping hand for those of genuine need. The Bible tells us that charity is the greatest virtue and, as all of you know, that word "charity" in the Bible, in some versions, is interpreted as love. It blesses both the giver and the receiver.

But I submit to you, gentlemen, that it is not charity to maintain a system which permits or encourages human beings to let die within themselves the energies, the dignity, the drive that gives meaning and satisfaction to life itself.

It is not charity to bind human beings into a cycle of despair and dependence when, with a little courage and a little imagination and a little common sense, we can end this cycle.

Let me share with you a very interesting experience I had last week in Washington, D.C. This is a beautiful time of the year in Washington, as it is here in Williamsburg. As a result, a record number of tourists are coming through the Nation's Capital, and I receive as many as I can, just as you receive them when they come to your State capitals. And particularly the high school and college groups, when they come through, I often walk out into the Rose Garden of the Capital which you have often seen—that now, incidentally, is a tulip garden, because the roses don't grow until later—and receive a group from any State that happens to be there on that particular day at that particular time.

Thursday of last week I had a request to receive a group from Texas, from Rio Grande High School. Senator Tower, who recommended strongly that I see this group, told me in advance that Rio Grande High School was in the poorest county in all of Texas. He said this group was primarily a Mexican-American group. "But," he said, "I hope that you see them." And I am awfully glad that I did.

I am awfully glad that I have seen all of the groups, but this one in particular had a message for me, and it has a message for you; it has a message for America.

Let me tell you what they did. They came from the poorest county in Texas, true, but they were not poor in spirit. A year ago some members of the junior class decided that they would like to go to Washington. They knew that they would have to get the money to go. They didn't ask the school district to provide it or the State to provide it or some foundation to provide it. And they didn't go around to all the business houses in the community and ask them to contribute as they might

have, so that they would be able to take this trip to Washington.

Here in the poorest county in Texas these young Mexican-Americans said, "We want to earn the money ourselves."

For one year they washed cars, and they did babysitting; they did a lot of menial tasks. They did also some things that were really in the free enterprise tradition. One of the girls knew how to make those Texas tamales. She made them and others went around and sold them at 75 cents a dozen all over the community. And in the end, standing there in the Rose Garden in the White House, 35 young Americans, most of them Mexican-Americans, proud, because they say, "We earned our way and we're proud that we did." Oh, they didn't come by a fancy airplane; they came by a bus. But I have never been as proud of America or proud of a group of young Americans as I was of them, because I knew they could have found an easier way to do it.

Now I know there are those who say, "Wasn't it a shame, those poor young Mexican-Americans had to go out and do all those menial tasks? Wouldn't it have been better if somebody very wealthy had given them money so that they could have come?"

And my answer is: not at all. I don't mean that we want life to be hard for young people, but I do say that when any kind of activity inspires in a young person the spirit of self-reliance, the spirit of individuality, the spirit of dignity, that is something that is very precious in this country. We should not snuff it out; we should not discourage it. We should encourage it.

So I think back to that class and what I can do. I think of the great responsibility that I have to work for a world in which they can enjoy what Americans have not enjoyed in this century: a full generation of peace.

I think when my Administration is completed, that that will perhaps be, and I trust it will be, our proudest achievement.

I also shall work for an America in which we will have a strong prosperity, in which individuals who want to work will have the opportunity to work, and everybody has an equal chance not only for a job but to go up and be promoted if he has what it takes.

But also, together, we must all work for a system, a system in which young Americans, as they look at the opportunities of this country, not only will grow up in a world of peace, not only will grow up in a world in which we have prosperity—and we are the most prosperous nation in the world, and we are going to become more prosperous as time goes on—but grow up in a nation which recognizes the dignity of work, the dignity of self-reliance. This is our job. That is what the reform of this welfare system is about.

A long time ago this Nation proudly acquired a reputation as a refuge for the tired and the poor, and those "huddled masses" who sailed into New York Harbor so that they might hold their heads up again—they have their counterparts today in slums and other poor sections all across America.

And our task, our task together, is to provide a system that will help them to raise their heads, to raise them in pride and in dignity; a system that is fair to the poor, that is fair to the taxpayer, and that is true to the spirit of independence that has built America, that has made it

the great and good country that it is.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:26 a.m. in the Williamsburg Conference Center.

Gov. Louie B. Nunn of Kentucky was chairman of the Republican Governors Association. Gov. A. Linwood Holton of Virginia was host Governor for the Conference.

An advance text of the President's remarks was released on the same day.

146 Annual Message to the Congress on the District of Columbia Budget. *April* 19, 1971

To the Congress of the United States:

I am transmitting to the Congress the budget for the District of Columbia for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1971.

This budget presents the District government's plans and programs to meet the highest priority needs of the city. Consistent with the objectives of the Reorganization Plan #3 of 1967, this budget is the product of full, intensive deliberations by both the Mayor and the City Council.

My review of the proposed fiscal year 1972 District budget approved by the District of Columbia Council indicates that its appropriation requests do not provide for the full year costs of programs which have been approved by the Council for partial year funding in fiscal year 1971. These costs were included in the Mayor's budget proposals submitted to the City Council, but were eliminated during Council review.

Under the District budget approved by the Council, such important programs as implementation of the new court reform legislation and expansion of the Washington Technical Institute and Federal City College are not funded after June 30, 1971. Furthermore, the budget requests do not provide for the fiscal year 1972 costs of the pay raises granted during fiscal year 1971 and which are currently in effect.

In view of these omissions, the District budget approved by the City Council does not present to the Congress a complete statement of the budget requirements of the District for fiscal year 1972. I have therefore modified the fiscal year 1972 District budget request to include the full year costs—totalling approximately $31 million—of programs and pay raises which have been or will be initiated in fiscal year 1971 by supplemental appropriation requests. I feel this is clearly the only fiscally responsible course of action and is in accord with the budgetary practices and standards which have been established for Federal agencies.

The proposed fiscal year 1972 District expenditure requests I am transmitting today will require over $90 million from revenue sources which are not now authorized. To help balance these D.C. budget requests, I have requested a $27 million increase in the Federal contribution to the city, and the Mayor has proposed over $53 million in new local taxes which require Congressional approval. If these revenue proposals prove to be unacceptable to the Congress, I do not believe that the District's budget should be balanced solely by a slash in expenditure requests. I am sure that a more suitable resolution of issues can be arrived at through minor expenditure adjustments and consideration of other revenue sources.

Last year the Congress completed ap-

propriation action on the District's annual budget request prior to enactment of supporting D.C. revenue legislation. Because of the need to balance expenditure requests with available revenues, the result of this Congressional timing was that the D.C. appropriation requests were substantially reduced because of the lack of needed revenues. This is neither an effective nor an efficient way to review the city's fiscal requirements, and I urge that the Congress act promptly on the D.C. revenue proposals prior to the final appropriation action on the fiscal year 1972 D.C. budget requests.

RICHARD NIXON

April 19, 1971

NOTE: The message is printed in "The Budget of the United States Government, District of Columbia, Fiscal Year 1972" (Government Printing Office, 62 pp.).

147 Remarks at the 80th Continental Congress of the Daughters of the American Revolution. *April* 19, 1971

Madam President General, Mayor Washington, Dr. Elson, all of the distinguished guests here on the platform and here at this Congress today:

I first want to tell you how very much Mrs. Nixon and I appreciated the fact that you were able to visit the White House today. We hope you enjoyed your tour.

I knew you were there because I had a rather long day, and about 6 o'clock, as I finished a meeting in the Cabinet Room with a group of men, we walked into the Rose Garden, which is now a tulip garden at this time of year, and I looked in the window and you were all waving. So I waved at all of you at that time.

And at this time, too, I know that this is, of course, a special occasion because I understand your president general, Mrs. Seimes, finishes her 3-year term, and you have a one-term tradition. So, I congratulate her and her successor.

And I do want to say that, as I appear here in Constitution Hall, that there are a number of things I want to say to this group, but particularly Mrs. Nixon asked me to express appreciation for the many, many occasions in which this great Constitution Hall has been used for state events.

Oh, we think, of course, of the symphony. I remember the Inaugural Symphony that was held here, but through the years, the number of times that we have been here. And the Nation is most grateful and the Nation's Capital is most grateful that you have made it available so generously as you have.

I am sure you know this is a very special day, not only for your organization as it begins this Congress, but it is a very special day for America, because in Massachusetts, where the first shots of the American Revolution were fired just 196 years ago today, April 19, today, is celebrated as Patriots' Day.

So I think it is most appropriate for a President of the United States to greet the Congress of this great society of women who are descended from revolutionary patriots and who are patriots, all of you, in your own right as well.

I addressed this Congress, some of you

may remember, on several occasions when I served as Vice President of the United States. But in checking the record, I find that it has been 17 years since a President of the United States—and it was then in that year, 1954, a beloved American President, President Eisenhower—came across the Ellipse to this splendid hall of yours to pay his respects to the DAR. I felt it was high time another President did so. That is why I am here.

Now, as the man who proposed a new American revolution, you will recall, in the State of the Union, to the 92d United States Congress earlier this year, I have looked forward to talking with the 80th DAR Congress since I know that you are always receptive to the subject of America's revolutionary heritage. When I think of the principles that the Daughters of the American Revolution stand for, the fine work you do, I like to recall—and all of you will remember—Benjamin Franklin's reply to a Philadelphia lady, who asked him what kind of government the Constitutional Convention had given America.

"A Republic, madam," he replied. And then he added, "if you can keep it."

For more than three-quarters of a century now, beginning with Benjamin Harrison, whose wife was your first president general, 15 Presidents of the United States have known that they could count on the dedication of the DAR to this continuing challenge of keeping the American Republic strong and free.

Government by the people depends on education and responsible citizenship of the people. And this is where the DAR has made, in my view, its most important contribution.

I think many Americans are not aware of that contribution. You are. I would like to remind the whole Nation in my remarks today of what you have done and what you are doing.

I know about the fine grade schools, the high schools, that you support across this country, including schools for Indian children and schools in Appalachia, which you founded long before it became fashionable to be concerned with the needs of Indians and Appalachia.

And I know about the millions of citizenship manuals that you have provided to those immigrants who have come here over the years seeking a share of the American dream. I know about the hundreds of thousands of boys and girls who are benefiting from the activities of your Junior American Citizens Clubs.

For all of this, the Nation is in your debt. Your constructive service in the present does great credit to your patriot forebears of the past.

The American Revolution of 1776 was a permanent one. The Nation to which it gave birth has been an enduring and phenomenally successful vehicle for human happiness and progress. The American system has adjusted and grown in pace with the changing times. It has given more freedom, more prosperity, to more people than any other system in the history of the world. And let's never forget that.

And certainly, we have every right to take very great pride in this permanent American Revolution of which we are all a part.

Then why call, as I have done, for a new American revolution? Because the work of keeping the Republic requires more than just preserving the past. It also calls for renewing in order to meet the challenges of the future. As a patriotic heritage society actively engaged in bringing new generations and new citizens into

the mainstream of American life, you know this very well.

Now, let's look at government in this country today. You know what you hear on all sides—discouragement, disgust, which so many Americans feel about all government, Federal Government, State government, local government. We can sense the urgent need when we hear those feelings expressed for government renewal on what I call a revolutionary basis. The Federal system was brilliantly conceived, and it was erected in a way that we can all be very proud of.

But what has happened in recent years, particularly over the past 40 years, is that it has become seriously imbalanced. Political power, tax revenue, have flowed increasingly from the States and from the communities and from the cities to Washington, D.C.

What is the result? The result is, the State and local governments which, by rights, should be vigorous instruments of the people's power, have fallen into disrepair. At the same time, the rapid and largely unplanned expansion of the Federal Government has resulted in a structure so complicated, so confused, so contradictory, that it can neither serve the people well, nor respond reliably to the direction of the people's elected representatives.

In short, what the times call for now is decisive action. They demand a new American revolution, a peaceful revolution, to move us by giant steps towards Lincoln's ideal that America should have a government of the people and by the people and for the people.

Now, what are those steps?

First, you will recall that I have proposed a program of $16 billion—the amount is not important; it is what it does, the purpose—in revenue sharing, which will be a continuing Federal investment in revitalizing State and local government. Revenue sharing would give the cities and States, where the people have the best chance to make their wishes felt, both the money and the authority they need to govern effectively.

Second, I proposed a sweeping reorganization of the Cabinet departments here in Washington. This plan would trim and streamline the Federal executive branch. The new departments would be organized to serve broad public purposes rather than narrow, special considerations. They would be planned not just for the next few years, but planned, as those Revolutionary forebears of ours planned, for the entire century ahead and even beyond.

As heirs of the first American Revolution, you are in an excellent position to appreciate the pressing need for a new one. You know that the Declaration of Independence remains a living force in this Nation. You insist, and you should insist, that government derive its just powers from the consent of the governed.

And so you will not tolerate, and you should not tolerate, just as the Founding Fathers would not tolerate these circumstances—and now I am going to quote directly from the Declaration of Independence:

—circumstances which "erected a multitude of New Offices, and sent . . . swarms of Officers to harrass our People, and eat out their substance";

—circumstances which altered "fundamentally the Forms of our Governments";

—circumstances which weakened our legislatures and imposed burdensome taxation.

Now, all of those circumstances happen to be from the "long train of abuses and usurpations" which Jefferson listed in the Declaration of Independence against the King of England.

But all of them, when you stop to think about it, also add up to a not very exaggerated description of the current condition of the Washington bureaucracy, the Federal system, and the State and local tax load here and now. And they convince me that the time has come now for a new American revolution, a peaceful revolution, to set things right, a peaceful revolution which will return power to the States, to the local communities, and to the people of America where it belongs.

Now, I hope you will agree, and that each of you in your communities will help us achieve this great goal; working together we can breathe new life into the ideals of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution.

And now I would like to turn briefly just for a moment to another subject, which I know is of deep concern to this Congress of Patriots: America's mission of assistance to the country of South Vietnam. From the beginning, this Nation, as all of you know, has had a keen sense of worldwide responsibility.

Listen to Thomas Jefferson 196 years ago: We act not "for ourselves alone, but for the whole human race." We have always sought to set an example as a free people. We have always felt a strong kinship with other peoples struggling to be free.

Four times in this 20th century, World War I, World War II, Korea, now Vietnam, Americans have gone to war far away in defense of human liberty and national self-determination for other people. And this long and difficult and agonizing conflict in Vietnam over the past 10 years, a conflict in which the American role is now rapidly ending, is part of our national tradition of standing shoulder-to-shoulder with free nations menaced by outside aggression.

I say tonight—and I think it should be said—that we can be proud of the more than 2 million brave and honorable American men who have fought in Vietnam. War is always a terrible experience for a nation, and particularly difficult for those who participate in it; and particularly this war, where a nation seems to be and has been divided about it. But these men—and I have seen them there—time after time, by their humane conduct, their personal integrity, they have done credit to America's highest principles.

We can be especially proud tonight of another group of men—hundreds of courageous soldiers and airmen missing in action throughout Southeast Asia, who are enduring years of brutal captivity in enemy prison camps.

And we can pay special and admiring tribute to the wives of those prisoners.

Mrs. Nixon and I have had the privilege of meeting them on several occasions. I recall particularly a year and a half ago at Christmastime. What really extraordinary women they are! When you talk to them, when you realize what they have sacrificed, their courage, each time it inspires me again to keep full faith with American prisoners of war, and to end America's involvement in this war, and end it in a way that can best provide the opportunity for a lasting and a just peace.

We hear it said very often these days that ours is not an age of heroes, and yet anyone who has talked with the POW wives knows this is not so. America has a long heritage of heroism, a deep-rooted

tradition of greatness, and I do not believe that the flame of the American spirit can be extinguished even by so dark a nightmare as the Vietnam war has been for all of us.

The killing in Asia, the war in Asia, must stop, and it is being stopped. All of us want that desperately. That fervent desire unites this Nation, whatever else may divide us. But the verdict of history will hinge upon how we stop it. Ending a war is not the problem. We have ended wars in the past. Ending a war in which we have a chance to build a lasting peace—that is our responsibility.

And shall we move now in a way that ends the death toll only for Americans and then only for a brief time? Or shall we act in a more difficult but a wiser way, to leave behind South Vietnam able to defend itself against Communist aggression and a Southeast Asia and a Pacific where peace is possible over the long term?

I believe that Americans will support the wiser course, and I will tell you why I believe it: because we want our grandchildren to remember the 1970's just as we remember the 1770's, as a decade of honor, of hope, of new birth for America.

And so the question we ask ourselves tonight: Can we arise to the challenge of these times which seem so difficult? Can we make a new revolution at home? Can we build a full generation of peace for America and the world? I believe we can.

Night after night on your television, and day after day in your newspapers you see and you read and you hear those things so often that are wrong about America. We should hear about those things. But we should recognize that the greatness of this country is that we have a system which allows us to correct what is wrong. And I would also remind us all that as we hear and as we read of what is wrong about America, let's not overlook—as a matter of fact, let's put more emphasis on—what is right about America.

I have many visitors in the White House, and to see anyone is a very special experience. I particularly remember—as a matter of fact, I don't think I will ever forget—a lady from Virginia who came to see me at the White House last September. She brought a gift to me. It was a 3- by 5-foot American flag which she had made by herself. As I thanked her for it, and as I looked at it, I remarked what a lot of work it must have been, because I remember when my daughter Julie made a very small Presidential seal—crewel work—how much work it was for her.

And she said, "Yes, Mr. President, it was a lot of work." She said, "There are 78,000 stitches in that flag." And then she added, "But it was all worthwhile, because to me every one of those stitches just stands for something that is right about America."

And so this evening, I would only say that I am deeply thankful that such a spirit of love for this country is still alive in America today. It was in that lady's heart, it is in all of yours, and it is in millions of hearts across this land.

With that kind of patriotism, that kind of love of country, we shall never lose sight of the American dream. And with that spirit, we shall make that dream come true.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:30 p.m. in Constitution Hall.

Dr. Edward L. R. Elson, Chaplain of the Senate, gave the convocation.

An advance text of the President's remarks was released on the same day.

The hand-knit flag was presented to the President by Mrs. Paul W. Heatwole of Harrisonburg, Va., on September 11, 1970.

148 Special Message to the Congress Proposing Reform of the Foreign Assistance Program. *April* 21, 1971

To the Congress of the United States:

On September 15, 1970 I proposed a major transformation in the foreign assistance program of the United States. My purpose was to renew and revitalize the commitment of this Nation to support the security and development objectives of the lower income countries, and thereby to promote some of the most fundamental objectives of U.S. foreign policy.

Today, I report to you on the progress of the last seven months in effecting that transformation and ask the Congress to join me in taking the next creative step in our new approach—the reform of the United States bilateral assistance program.

To achieve such reform, I am transmitting two bills—the proposed International Security Assistance Act and International Development and Humanitarian Assistance Act—and announcing a number of actions which I intend to take administratively. Taken together, they would:

—Distinguish clearly between our security, development and humanitarian assistance programs and create separate organizational structures for each. This would enable us to define our own objectives more clearly, fix responsibility for each program, and assess the progress of each in meeting its particular objectives.

—Combine our various security assistance efforts (except for those in Southeast Asia which are now funded in the Defense budget) into one coherent program, under the policy direction of the Department of State. This would enable security assistance to play more effectively its critical role in supporting the Nixon Doctrine and overall U.S. national security and foreign policy in the 1970s.

—Create a U.S. International Development Corporation and a U.S. International Development Institute to replace the Agency for International Development. They would enable us to reform our bilateral development assistance program to meet the changed conditions of the 1970s.

—Provide adequate funding for these new programs to support essential U.S. foreign policy objectives in the years ahead.

The Importance of Foreign Assistance

U.S. foreign assistance is central to U.S. foreign policy in the 1970s in three ways:

First, we must help to strengthen the defense capabilities and economies of our friends and allies. This is necessary so that they can increasingly shoulder their own responsibilities, so that we can reduce our direct involvement abroad, and so that together we can create a workable structure for world peace. This is an essential feature of the Nixon Doctrine.

Second, we must assist the lower income countries in their efforts to achieve economic and social development. Such development is the overriding objective of these countries themselves and essential to the peaceful world order which we seek. The prospects for a peaceful world will be greatly enhanced if the two-thirds of humanity who live in these countries see hope for adequate food, shelter, educa-

tion and employment in peaceful progress rather than in revolution.

Third, we must be able to provide prompt and effective assistance to countries struck by natural disaster or the human consequences of political upheaval. Our humanitarian concerns for mankind require that we be prepared to help in times of acute human distress.

The Need for Reform

We cannot effectively pursue these objectives in the 1970s with programs devised for an earlier period. The world has changed dramatically. Our foreign assistance programs—like our overall foreign policy—must change to meet these new conditions.

In my September special message to the Congress I spelled out the major changes in the world which require new responses. Let me summarize them here:

—Today the lower income countries are increasingly able to shoulder the major responsibility for their own security and development and they clearly wish to do so. We share their belief that they must take the lead in charting their own security and development. Our new foreign assistance programs must therefore encourage the lower income countries to set their own priorities and develop their own programs, and enable us to respond as our talents and resources permit.

—Today the United States is but one of many industrialized nations which contribute to the security and development of the lower income countries. We used to furnish the bulk of international development assistance; we now provide less than half. The aid programs of other countries have grown because they recognize that they too have a major stake in the orderly progress which foreign assistance promotes, and because their capabilities to provide such assistance have grown enormously since the earlier postwar period.

—Today the international institutions can effectively mesh the initiatives and efforts of the lower income countries and the aid efforts of all of the industrialized countries. We can thus place greater reliance on such institutions and encourage them to play an increasing leadership role in the world development process.

Our ideas on the reforms needed in the world of the 1970s have evolved significantly since I received the Report of my Task Force on International Development, chaired by Mr. Rudolph Peterson, and since my special message of last September, as the result of our own deliberations and our further consultations with the Congress, the business community and many other sectors of the American public, and our friends abroad. Before spelling out a new blueprint for our bilateral assistance program, however, I wish to report to you on the gratifying progress achieved since last September in reorienting our assistance policies.

Progress Toward Reform

First, the Congress in December passed supplemental assistance legislation for FY 1971 which represented a major step in implementing the security assistance component of the Nixon Doctrine. This legislation authorized additional funds for military assistance and supporting economic assistance for countries in which

71-234—72——39

the U.S. has major interests and which have convincingly demonstrated the will and ability to help themselves—including Israel and Jordan in the Middle East and Cambodia, Vietnam and Korea in East Asia.

Such support is necessary to carry out one of the central thrusts of the Nixon Doctrine—moving us from bearing the major responsibility for the defense of our friends and allies to helping them achieve an increasing capability to maintain their own defense. This increase in security assistance enables us to continue to reduce our direct presence abroad, and helps to reduce the likelihood of direct U.S. military involvement in the future.

Second, the international development institutions have continued their progress toward leadership in the international development process. For example:

—*The World Bank* continues to increase the size and improve the effectiveness of its operations. It also has decided to broaden the scope of its lending beyond the traditional financing of projects to the provision of funds to support overall development programs in appropriate circumstances, and it is developing an improved internal evaluation and audit system.

—*The United Nations Development Program* has initiated a reorganization to improve its administration. In time this will enable it to assume a leading role in coordinating the international technical assistance effort.

—*The World Health Organization* has effectively guided and coordinated the worldwide effort to cope with the present cholera epidemic in Africa.

Third, the industrialized countries have now agreed on comparable systems of tariff preferences for imports from the lower income countries. The preferences plan is a major step in the crucial international effort to expand the export earnings of these countries, and hence to reduce their reliance on external aid. The European Community has indicated that it plans to put its tariff preferences into effect on July 1, and Japan has announced that it will do so before October 1.

Fourth, there has been satisfying progress toward achieving the untying of bilateral development loans on a fully reciprocal basis. This action will enhance the value of economic assistance to recipient countries, and eliminate the political frictions which tied aid now causes. Virtually all of the industrialized countries have agreed to the principle of untying. Details of a system offering suppliers of all participating countries a fair and equitable basis for competition are now being worked out in the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development.

Fifth, I have established a Council on International Economic Policy, which I chair, to coordinate all aspects of U.S. foreign economic policy, including development assistance. It will provide top-level focus for our policies in this area, and accord them the high priority which they require in our foreign policy for the 1970s.

I am heartened by this progress, but much more remains to be done:

—I again urge the Congress to vote the additional funds which I have requested for the Inter-American Development Bank and the Asian Development Bank.

—We will shortly transmit legislation to authorize the U.S. contribution to the doubling of the resources of the

International Development Association, the soft-loan affiliate of the World Bank, which stands at the center of the network of international financial institutions, and I urge the Congress to approve it.

—We are working with others to help establish a soft-loan window for the African Development Bank.

—We will shortly transmit legislation to authorize U.S. participation in the system of generalized tariff preferences for developing countries, and I urge Congress to approve it.

The New U.S. Bilateral Assistance Program

The next major step is the reform of the U.S. bilateral assistance program, incorporated in the proposed International Security Assistance Act and International Development and Humanitarian Assistance Act.

Our new bilateral assistance program must achieve several objectives. It must:

—Clearly identify our distinct aid objectives: security assistance, development assistance and humanitarian assistance.

—Be truly responsive to the initiatives of the lower income countries themselves and encourage them to play the central role in solving their own security and development problems. In the area of development assistance, this means working within a framework set by the international institutions to the maximum extent possible.

—Be concentrated in countries of special interest to the United States, and in projects and programs in which the United States has a special ability to be of help.

—Recognize the improved economic capacity of many of the lower income countries in establishing the terms of our assistance.

—Assure improved management.

—Reduce substantially the number of U.S. Government officials operating our assistance program overseas.

Let me now spell out the details of our new approach, based on these principles.

Security Assistance

I have repeatedly stressed the essential role played by our military and related forms of assistance in supporting the foreign policy of the United States and our own security interests. The primary purposes of this assistance have been, and will continue to be, the preservation of peace through the deterrence of war, and the support of efforts by allied and friendly countries to move toward self-sustaining economic growth and social progress. To abandon our responsibilities would risk magnifying the world's instability in the short run and impairing its peaceful development for the longer run, and therefore increase the threat to our own security both now and in the future.

The new course on which we are set, however, encourages others to take on greater responsibilities themselves. Our new security assistance program will seek to strengthen local defense capabilities by providing that mix of military and supporting economic assistance which is needed to permit friendly foreign countries to assume additional defense burdens themselves without causing them undue political or economic costs. If we are to

move toward reducing our own physical presence, the effectiveness of our security assistance program will become of ever more crucial importance.

In Asia, this new strategy has already encouraged the nations of the area to assume greater responsibility for their own defense and provided a basis for a major reduction in our military presence. The funds which have been provided to assist the Government of South Vietnam have been essential to the progress of Vietnamization, and helped insure continued U.S. troop withdrawals. We have helped Cambodia to mobilize its manpower and other resources in defense of its independence and neutrality. We are providing Korea with equipment to improve and modernize its defenses and we are withdrawing some of our own troops.

Our friends and allies know that it is no longer possible nor desirable for the United States to bear the principal burden of their defense. A clear lesson of the 1960s is that deterrence against local aggression, or against subversion supported from outside a country's borders, cannot be achieved without a strong contribution by the threatened country itself. We can meet our security assistance objectives effectively only if we link our efforts closely with those of our friends and thereby build the foundations for peace in partnership with them.

To help do so, and also in recognition of the improved economic capability of many of the countries receiving security assistance, I propose today significant changes in our authorities to provide military assistance to our friends and allies.

Our military assistance programs have suffered from undesirable rigidity. The only choice has been between grant assistance and sales on hard credit terms. Many of those nations that need our assistance are unable to meet the hard credit terms—so grant assistance has been the only course open for us to help meet their essential security needs. But as the lower income nations begin to develop an ability to shoulder the costs of their defense, we need to be able to assist them in doing so even though they cannot immediately assume the entire burden. Sales on concessional credit terms would permit earlier participation by some recipient countries in the financing of their essential defense needs and would thus engage their own assessment of priorities for the allocation of their resources at an earlier stage of development than is now possible.

To fill the existing gap between grant assistance and sales on relatively firm commercial terms, the International Security Assistance Act that I propose today includes authorization to finance sales of military equipment on concessional terms. Grant assistance will remain necessary for some nations whose financial resources are simply not adequate to meet their defense needs. But our objective is to move countries, as quickly as possible within the context of international security requirements and their own economic capabilities, along the spectrum from grants to concessional sales to the harder terms we have required for sales under the present act and finally to outright cash arrangements. We will also stress the transition from Government sales to those made directly by private industry to the extent feasible. By making these changes we would help countries move from dependence on the United States to independence in the creation and financing of their own security programs. We would not intend to provide concessional credits to countries able to meet the terms of the present program.

I am also asking, under the new act, greater flexibility to transfer funds among the various security assistance programs. Such flexibility is particularly important, for example, in this period of transition in Southeast Asia, where our troop withdrawals are freeing up substantial amounts of military equipment formerly used by our troops. I am asking that the ceiling on the amount of surplus equipment which can be granted to our friends and allies be increased; this will save us money as well as permit us to better help those of our friends who need it. In the long run, sound management of security assistance demands that there be enough flexibility to transfer funds among various programs in order to insure that the proper mix is used to meet our specific objectives in each instance.

For these international security assistance programs, I request authorization of $1,993 million for FY 1972: $778 million for supporting economic assistance, $705 million for grant military assistance, and $510 million for military credit sales.

These security assistance programs are at the core of our relations with certain key friendly countries. They critically affect our ability to meet our bilateral and collective security commitments. They are central to the achievement of major objectives of U.S. national security and foreign policy.

I therefore intend to direct by administrative action a reorganization of our security assistance program to meet more effectively the objectives of the Nixon Doctrine. Various components of security assistance—military assistance, military credit sales, grants of excess military stocks, supporting economic assistance, and the public safety program—have been fragmented in different pieces of legislation and managed through a series of different administrative arrangements. My proposals would bring these programs under one legislative act to assure that each is viewed as part of a coherent overall program. Military assistance for Vietnam, Laos and Thailand will continue to be funded in the Defense budget because these country programs are subject to the uncertainties of active hostilities and are intimately linked to the logistical support systems of our own forces in Southeast Asia.

To assure effective policy control and management of this new security assistance effort, I would direct that a Coordinator for Security Assistance be established at a high level in the Department of State. I would also direct that the supporting economic assistance program be administered by the Department of State. The Department of Defense will continue to have primary responsibility for administering our military assistance and sales programs, and for relating these programs to overall U.S. national defense planning.

These new arrangements would be a significant step in the direction of improving the management of our security assistance program. They would therefore represent a significant step toward achieving greater accountability to the Congress and the public as well.

This new security assistance program would, I am confident, serve our national interest in the 1970s in a number of important ways. It would:

—enable us to meet U.S. commitments more effectively and at lower cost;

—strengthen the self-defense capabilities of nations to whose security the

U.S. is committed by treaty, by special political ties, or by essential U.S. interests;

—help to reduce the need for, and likelihood of, U.S. military involvement overseas;

—foster increased local initiative and self-sufficiency;

—promote constructive political relations with foreign governments;

—support U.N. peacekeeping operations;

—reduce potential frictions by lowering the U.S. profile abroad.

I am also requesting in the International Security Assistance Act authority for $100 million for the President's Foreign Assistance Contingency Fund for FY 1972. This would permit the administration, with due notification to the Congress, to meet worldwide contingencies—in the security, development and humanitarian areas—in ways compatible with our national interests. It is particularly important to have available uncommitted funds which can be used on short notice, when sudden crises in the international community require us to act promptly and decisively.

DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE

The United States continues to have special national interests in particular lower income countries. We continue to have special capabilities in particular functional areas. We continue to need an effective bilateral development assistance program.

In order to advance such a program, I therefore propose legislation which would authorize the creation of two new development assistance institutions. Together with the two created by the last Congress, they would replace the Agency for International Development and enable us to develop a new approach based on the principles outlined above.

The two I now propose to create are:

—An International Development Corporation (IDC) to provide loans to finance development projects and programs in the lower income countries.

—An International Development Institute (IDI) to seek research breakthroughs on the key problems of development and to administer our technical assistance programs.

These would join two created by the last Congress:

—The Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC) to promote the role of private investment in the development process.

—The Inter-American Social Development Institute (ISDI) to provide special attention to the social development needs of Latin America.

The U.S. International Development Corporation

The new IDC would administer our bilateral lending program. The authorities which I seek for it, and the operating style which I would direct it to pursue, would mark a major change in the U.S. approach to development assistance.

The IDC would make loans in response to initiatives from the lower income countries, rather than develop projects or programs on its own. It would have flexibility to tailor its loan terms to the needs of particular lower income countries, requiring harder terms from the more advanced and extending easier terms to the less advanced. Today's program has limited flexibility in this regard. Its lending

volume to any particular country would be based on demonstrated self-help performance, and the quality of the projects and programs which that country presented to it. It would not seek to determine annual country lending levels in advance as is done at present.

The IDC would operate to the maximum extent feasible within a framework set by the international financial institutions. It would look to them to provide evaluations of the overall development prospects of particular countries, which would be a major consideration in its decisions to lend, rather than itself carrying out the extensive "country programming" which is now done. Within that context it would participate in nonproject lending and international efforts to alleviate the debt burdens of particular lower income countries. It would participate for the United States in the international consortia and consultative groups, managed in most cases by the international financial institutions, through which the bulk of our bilateral assistance will flow.

The IDC would concentrate its activities in countries and regions where the U.S. has a major foreign policy interest in long-term development. For example, it would establish guidelines to assure that an equitable share of its resources is provided to the countries of the Western Hemisphere. But precisely because our interest is in the long-term development of these nations, the IDC would use its funds to pursue such interests rather than to seek merely short-term political gains.

The IDC would provide loans on the basis of both sound business standards and the pursuit of sound development purposes. The terms of its loans would be determined in large part by the financial situation of the borrowing country, rather than on the standard terms now offered to all borrowers. It would avoid loans to countries where the analysis of international financial institutions, and its own views, suggest an inadequate policy framework in which the loans could effectively promote development. The IDC would not be solely a lender of last resort as AID is required to be today, often financing the riskiest projects and programs.

The Corporation would work with and through the private sector to the maximum extent possible. It would give high priority to projects and programs which promote private initiative in the lower income countries, and to this end would seek to increase U.S. lending to local development banks and other financial intermediaries. I recommend that it also have authority to lend directly to private entities in the lower income countries.

The IDC would be governed by a Board of Directors consisting of outstanding private citizens as well as government officials, thus bringing the private sector directly into its decision-making process.

With this clear identification of specific instruments and programs with the specific objectives they are designed to achieve, we should not need to tie the hands of our managers—of the Corporation or any of our other new institutions—with the kinds of foreign policy and administrative restrictions which apply to the present program. Administrators should be held accountable for achieving program objectives. This is a central requirement of the businesslike approach which the new structure is designed to foster.

To insure the necessary continuity and stability of operations to permit this businesslike approach, and building on the

initiative of the Congress in 1969 to provide a 2-year authorization for foreign assistance, I request that the Corporation be given a 3-year authorization. I recommend an authorization of $1.5 billion of directly appropriated funds. I propose also that the IDC be provided with authority to borrow, in the private capital market or from the U.S. Treasury, up to a total of $1 billion during its initial 3-year period. This would help channel private capital more directly into the development process and bring private sector judgments directly to bear on the performance of the IDC. I recommend that it be authorized to use repayments of capital and interest on past U.S. development loans, which are now running at about $250 million annually.

A Corporation based on these principles would enable us to reduce substantially the number of U.S. government personnel involved in development lending overseas. By responding primarily to initiatives from the lower income countries, we would reduce the need for Americans to chart foreign programs and priorities. By relying increasingly on the international institutions for information and analytical work, we would reduce our own requirement for staff in both Washington and the field. By reducing the statutory restrictions on the program, we would be able to concentrate available staff on effective program management.

I am confident that a U.S. International Development Corporation based on these principles would regenerate our development lending program. It would provide major support to the development objectives of the lower income countries. It would enable us to play our full role effectively among the industrialized countries in promoting the development process. It would thereby provide major support for important U.S. national objectives in the 1970s.

The U.S. International Development Institute

The new IDI would administer a reformed bilateral technical assistance program and enable us to focus U.S. scientific, technological and managerial know-how on the problems of development.

The Institute would engage in four major types of activities:

—It would apply U.S. *research* competence in the physical and social sciences to the critical problems of development, and help raise the research competence of the lower income countries themselves.

—It would help *build institutions* in the lower income countries to improve their own research capabilities and to carry out a full range of developmental functions on a self-sustaining basis. I would expect it to place particular emphasis on strengthening agricultural and educational institutions.

—It would help *train* manpower in the lower income countries to enable them to carry out new activities on their own.

—It would help lower income countries, particularly the least developed among them, to finance *advisers* on development problems.

Like the Corporation, the Institute would finance projects in response to proposals made by the lower income countries themselves. It would not budget funds in advance by country, since it could not know in advance how many acceptable

projects would be proposed by each. It would look to these countries to select candidates to be trained under its program. Its research activities would be located in the lower income countries, rather than in the United States, to the greatest extent feasible. With its stress on institution building, it would seek to ensure that each program could be carried on after U.S. assistance is ended.

Most importantly, the Institute would seek to assure that all projects which it helps finance are considered essential by the lower income country itself. To do so, the Institute would require that the recipient country make a significant contribution to each as evidence that it attaches high priority to the project and is prepared to support it financially after U.S. assistance ends. We would finance a project for only a definite and limited period of time, and would want assurance that the host country would then carry it on. In the past, all too many technical assistance projects have been undertaken which were of more interest to Americans than to the recipient countries, and had little or no lasting impact. Our new program is designed to ensure that this does not happen in the future.

The international organizations are less advanced in research and technical assistance than in development lending. The Institute would thus be unable to function as fully within an international framework at this time as would the Corporation. However, it would work to help improve the capabilities of these organizations, especially the United Nations Development Program, and would seek to cooperate with them whenever possible. In fact, one of its objectives would be to help create an international framework for technical assistance comparable to the framework which has developed over the past decade for development lending.

By the very virtue of its separate existence, the Institute would be free to concentrate its efforts on the application of research and technology to the problems of development—a key feature of our new bilateral program which would distinguish it markedly from the present approach. The Institute would also concentrate its resources on the few most critical problem areas of development. Such concentration is necessary if it is to achieve the "critical mass" necessary to make real breakthroughs where they are most needed, and to attract the top cadre of experts and managers who can achieve such breakthroughs.

The areas of concentration would evolve in response to the requests of the lower income countries and management's assessment of where we can contribute most. They would undoubtedly shift over time. Experience suggests that limiting population growth, increasing agricultural production and training manpower would be among the concentration areas at first. Unemployment and urbanization problems could be early additions to the list.

While the Institute would provide grant financing, it would vary the effective terms of its assistance by varying the shares of the total cost of particular projects that the recipient must finance itself—ranging from a small percentage in the least advanced countries to most of the cost in the most advanced. In addition, the Institute should have authority to provide advisers on a completely reimbursable basis to countries which no longer need concessional aid at all. At the other end of the development spectrum, the IDI would be

71-234—72——40

conscious of the special problems of the least developed countries—most of which are in Africa—which will continue to need the more traditional types of technical assistance since they have traveled less distance along the road to economic self-sufficiency.

The Institute would be managed on a businesslike basis, and it would carry out its projects largely through the private sector. I propose that it be governed by a Board of Trustees including outstanding citizens from the private sector. It would stress evaluation of past projects to determine their payoff and to help guide future project development; there has been too little followup in these programs in the past. We would seek top flight technical managers, development specialists and scientists for the small staff of the Institute. This new approach would permit a major reduction in the number of U.S. government personnel operating abroad.

To achieve these goals, the IDI should have financial continuity. I therefore propose that the Congress authorize an appropriation of $1,275 million for a 3-year period.

In short, the International Development Institute would provide a new dimension to our foreign assistance effort. It would enable us to focus some of our finest national resources—our capabilities in management, research and technology—on the critical bottleneck problems of development. Its style of operation should enable us to forge a new and more mature partnership with the lower income countries, with the rest of the industrialized world, and with our own private sector. It holds promise of becoming one of the most significant additions to our national capability to engage meaningfully in the world of the 1970s.

Overseas Private Investment Corporation and Inter-American Social Development Institute

The new International Development Corporation and International Development Institute would join two development assistance institutions already created by the Congress: the Overseas Private Investment Corporation and the Inter-American Social Development Institute.

OPIC is already at work promoting the role of private investment in the international development process. The record of economic development shows that successful growth is usually associated with a dynamic private sector, and we therefore look to private investment—primarily domestic but foreign as well—to play an increasing role in the development process. It must do so, since no government or public agency has the resources or technical skills which are necessary to meet the vast needs of the lower income countries.

OPIC's guarantees and insurance of U.S. private investment in lower income countries which seek such investment are already serving effectively the interests of both the U.S. investor and the host countries. Its early activities suggest that an independent corporation, directed by a joint public-private Board of Directors, can effectively manage a development assistance program; it thus augurs well for the structures which I propose today for the Development Corporation and Development Institute.

OPIC is operating within one of the

most sensitive areas—private foreign investment—of the inherently sensitive overall relationship between aid donors and aid recipients. It is therefore essential that OPIC assist only sound projects which are responsive to the particular development needs of each country.

And it is clearly for each country to decide the conditions under which it will accept private foreign investment, just as it is for each investor to decide what conditions are adequate to attract his investments. We as a Government ask only that the investments of our citizens be treated fairly and in accordance with international law. In nearly all cases they have been. However, unjust acts by a country toward an American firm cannot help but adversely affect our relationship with that country. As President, I must and will take such acts into account in determining our future assistance and overall policy toward such a country.

The Inter-American Social Development Institute has also begun to develop its programs, which seek to promote the social development of the Latin American and Caribbean people. Working mainly through private organizations and international institutions, it represents a new innovative channel in seeking to promote solutions to basic economic and social problems in these areas. I propose that it be renamed the Inter-American Foundation, to characterize more accurately its proposed style of operation.

HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE

U.S. humanitarian assistance programs cover a wide spectrum of human needs: disaster relief and rehabilitation; famine; refugee and migration relief and assistance. They aim to help people around the world recover from unfortunate situations by which they have been victimized. In the past year alone, such help has been extended to refugees from civil war in Nigeria and Jordan, earthquake victims in Peru, flood victims in Romania and Tunisia, and cyclone victims in Pakistan.

These activities rely heavily for program implementation on private voluntary agencies. In the past year alone, U.S. voluntary agencies registered with the Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid contributed $370 million of their own resources in over 100 countries.

At present, humanitarian assistance programs are carried out through numerous offices in the U.S. Government. I propose to centralize the responsibility for coordinating all humanitarian assistance programs under a new Assistant Secretary of State. We would thereby assure a coherent effort to carry out this vital and literally life-saving aspect of our foreign assistance policy. This new approach would also improve our capability to respond quickly and effectively through better contingency planning, additional stockpiling and training, and the maintenance of closer and better coordinated relationships with the United Nations, other donor countries, and the private voluntary agencies.

COORDINATION

I have outlined the overriding need to separate our overall foreign assistance program into its three component parts: security assistance, development assistance, and humanitarian assistance. I have indicated that we would pull together all parts of our security assistance and humanitarian assistance under central management, so that each can func-

tion effectively as a total program within the context of U.S. foreign policy. And I have also proposed the creation of two new institutions, to go along with the two created by the last Congress, to carry forward our development assistance program in the 1970s.

There is thus a need for new mechanisms to assure effective coordination of our new foreign assistance program.

First, there must be effective coordination among the several components of the new development assistance program. This would be done through my appointing a single Coordinator of Development Assistance, responsible directly to the President, as Chairman of the Boards of the IDC, IDI, and OPIC.

The Coordinator would also chair an executive coordinating committee composed of the chief executive officers of each of these institutions and ISDI. He would be available for congressional testimony on our overall bilateral development assistance policy and the operations of the several institutions. Both the Congress and I could look to him as the administration's chief spokesman on bilateral development assistance policy and programs.

Second, the Secretary of State will provide foreign policy guidance for all components of our new foreign assistance program. His representatives would be members of the boards of each of the development institutions, and he would have direct responsibility for both security and humanitarian assistance. In each country our Ambassador, as my personal representative, will of course be responsible for coordination of all of our assistance programs.

Third, foreign assistance issues which raise broader questions of foreign economic policy will be handled through my new Council on International Economic Policy.

Finally, coordination among the three major components of our assistance program, and between them and our overall national security policy, would be handled through the National Security Council. We will thus establish strong management, coordination, and policy guidance over all of our foreign assistance programs.

Conclusion

This Nation can no more ignore poverty, hunger and disease in other nations of the world than a man can ignore the suffering of his neighbors. The great challenge to Americans of this decade, be they private citizens or national leaders, is to work to improve the quality of life of our fellow men at home and abroad.

We have a unique and unprecedented opportunity. We do not have all the answers to the questions of poverty, nor adequate resources to meet the needs of all mankind. We do possess the greatest scientific and technological capacity, and the most prosperous and dynamic economy, of any nation in history. More importantly, we have, as a vital element of the American character, a humanitarian zeal to help improve the lives of our fellow men.

We are therefore a nation uniquely capable of assisting other peoples in preserving their security and promoting their development. By doing so, we accomplish three major objectives:

—We strengthen international cooperation for a peaceful world.

—We help to relieve the poverty and misery of others less fortunate than ourselves.

—We help to build firm foundations of friendship between this Nation and the peoples of other nations.

I have seen for myself just how important is our aid in helping nations preserve their independence, and in helping men achieve the dignity of productive labor instead of languishing on crowded streets. I have seen its importance to children whose chances for a rewarding life have been increased because they have adequate nutrition, schools and books. It is right that we, the richest nation in the world, should provide our share of such assistance.

And such help, in addition to being right for its own sake, also creates strong bonds.

I recognize that whenever an American firm is nationalized without prompt, fair, and effective compensation; whenever an anti-American demonstration takes place; or whenever a leader of a developing country criticizes the United States, many question the effectiveness of our aid.

But the headline reporting the occasional anti-American act overlooks the many countries which do thank us for providing them the means to preserve their own security; and it also overlooks the countless number of villages where farmers do appreciate our helping provide the know-how and the tools necessary to grow larger crops, the school children who cherish the education our assistance makes possible, and the people everywhere who recognize our help in eliminating disease.

For these people, our aid is a source of encouragement. And they, not those who demonstrate or destroy, are the real revolutionaries—for they, in quietly attempting to preserve their independence and improve their lives, are bringing about a quiet revolution of peaceful change and progress. They are working hard to build the foundations for a better tomorrow and they recognize that we have helped provide them with the tools to do the job.

But while such appreciation is gratifying, foreign assistance has a more basic purpose. Foreign assistance is quite clearly in our interest as a nation. We are a people whose sons have died, and whose great statesmen have worked, to build a world order which insures peace and prosperity for ourselves and for other nations. We are aware that this world order cannot be sustained if our friends cannot defend themselves against aggression, and if two-thirds of the world's people see the richer third as indifferent to their needs and insensitive to their aspirations for a better life. To these people it is critical that this be a generation of peace, and our foreign policy is directed at helping to make it so; and for the improverished it is equally important that it be a generation in which their aspirations for a better life, improved health conditions, and adequate food supply can be realized—a generation of development, a generation of hope.

Foreign policy is not a one-way street. It requires that other nations understand our problems and concerns, but it also requires that we understand theirs. We cannot ask the lower income countries of the world to cooperate with us to solve the problems which affect our vital interests unless we cooperate with them to help solve the problems critical to their vital interests—the problems affecting their security and development, and thus affecting the quality of life of their people.

The legislation I propose today, along with the corollary administrative actions

which I will take, will permit this Nation to carry out the major reforms which are necessary to improve the effectiveness of our foreign assistance program and to fit it to our new approach.

I believe that this new approach is of major importance in promoting the national security and foreign policy interests of the United States in this decade and beyond. I believe that it is sound, and will blend as effectively as possible our special strengths with those of other nations and institutions. It is an approach through which we can focus the energies and resources of this great Nation on the security and development problems of those peoples living in poorer nations who wish to improve their lives, but lack the resources and the expertise to do so. I believe that this program is worthy of your support.

I therefore reaffirm my commitment, and the commitment of this administration, to seek an effective U.S. foreign assistance program for the 1970s. It is our objective to work for peace, not only in our time but for future generations, and we can make no better investment toward that end than to participate fully in an international effort to build prosperity and hope for a better tomorrow among all nations. I urge the Congress to join with me in making the reforms I propose today so that together we can achieve these great goals.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
April 21, 1971

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released a summary of the message and the transcript of a news briefing on the message by Peter G. Peterson, Executive Director, and Ernest Stern, senior staff member, Council on International Economic Policy; C. Fred Bergsten, Assistant for International Economic Affairs, National Security Council; and James R. Schlesinger, Assistant Director, Office of Management and Budget.

149 Message to the Senate Transmitting Treaty on the United States-Mexico Boundary. *April* 21, 1971

To the Senate of the United States:

With a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, I transmit herewith the treaty to resolve pending boundary differences and maintain the Rio Grande and Colorado River as the international boundary between the United States of America and the United Mexican States, signed at Mexico City on November 23, 1970.

I transmit also, for the information of the Senate, the report of the Secretary of State with respect to the treaty.

This treaty, it is believed, constitutes as fair a settlement as can be negotiated of all pending boundary differences and uncertainties with Mexico, and represents a comprehensive attempt on the part of the two Governments to deal with existing and future boundary problems.

The provisions of the treaty are outlined and explained in the enclosed report of the Secretary of State. Under the treaty the Governments would settle the existing disputes and uncertainties regarding the location of the boundary along the Rio

Grande and off both coasts, and would establish new procedures for handling the river movements that have occasioned differences and uncertainties in the past. Under it there would be assigned to the United States approximately 2,079 acres of land about which there has been question as to national sovereignty, and to Mexico about 3,326 acres about which there has been similar doubt.

The treaty would establish a permanent maritime boundary in the Gulf of Mexico where, due to migration of the mouth of the Rio Grande, it has been indefinite and moving for more than a century, as well as in the Pacific Ocean. Henceforth, mariners and potential lessors and lessees of the seabed would be able to ascertain precisely the extent of the jurisdiction of each nation.

The treaty would also provide measures to avert in the future significant loss of territory to either country because of the inevitable movements of the boundary rivers. The importance of these provisions is indicated by the fact that in a century more than 240 tracts have been cut from one country to the other, effecting a transfer of about 20,800 acres from Mexico to the United States and about 15,300 acres from the United States to Mexico, with the attendant uncertainty about the location of the boundary, and the inconvenience and personal loss to some of the owners of the land.

The settlement unfortunately will entail loss to the Presidio Valley of Texas of a considerable part of its irrigable land. While this land belonged to Mexico in 1852, it has long been occupied and much of it farmed by American citizens. With only a limited amount of irrigable land available, the economic base of the valley will be adversely affected. Following the precedent of the Chamizal settlement of 1963, when lands also had to be transferred to Mexico, I intend to recommend inclusion in enabling legislation of specific measures to relieve the people of the valley of financial loss and assist them in adjusting to the requirements of the settlement. This assistance should alleviate the burden of the settlement which the valley and its residents are ill-prepared to bear, and for which they have had no responsibility.

In the absence of the detailed investigations that can be undertaken only after ratification of the treaty, the U.S. Section of the International Boundary and Water Commission has been able to prepare only preliminary estimates of the cost of the works required for implementation of the treaty. In his report the Secretary of State presents preliminary estimates totaling $10,368,000 for the United States share of the work that should be performed over the next two years. In addition to normal maintenance, the treaty would commit the United States to a continuing program to restrain the boundary rivers in their courses and avert loss of territory through the shifting of sizeable tracts from one country to the other. This program is expected to require an average expenditure of not more than $400,000 per year. The Government of Mexico would, of course, perform its share of this work, and the total continuing obligation for both countries would diminish as the Commission succeeds in stabilizing the course of the rivers where shifting seems most likely.

I believe that the proposed comprehensive boundary settlement admirably reflects the mutual respect and understand-

ing in which the Governments of the United States and Mexico conduct their relations and the constructive spirit with which they approach common border problems. I strongly recommend that the Senate of the United States advise and consent to the ratification of the treaty as promptly as appropriate procedures permit.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
April 21, 1971

NOTE: The text of the treaty and the report of the Secretary of State are printed in Senate Executive B (92d Cong., 1st sess.).

150 Memorandum About Women in Government. *April* 21, 1971

Memorandum for the Heads of Executive Departments and Agencies:

As you know, it has been my desire to attract the ablest and most talented people in the country to join this Administration and assist in the achievement of our far-reaching goals. The Nation's many highly qualified women represent an important reservoir of ability and talent that we must draw on to a greater degree. In this Administration we have firmly espoused the rights of women, and we must now clearly demonstrate our recognition of the equality of women by making greater use of their skills in high level positions.

Our efforts to date in appointing women have offered some encouragement. I have appointed a number of women to top posts and have named more than 200 to Presidential Advisory Boards and Commissions. However, I am convinced that we can and must do better.

To this end, I am now directing that you take the following actions:

—Develop and put into action a plan for attracting more qualified women to top appointive positions (GS–16 and up through Presidential appointees) in your Department or Agency by the end of this calendar year. This plan should be submitted to me by May 15.

—Develop and put into action by May 15 a plan for significantly increasing the number of women, career and appointive, in mid-level positions (GS–13 to 15). This plan should directly involve your top personnel official.

—Ensure that substantial numbers of the vacancies on your Advisory Boards and Committees are filled with well-qualified women.

—Designate an overall coordinator who will be held responsible for the success of this project. Please provide this name to me by May 15.

I have asked my Special Assistant, Fred Malek, to meet with each of you individually to review further the requirements of this project and to offer his assistance in locating highly qualified women candidates for top positions.

I intend to follow personally the results of this project; I look forward to your giving it the fullest degree of cooperation. It is important not only in terms of opening new opportunities for women, but also as a means of making the fullest possible

use of talents that are needed in the Nation's service.

RICHARD NIXON

NOTE: On April 22, 1971, the White House released an announcement of the appointment of Barbara H. Franklin as Staff Assistant for Executive Manpower with emphasis on recruitment of women into the Administration.

151 Remarks at the Annual Meeting of the United States Chamber of Commerce: "The Right To Be Confident." *April* 26, 1971

President Shumway and all of the delegates attending this convention of the United States Chamber of Commerce, and your guests:

After that very warm reception and applause, I should not deliver a speech at all. I am most grateful for your reception.

On this occasion, I think it is very appropriate for me to address a subject that I think will be one that is very much in your minds, not only here in Washington as you hear the various problems of government presented to you—the international affairs this morning, and yesterday some matters with regard to domestic problems—but also when you go back to your home communities. What I want to discuss, what I have chosen as a subject, goes to the heart of our system of government, our system of economics, and our place as a great nation in the world. The subject is confidence.

When we hear that word used today, it is usually in relatively narrow terms. If you read your Sunday supplements, particularly the financial supplements, you read a lot about "business confidence." You read about "consumer confidence" as reflected in the strong pickup of retail sales and the surge of the homebuilding industry, with all that means to the total economy. And you read a lot about "investor confidence" as reflected in the strongest 11-month percentage gain in the stock market in more than three decades. I hope some of you took my advice to buy stocks when I said so a year ago.

But consumer confidence and investor confidence both are vitally important; and it is good news for every American that this feeling is in the air today. But there is another kind of confidence, another kind of confidence I want to talk to you about today, that is even more important than these two with which you are so familiar. It is the confidence that comes from knowing that the character of the American people is strong, that the spirit and will of the United States is powerful, and that the free economic system that supports all we can do for ourselves and for others around the world is sound and healthy.

I was just remarking to President Shumway that just a week ago I addressed the Daughters of the American Revolution in this which is their great auditorium. And as I addressed them and as I address you today, I think back—as you must think back—to those early days of this Republic, and think of how that American dream has come into reality.

It was just a little less than 200 years ago that there were only 13 States, three million people, a poor nation, a weak nation, and yet a nation whose founders

thought of greatness. Thomas Jefferson saying we act not just "for ourselves alone, but for the whole human race"—what a presumptuous thing to say, speaking from a poor nation and a weak nation. But whether it was poor and weak in terms of economic power or military strength, it had something else: It was strong in spirit.

It was not our natural resources and not happenstance and not some invisible force of history that turned that nation of just three million people into the leader of the free world—the richest nation, yes; the most powerful nation of the free world, yes.

How did this happen? The one single element that carried us through wars and depression—and we have had both—through dissension and strife, past all the competition, was our faith in our ability—in good times, but in bad times even more importantly—to build a better life for ourselves and for our children.

Faith in the American future has never been misplaced. And I tell you it is not misplaced today. In dealing with the future of this country, if you want to be a realist you have to be an optimist. Two centuries of struggle have earned us a right that is not in our Constitution, but a right that permeates our national life: the right to be confident in our own ability to shape the future, the future of America, and even to affect the future of the world.

Today, as in other periods in our past, that right of confidence—confidence in ourselves, confidence in our country—is under attack. We are told that the American people have grown too weary of bearing their share of responsibility for keeping peace and supporting freedom around the world. We are told that a sense of despair is on the rise and that hope is fading. We are told that the free enterprise system, which has made possible not only our standard of living but our standard of giving should be dismantled and replaced by a system of bureaucratic controls.

This attack on our right to confidence is a real one. It gains credence because there are plenty of things wrong that need to be righted in America. We all know that much remains to be done to bring more quality to our lives, more stability to our prosperity.

But as we look at those things, let's never forget this: We shall never make the changes that are needed by throwing out our principles, throwing away our heritage, or throwing up our hands.

The only way this Nation can succeed is for the men and women who believe in its future, who are confident in themselves and in their country, to stand up and be counted for America.

Now, this is never easy to do. The men who point out what is right about America will be accused of being blind to what is wrong about America. But the confident American knows just as much about what must be changed and improved as does the fearful American. The difference is this: The confident American will go out and do something constructive about it. In that spirit, let me suggest today a few of the things I believe you have, that we have, a right to be confident about.

First, you have a right to be confident that this Nation will reject the counsel of the new isolationists. We are ending our involvement in the war in Southeast Asia—ending it in a way that will permit us to stay involved in building a full generation of peace throughout the world.

Just 2 years ago, when I addressed the

Chamber of Commerce—not in this hall, but in another room here in this building—you will recall that there were approximately 540,000 Americans in Vietnam. By December 1, we will have reduced our troop levels by 365,000 men. The casualties have been cut until now they are one-fifth of what they were just 2 years ago. We have some way to go. Our goal is a total withdrawal of all American forces in Vietnam in a way that will assure the return of our prisoners of war and will give the South Vietnamese a chance to prevent a Communist takeover. You can be confident that we have a policy that will achieve that goal. And by achieving that goal in that way, we will have a chance to build what we all want: a lasting peace, something we have not enjoyed in this country in this century, a full generation of peace.

Second, you, and everyone else in this world, have a right to be confident that the United States will use its strength only to build peace with freedom, never to destroy it in the world.

Now I know that you hear, as I hear, and you read of what is wrong with American foreign policy—and we do make our mistakes, and we have made them in the past. But I have talked to the leaders of most of the nations of the world, the leaders of over 70 countries. And in that period of time, in talking to leaders of Communist countries as well as non-Communist countries, peoples with different systems of government, peoples with which we had differences, I have found this single significant fact always standing out: There is not a leader in the world today of any country who believes that the United States will ever use its power to destroy freedom; that will ever use its power to break the peace. And why do they believe that? Because looking at this century, in World War I, World War II, in Korea, and in the terribly difficult war in Vietnam, the United States has come to the aid of those who were trying to defend themselves against aggression. And based on that record, the peoples of the world know that we stand for peace, that we stand for freedom. We can be proud that we have that kind of a foreign policy, and we can be proud that peoples throughout the world, at least the leaders of the other nations, are keenly aware of that.

And, third, you can be confident that America's economy will continue its vigorous expansion without bringing on a new round of inflation. I say this because the facts show—and I want to give you the facts—that we are winning the fight against rising prices. It is a hard fight because once the inflationary forces have been allowed to stay in for a number of years, it is harder to get them reduced.

In 1969, inflation was roaring along at a rate higher than 6 percent a year. In 1970, we managed to reverse that trend and prices rose 5½ percent. But in the first quarter of this year, prices rose at the annual rate of 2.7 percent. That is the lowest rise in 4 years. We have cut the rate of inflation in half, but the battle is still there to be fought. The figures ahead, month by month, will have their ups and downs. But the worst of inflation is behind us, and I am determined to see to it, with your help and with the help of others, that it stays behind us.

We are on our way to a period of solid, sustainable expansion, the kind of expansion the Nation needs to provide new jobs for workingmen, new opportunities for businessmen. To keep that expansion from driving up prices we must not slip

back into the bad habits of the past. For one thing, government must keep its house in order with a budget that does not exceed full employment revenues. For another, labor and management must keep their houses in order with wage increases based primarily on increases in productivity and price increases kept to the absolute minimum.

We saw what happened in 1966, 1967, 1968, 1969. It seemed that everything was going up, that everybody was doing better. But when productivity increases in that period—and all of those years were abnormally low—prices went up, but the worker got little real benefit from his wage increases. But in the past year, the increase in productivity made a comeback, and this year the increase will be stronger still, based particularly on the very good first quarter figures.

Steadily rising productivity is one of the secrets to the success of the American system, and there is nothing more important for labor and management to do for themselves and for their country than to keep raising productivity.

Because there are times when economic freedom must be protected from its own excesses, I intend to continue to use the power of my office to persuade business and labor to act responsibly in making further progress against inflation, because fighting inflation is not just government's business—it is everybody's business.

And that brings me to a fourth point you can be confident about. You can be sure that the road to full employment with price stability and without war, the new prosperity, the new prosperity that we want, will be the road of free markets, free competition, free bargaining, and free men.

I will always be amazed at those who cry repression of freedom at the drop of a hat, but who in the next breath advocate total repression of the economic freedom of businessmen and workingmen. I have been to countries whose leaders thought they could legislate economic growth. They drew up their plans, they passed the laws, they pushed the button, and nothing happened. They discovered in time that no law that they passed could repeal the law of supply and demand, and no social motive, no matter how high-sounding, could replace the impetus of the profit motive.

Everyone in this audience today has heard some young person, perhaps even his own son, say something like this: "I don't want to go into business. That 9-to-5 rat race is not for me. I want to do something to help people."

Let's look at America over the past 2 years. The Congress of the United States, acting on the recommendations of this Administration, was able to enact legislation to deal with the problem of poverty in this country, and the number of people receiving help through food stamps was raised from three million to nine million.

Look at what we have done abroad. When Mrs. Nixon went to Peru, a country that had been antagonistic to us in its foreign policy, when they had a terrible, devastating earthquake, she was able not only to present to them a check from the Government in terms of millions of dollars, but checks from private donors also in terms of millions of dollars to help these people in distress, because even though we disagreed with their government, we shared the compassion and concern for people in distress. And then in Romania, a Communist country with which we have very significant differences in foreign policy—a devastating flood. The Govern-

ment of the United States sent millions of dollars to help those who were suffering from the flood.

"I want to do something to help people."

Let's look at the facts. Here is the simple truth: There is no government agency and no philanthropy, no foundation, no voluntary organization that has done as much to help people as the private enterprise system of the United States of America.

Now it doesn't get the credit, of course. There is no message stamped on every welfare check that reads, "This comes to you from the taxes raised from the private enterprise system." Because a government is the distributor of wealth, many recipients make the mistake of thinking that government is the producer of wealth, and nothing could be further from the truth.

What we need today is to take a lot more pride in the system that makes it possible for us to be the most generous and the most compassionate nation, not only to our own people but to other people on the face of the world.

The system that has delivered more self-respect to more human beings than any other system devised by man deserves to be treated with more respect itself. And that is why I have throughout my public life—and I shall continue to do all that I can in my present office to preserve the economic freedom that built this Nation, because that economic freedom enables us to do good things. That is what we must remember.

And finally today, I want to tell this great organization and all of your millions of members out across, through the main streets of America, you can be confident of this: The dignity of work, which is so much a part of the character of the American people, is not about to be replaced by the indignity of welfare in the United States.

As I told President Shumway before we came in, I realize some differences of opinion have been expressed by the Chamber with regard to the welfare reform proposal that I have submitted to the Congress. But just so you understand what the principles are that underlie that proposal, what I am trying to accomplish through its adoption, let me set forth those principles, what I believe we should try to achieve in our government programs.

First, I believe that human welfare is too important to be left to the Welfare Staters. This is a nation with a conscience—I believe that; you all believe it—and that conscience demands that we see to it that the handicapped, the dependent, those in need, those who cannot help themselves, are given what they need as generously as possible to lead lives of decency and self-respect.

Because I believe in human dignity, I am fighting for a total overhaul of the demeaning welfare system, to provide a floor of income under every dependent family with children in the United States.

And for that very same reason—because I believe in human dignity—I am against a guaranteed annual wage. I am against any scheme that makes it more profitable for an able-bodied person not to work than to work.

You do no favor to a person when you help him when he could help himself, because you deny him the opportunity to develop the capacity to help himself. When you make it possible for able-bodied men and women to get welfare, you make it impossible for those people to get ahead in life. If we were to underwrite every-

body's income, we would be undermining everybody's character.

Of course, a guaranteed annual income for everybody, regardless of whether an individual works or is willing to work or not—that sounds like Utopia. But look around the world. In those societies where they say everything is free, there is no freedom.

The goal of the American system is not to guarantee everybody a living; it is to guarantee everybody an opportunity, a fair chance, to be rewarded for his work.

The American people will not be denied that goal by those who could work or who could take training, but who prefer to take it easy. This is wrong. It is bad for them, bad for the country, and it is especially bad for those who really do need help. The able-bodied people who think they can take a free ride are just going to have to get out and push with the rest of us.

No job is a menial job if it opens the door to a lifetime of work and the development of self-reliance. In fact, the most menial job I can think of is the one held by the able-bodied person who makes a career out of living off of the hard-earned dollars of his neighbors.

So I say you can be confident that certain American values are not going to change. One of those values is compassion, compassion for the dependent, for those who cannot care for themselves. Another of those values is the dignity of work. The person who takes pride in working, no matter what work he or she may be doing, is one of the people who make America a proud nation. No government can give character to its people, but people can give a government its character.

There are many visitors in Washington in this spring season, and particularly from the high schools and colleges of the Nation. And in my capacity as President, I welcome many of them when they come on tours of the White House.

I particularly recall one group, a group that I referred to when I addressed the Governors Conference last week. It was a group from a high school from what was described by Senator John Tower of Texas as the poorest county in Texas—Rio Grande High School.

I recall these 30 students standing in the Rose Garden of the White House, and I found how they got there. This county was poor in property, but its people were not poor in spirit, because a year ago, two—one a boy and one a girl—members of the junior class decided they wanted to go to Washington. They didn't go around and ask the merchants to pony up the money to send them to Washington. They didn't ask a foundation to do it. They didn't ask the school board to provide it, but they decided to work for it. And they did any kind of a job—they washed cars, they mowed lawns, they did babysitting. As a matter of fact, they had a little free enterprise. They made tamales, those little Texas tamales, and sold them for 75 cents a dozen. I don't know how much they made in profit, but that is pretty good.

But in the end there they stood, most of them Mexican-Americans from the poorest county in Texas. But as they stood there in that Rose Garden they had earned their way, and the pride and the dignity of those young people gave me a lot of faith in America. This is a good and great and strong country when you have young people like that in America.

As I address this 59th Conference of the Chamber of Commerce, we naturally

conclude in thinking of the perspective of history, where we are, where we have been. And we all recognize that America today, not because we sought it and not because we want it—because I think most Americans would prefer not to play this kind of role in the world—that America is now not only the richest but the strongest nation in the free world. Also, even though we would like to turn away from that responsibility, we know deep down that what we do in this country, either by example or by our leadership in the world, will determine not only the future of America but the future of peace and freedom in the last quarter of this century.

So, the question comes to each of us that we must answer: Is America going to be able to meet this challenge; are we going to be the great country, the great people, that we must be if we are to meet this challenge that is presented to us, if we are to accept this burden that history has placed upon us?

These are my thoughts on that subject: A people become great and a nation remains great when it seeks to do great things. When we think of America, when we think of all the criticisms of our system, of our foreign policy, let's look at what America does in terms of seeking great things.

To build a generation of peace—that is our goal and we are working on it not only in the way that we are ending the war in Vietnam but in our other foreign policy initiatives. To build a generation of peace—that is a great thing.

To lift the yoke of poverty and drudgery from human beings is a great thing, and we are doing that in America.

To preserve freedom, including the economic freedom that we tend to take for granted—that is a great thing.

And to explore the unknown no matter where it may lead, that, too, is a great thing, because, remember, whenever a people turn away from the challenge of exploring the unknown, that people will soon cease to be great.

We do not do these great things because we want to remain a great nation. We remain a great nation because we want to do these great things. We will succeed only if we cherish our right to be confident in our ability to shape the future.

And that is where each of you comes in. Greatness is not a size; it is a quality. The greatness of a nation can only reflect the quality of conscience and the quality of confidence in the people of that nation.

Let us never lose the quality of greatness that has made us today better than we were yesterday, and let us always hold fast to the quality of confidence that will help us to make tomorrow better than today.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:10 a.m. in Constitution Hall.

An advance text of the President's remarks was released on the same day.

152 Statement on Transmitting to the Congress Proposals To Establish New National Wilderness Areas. *April* 28, 1971

THE FIRST man created on earth, according to the ancient Scriptures, was placed by his Creator in a huge natural garden and charged "to dress it and to keep it." In the ages since, men have worked energetically at dressing and im-

proving God's good earth—but their efforts at keeping and preserving it have been scant. Now, all around the world, people are awakening to the urgent need of protecting the fragile life-balance and of setting aside for the future such wildness and natural beauty as still remains to us.

The preservation of wilderness is not, like the control of environmental pollution in its many dangerous forms, an imperative for human survival. All the same, wilderness is a precious and irreplaceable resource of human society. Its beauty and solitude are wellsprings of refreshment for the spirit of man; its grandeur and balance teach us our place in the harmony of the universe; and without it we would all be poorer—however well provided with the material essentials of life.

Keeping, as well as dressing, the land is an especially important responsibility for us as Americans, for our country was in time past especially endowed with wilderness. As the great American naturalist John Muir saw it, "The whole continent was a garden, and from the beginning it seemed to be favored above all the other wild parks and gardens of the globe."

In 1872, with the establishment of Yellowstone National Park, this Nation embarked on a systematic effort to preserve our greatest natural treasures. Other parks and forest preserves followed, and by 1901 Muir could write with a measure of satisfaction, "When, like a merchant taking a list of his goods, we take stock of our wildness, we are glad to see how much of even the most destructible kind is still unspoiled." But civilization far outpaced preservation in the first two-thirds of this century, and by the early 1960's Americans surveying the land were alarmed to find how *little* of even the most *indestructible* kind of wildness was still unspoiled. Even within the National Park System, which by then comprised hundreds of separate units, well-intentioned efforts to make the forests and mountains a little more hospitable to millions of city-bred visitors had tended to mar the natural face of the land.

In response to this accelerating trend, the Wilderness Act of 1964 was enacted. Defining wilderness as "an area where the earth and its community of life are untrammeled by man, where man himself is a visitor who does not remain . . . in contrast with those areas where man and his own works dominate. . . ." the act set aside some 9 million acres of federally owned land as the nucleus of a National Wilderness Preservation System, where primitive areas would be kept forever in their natural state. It also ordered an exhaustive 10-year review of *all* wild lands within the national forests, National Park System, and national wildlife refuges and game ranges, with a view to bringing every appropriate area into the Wilderness System.

The inventory of wildness to which John Muir had referred 63 years before thus became part of the law of the land. Since 1964 the statutory process of enlargement has increased the extent of the National Wilderness Preservation System to more than 10.1 million acres at present, with wilderness areas in 21 States from New Hampshire and Florida to Alaska and California. Thirteen more wilderness proposals totaling over a million acres are now pending before the Congress.

I am today transmitting to the Congress 14 new wilderness proposals. If approved, they would expand our Wilderness System by some 1.8 million acres, exceeding the total of all other additions since its crea-

tion. They involve parts of nine States, including four—Utah, Louisiana, Ohio, and Virginia—which now have no protected wilderness areas at all.

My new proposals would add to the National Wilderness Preservation System land in the following locations: Sequoia and Kings Canyon National Parks, and Farallon National Wildlife Refuge, California; North Cascades National Park and adjacent recreation areas, Washington; Isle Royale National Park, Michigan; Shenandoah National Park, Virginia; Chamisso National Wildlife Refuge, Simeonof National Wildlife Refuge, and Izembek National Wildlife Range and Aleutian Islands National Wildlife Refuge, Alaska; West Sister Island National Wildlife Refuge, Ohio; Breton National Wildlife Refuge, Louisiana; Florida Keys National Wildlife Refuge, Florida; and Cedar Breaks National Monument, Arches National Monument, and Capitol Reef National Monument, Utah. I am also recommending an amendment to the wilderness proposal for the Okefenokee National Wildlife Refuge in Georgia, first submitted to the 90th Congress, so that it would take in 347,000 acres rather than the 319,000 acres originally proposed.

I urge the Congress to act quickly in favor of these new proposals as well as the ones already pending before it. We owe it both to ourselves and to future generations to safeguard as much of primitive America as we can—and time is not on our side.

The protection of wilderness is unusual among public projects in that it costs the taxpayer practically nothing. No government purchase of land is involved, only additional discipline in the use of land already owned. Administrative and management expense is tiny, for man enters these preserves only as nature's guest. He leaves his mechanized transportation behind, and while in the wilderness he builds nothing and extracts nothing.

Of course there are often attractive commercial opportunities in potential wilderness areas: mining, lumbering, recreational development, and others. Wilderness protection, putting these opportunities out of reach, may impose a sort of hidden wilderness tax in marginally higher costs of the goods and services of certain affected industries. That is why the Wilderness Act provides for full public hearings and a careful evaluative process. It recognizes that a sensible land use balance must be struck—that America continues to value development and growth as well as unspoiled nature.

But whatever the extent of the costs and sacrifices incurred when we do set aside appropriate wilderness areas, if they are weighed in the balance against the value of our dwindling virgin lands—priceless, finite, and fragile—it is clear that wilderness is a spectacular bargain for the American people.

Creation of a comprehensive, continent-wide Wilderness Preservation System is a major goal within the drive for environmental protection and quality of life to which we are dedicated. By establishing the new wilderness areas I am proposing today, we could take a long step toward that goal. Of course, this step and the many others that will logically follow—for nearly 53 million acres of potential Federal wilderness remain for review and study—will call for teamwork. The Interior and Agriculture Department officials who manage the Federal lands, the Congress which makes the Nation's laws, and the public which stands to bene-

fit far more than it sacrifices—all will have to work together in the best interests of the American people and the American land. But we can do it.

Those habits of mind we will need—the self-restraint that marks a mature society, the foresight of consequences that alone can insure survival in this interdependent world, the becoming humility that accords nature's domain an equal right to coexist with the domain of man—can serve us well, and not in wilderness preservation alone. They can—indeed they must—inform all our endeavors during the "earth era" now dawning.

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released a fact sheet and the transcript of a news briefing on the wilderness preservation proposals by Rogers C. B. Morton, Secretary, George B. Hartzog, Jr., Director, National Park Service, and F. Victor Schmidt, Acting Assistant Director of Operations, Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife, Department of the Interior.

153 Letter to the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House Transmitting Proposals To Establish New National Wilderness Areas. *April* 28, 1971

THE Wilderness Act of September 3, 1964, declared it to be the policy of the Congress to secure for the American people of present and future generations the benefits of an enduring resource of wilderness, and for that purpose the act established a National Wilderness Preservation System.

In my special message on the environment of February 8, 1971, I stressed the importance of wilderness areas as part of a comprehensive open space system. In these unspoiled lands, contemporary man can encounter the character and beauty of primitive America—and learn, through the encounter, the vital lesson of human interdependence with the natural environment.

Today, I am pleased to transmit fourteen proposals which would add to the National Wilderness System vast areas where nature still predominates. These areas are briefly described below.

(1) Simeonof National Wildlife Refuge, Alaska—25,140 acres of a unique wildlife environment: the biologically productive lands and waters of Simeonof Island off the coast of Alaska.

(2) North Cascades National Park, Washington—515,880 acres in two areas in North Cascades Park and Ross Lake and Lake Chelan National Recreation Areas. This nearly impenetrable wilderness includes rugged alpine mountains whose glaciers feed lakes and streams in the virgin forests below.

(3) Isle Royale National Park, Michigan—120,588 acres of island wilderness in Lake Superior. Isle Royale is one of the few remaining areas where the North American timberwolf can be found along with other relatively rare species including the moose, beaver, mink and lynx.

(4) Sequoia and Kings Canyon National Parks, California—721,970 acres. With its abundant wildlife and groves of giant sequoia trees this area of the Sierra Nevada Mountains is an important site for scientific research concerning natural areas.

(5) Shenandoah National Park, Virginia—73,280 acres. The scenic grandeur of the Shenandoah's Blue Ridge is well known. This area is one of the few remaining examples of the vast mountain wildernesses that long ago stood as an obstacle before pioneers pushing westward.

(6) Breton National Wildlife Refuge, Louisiana—4,420 acres. The Chandeleur and Breton Islands of the northern Gulf of Mexico, which comprise this wilderness, are an important habitat for nesting shore birds, sea turtles and wintering waterfowl.

(7) Florida Keys National Wildlife Refuge—4,740 acres. Tropical vegetation, rare bird species, and Key deer native to this area are unique within the United States.

(8) West Sister National Wildlife Refuge, Ohio—85 acres. Located just nine miles east of Toledo, this island refuge serves as an important nesting area for egrets, herons, swallows, warblers and a host of other birds. The refuge is an exceptionally primitive landscape compared to the intensive land uses found along most of the Lake Erie shore.

(9) Chamisso National Wildlife Refuge, Alaska—455 acres. Located in Kotzebue Sound, this island group contains the largest marine bird nesting colony in northwestern Alaska. During annual migrations, the birds raised in this refuge contribute significantly to the abundance and variety of bird life along the coasts of Alaska, Washington, Oregon and California.

(10) Farallon National Wildlife Refuge, California—141 acres. These islands comprise an important sea bird rookery, hosting some 150,000 to 200,000 birds each summer—including the largest colony complex of cormorants in California. Sea lions also inhabit the area.

(11) Izembek National Wildlife Range and Aleutian Islands National Wildlife Refuge, Alaska—301,451 acres. The tremendous natural biological productivity of this area supports a diverse array of wildlife; it is best known for its use by millions of waterbirds, its unique mammalian fauna and its outstanding salmon spawning waters.

(12) Cedar Breaks National Monument, Utah—4,370 acres. Situated on the high Markagunt Plateau of southern Utah, this monument includes a gigantic eroded natural amphitheater whose steep walls time has carved into fantastic shapes of many colors. Subalpine meadows and forests also add to the beauty of the area.

(13) Capitol Reef National Monument, Utah—23,054 acres. This monument provides a striking example of the Waterspocket Fold, a great doubling up of the earth's crust. Its spectacular features include a great cliff of brilliantly colored rock layers and dome-like peaks of gray and white sandstone.

(14) Arches National Monument, Utah—15,703 acres. Carved from the Jurassic sandstones of the Colorado Plateau, the monument exhibits many notable examples of towers, fins, and deep canyons, and 89 natural rock arches.

In addition to these new proposals, I will also recommend an expansion of the still unenacted Okefenokee National Wildlife Refuge wilderness proposal from 319,000 acres to approximately 347,000 acres. This vast swampland, located in Georgia, was originally proposed to the 90th Congress. Its designation as a wilderness area would augur well for the continued existence of the nearly 400 species

of birds, mammals, reptiles, amphibians, and fish that frequent this valuable ecosystem.

In reviewing roadless areas of 5,000 acres or more, the Secretary of the Interior has concluded that two areas which he reviewed are not suitable for preservation as part of the National Wilderness Preservation System. These are Chaco Canyon National Monument, New Mexico and Laguna Atascosa, Texas.

Enclosed are a letter and a report from the Secretary in support of these two negative recommendations as well as of the fourteen new wilderness proposals. I concur with the recommendation of the Secretary of the Interior on these sixteen areas.

I urge the Congress to give early and favorable consideration to this package of significant conservation proposals.

Sincerely,

RICHARD NIXON

NOTE: This is the text of identical letters addressed to the Honorable Spiro T. Agnew, President of the Senate, and the Honorable Carl Albert, Speaker of the House of Representatives.

The national wilderness areas proposals were introduced as H.R. 8626 and S. 2453.

154 The President's News Conference of *April* 29, 1971

THE PRESIDENT. Would you be seated, please.

QUESTIONS

EFFECT OF DISSENT ON INDOCHINA POLICY

[1.] I think Miss Thomas [Helen Thomas, United Press International] has the first question tonight.

Q. Mr. President, have the antiwar demonstrations or the growing Congressional demand for a withdrawal deadline from Vietnam or Madame Binh's [1] latest statements in Paris influenced in any way your Indochina policy?

THE PRESIDENT. Miss Thomas, I stated the Indochina policy at considerable length on April 7, as you will recall, and I have considered all of the demonstrations. I have considered also the arguments that have been made by others after that statement, and I believe that the position that I took then is the correct one.

I would not want to leave the impression that those who came to demonstrate were not listened to. It is rather hard not to hear them, as a matter of fact. I would say, however, that demonstrators have come to Washington previously about the war. They came now. I was glad to note that in this case most of the demonstrators were peaceful. They indicated they wanted the war to end now, that they wanted peace. That, of course, is what I want. It is what everybody in this room wants. It is what everybody in this Nation wants.

I realize, as a matter of fact, that in this room there are many reporters who disagree with my policy to bring the war to an end in the way that I believe it should be ended, and who probably agree with the views of the demonstrators. I respect

[1] Nguyen Thi Binh, head of the National Liberation Front delegation to the Paris peace talks on Vietnam.

you and them and others who disagree with my policies. But as I looked at those demonstrators on television—and I saw so many who were teenagers—this is the thought that passed through my mind: My responsibility is to bring peace, but not just peace in our time, but peace in their time. I want peace not just for us, but peace for our children, their children.

I am convinced that if we were to do what they were advocating, a precipitate withdrawal before the South Vietnamese had a chance to prevent a Communist takeover, that that would lead to a very dangerous situation in the Pacific and would increase the dangers of war in the future.

On the other hand, I believe that if we continue on the path that I have set forth, one in which we are withdrawing our forces, in which we will be down to 184,000 by December 1—and I will make another announcement on October [November] 15—I believe that on that path we will end the war, we will bring a peace in Vietnam which will contribute to peace not just in our time but in their time.

I think they will judge me very harshly for the position that I take now. But I think what is important is how they judge the consequences of the decisions that I make now, which I think are in their best interests and in the best interests of our children.

CHINA POLICY

[2.] Mr. Cormier [Frank Cormier, Associated Press].

Q. Mr. President, the commission on the United Nations that you appointed, headed by your 1960 vice presidential running mate,[2] has come out rather strongly for a two-China policy. The last time we saw you, you weren't prepared to talk about that. I wonder if tonight you could say how you feel about those proposals?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, Mr. Cormier, that recommendation by that very distinguished committee, of course, is being given consideration in the high councils of this Government, and I am, of course, considering it along with recommendations which move in the other direction.

I think, however, that your question requires that I put, perhaps, in perspective much of this discussion about our new China policy. I think that some of the speculation that has occurred in recent weeks since the visit of the table tennis team to Peking has not been useful.

I want to set forth exactly what it is and what it is not.

First, as I stated at, I think, one of my first press conferences in this room, the long-range goal of this Administration is a normalization of our relationships with Mainland China, the People's Republic of China, and the ending of its isolation from the other nations of the world. That is a long-range goal.

Second, we have made some progress toward that goal. We have moved in the field of travel; we have moved in the field of trade. There will be more progress made. For example, at the present time I am circulating among the departments the items which may be released as possible trade items in the future, and I will be making an announcement on that in a very few weeks.

[2] The President's Commission for the Observance of the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations, chaired by Henry Cabot Lodge.

But now when we move from the field of travel and trade to the field of recognition of the Government, to its admission to the United Nations, I am not going to discuss those matters, because it is premature to speculate about that.

We are considering all those problems. When I have an announcement to make, when a decision is made—and I have not made it yet—I will make it.

But up until that time we will consider all of the proposals that are being made. We will proceed on the path that we have been proceeding on. And that is the way to make progress. Progress is not helped in this very sensitive area by speculation that goes beyond what the progress might achieve.

I would just summarize it this way: What we have done has broken the ice; now we have to test the water to see how deep it is.

I would finally suggest that—I know this question may come up if I don't answer it now—I hope, and, as a matter of fact, I expect to visit Mainland China sometime in some capacity—I don't know what capacity. But that indicates what I hope for the long term. And I hope to contribute to a policy in which we can have a new relationship with Mainland China.

THE VICE PRESIDENT'S VIEWS ON POLICY

[3.] Mr. Healy [Paul F. Healy, New York Daily News].

Q. Mr. President, following up on that, your Vice President recently held an off-the-record, midnight session with selected newsmen in which he reportedly differed with your policy on China.

Now, you have said in the past that there are always those who are trying to drive a wedge between the President and the Vice President. So do you think in this case he qualifies as a wedge driver?

THE PRESIDENT. I think it is very hard for the Vice President to be off the record. And as far as this particular conference was concerned, the Vice President, in his usual very candid way, expressed some views with regard to our policy that he had expressed previously in meetings that we had in which he participates, the National Security Council and other forums.

However, now that the decision has been made with regard to what our policy is, the Vice President supports that decision. He has so stated since he was quoted on his off-the-record conference, and I think you will find the Vice President in all areas where he may disagree—as he should disagree when he has strong convictions—with policies, once a decision is made will publicly support those policies.

I expect him to and he always has.

RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE VIETNAM WAR

[4.] Q. Mr. President, sir, I wonder, since you have always said that you inherited this war, I wonder what you would think about naming a court of inquiry to look in to see just exactly who got us into this war.

THE PRESIDENT. When I say I inherited this war, I want to point out that I am actually quoting what others say. I am not going to cast the blame for the war in Vietnam on either of my predecessors.

The first 16,000 combat men, we know, went there in 1963.[3] The murder of Diem, the opening of the Ho Chi Minh Trail, as a result of the settlement of Laos that

[3] In 1963 there were some 16,000 American advisers and helicopter support units in Vietnam.

occurred in 1962. President Johnson was President when more men went in later. But both President Johnson and President Kennedy, I am sure, were making decisions that they thought were necessary for the security of the United States.

All that I am saying now is this: We are in this war, and the way the United States ends this war is going to determine to a great extent whether we are going to avoid this kind of involvement in the future.

If we end it in a way that encourages those who engage in aggression to try it again, we will have more wars like this. But, if we end it in a way that I have laid out, one that will end it in a way that the South Vietnamese will have a chance to defend themselves and to choose the kind of government they want in a free election, then we will have a chance to have peace in their time that I referred to a moment ago.

PRISONERS OF WAR AND TROOP WITHDRAWALS

[5.] Q. Mr. President, the United States position has been that North Vietnam has not genuinely offered the release of American prisoners, but rather only to discuss the release of American prisoners.

My question is: Does your rejection of setting a deadline for the withdrawal of American troops include the possibility that North Vietnam might in the future offer the actual release of American prisoners rather than simply the discussion of that question?

THE PRESIDENT. You very well have put the problem that we always are confronted with. You may recall very well that when President Johnson ordered the bombing halt it was with the assumption that the North Vietnamese would negotiate seriously on ending the war.

They didn't do it. So a promise to discuss means nothing from the North Vietnamese. What we need is far more than that. We need action on their part and a commitment on their part with regard to the prisoners.

Consequently, as far as any action on our part of ending American involvement completely—and that means a total withdrawal—is concerned, that will have to be delayed until we get not just the promise to discuss the release of our prisoners but a commitment to release our prisoners, because a discussion promise means nothing where the North Vietnamese are concerned.

Q. Your rejection is not a categorical rejection of setting a deadline for the withdrawal of American troops?

THE PRESIDENT. We have set forth, both in my speech of October 7 and then on April 7, a complete American proposal for negotiation. I am not going in a press conference to depart from those proposals.

Those proposals include a cease-fire; they include an exchange of prisoners; they included, as you know, a mutual withdrawal of forces and an Indochina peace conference.

Today in Paris, as you may note, we, along with the South Vietnamese, offered to repatriate—as a matter of fact, we are going unilaterally to repatriate, without regard to what the North Vietnamese do, 540 [570] North Vietnamese sick and wounded.

And, in addition to that, we offered to send to a neutral country 1,600 [1,200] North Vietnamese prisoners who have been prisoners for 4 years or longer. We trust that the North Vietnamese will respond.

We also offered, as you know, to have inspection of our camps, not just by the International Red Cross but by a third country or any other international organization.

Ambassador Bruce puts the prisoner question by my direct orders at the highest priority. He is directed to discuss it separately, to discuss it with other issues, or discuss it as part of an overall settlement. We are ready to settle it whenever they are ready to talk about it. And I will say finally, that under no circumstances will our withdrawal programs abandon our POW's. We will be there as long as they have any prisoners in North Vietnam.

THE CALLEY CASE

[6.] Mr. Jarriel [Tom Jarriel, ABC News].

Q. Mr. President, you have said that you intervened in the Calley case in the national interest. I wonder if you could define for us in greater detail how you feel the court-martial verdict endangered the national interest and how you feel it was served by your intervention in the case?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, Mr. Jarriel, to comment upon the Calley case, on its merits, at a time when it is up for appeal would not be a proper thing for me to do, because, as you also know, I have indicated that I would review the case at an appropriate time in my capacity as the final reviewing officer.

In my view, my intervention in the Calley case was proper for two reasons: One, because I felt that Captain [Lieutenant] Calley should not be sent to Leavenworth Prison while waiting for the months and maybe a year or so that appeal would take. I thought that he should be confined to quarters. I think that was proper to do in view of the fact that under civil cases where we have criminal cases, we grant the right of bail to people that are charged with crimes.

Second, I felt that it was proper for me to indicate that I would review the case, because there was great concern expressed throughout the country as to whether or not this was a case involving, as it did, so many complex factors, in which Captain [Lieutenant] Calley was going to get a fair trial.

I believe that the system of military justice is a fair system. But as part of that system is the right of the President to review, I am exercising that right. And I think that reassured the country and that is one of the reasons that the country has cooled down on this case. I will review it.

COURT DECISION ON BUSING

[7.] Q. Mr. President, you have often said that in the area of civil rights that the law should be applied equally in the North and in the South. Ten days ago the Supreme Court approved the mandatory use of busing to overcome racial segregation. Do you endorse that decision, and do you believe that busing should be used as a technique to overcome racial segregation based on housing patterns in the North?

THE PRESIDENT. This problem involves some very technical legal distinctions. I will not go into them in detail.

I will, however, say this: I expressed views with regard to my opposition to busing for the purpose of achieving racial balance and in support of the neighborhood school in my statement of March of last year. I stated those views at that

time with the preface that this was an area that the Supreme Court had not yet spoken on and that it was my responsibility, therefore, to speak on it and to give guidance to our executive agencies.

Now that the Supreme Court has spoken on that issue, whatever I have said that is inconsistent with the Supreme Court's decision is now moot and irrelevant, because everybody in this country, including the President of the United States, is under the law; or, putting it another way, nobody, including the President of the United States, is above the law as it is finally determined by the Supreme Court of the United States.

Now, what is the law in this instance? The law is that where we have segregation in schools as a result of governmental action—in other words, *de jure*—that then busing can be used under certain circumstances to deal with that problem. And so we will comply with that situation, and we will work with the Southern school districts, not in a spirit of coercion, but one of cooperation as we have during the past year in which so much progress has been made in getting rid of that kind of a system that we have had previously.

Second, however, the Court explicitly by dictums did not deal with the problem of *de facto* segregation as it exists in the North and perhaps as it may eventually exist in the South. That matter the Court still has not decided on explicitly. It will probably have that opportunity, because I noted a California case a couple of days ago from San Francisco which said that busing would be required to deal with segregation which was a result, not of what a governmental body did, but as a result of housing patterns coming from individual decisions.

Now, until the Court does move in that field, I still will hold to my original positions of March: That I do not believe that busing to achieve racial balance is in the interests of better education. Where it is *de jure,* we comply with the Court; where it is *de facto,* until the Court speaks, that still remains my view.

FURTHER INVOLVEMENT OF U.S. FORCES

[8.] Q. Mr. President, in terms of scope, is it possible that U.S. forces might again be involved in Laotian- or Cambodian-type operations and, if so, under what conditions?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, it is quite obvious, and you put your finger on it with the assumption of your question that with the number of forces that we now have in Vietnam, the possibility of any further actions like Cambodia of last year, or even actions like Laos in this year, is quite remote. When we get down to 184,000 by the end of the year, it will be completely remote, I would say.

At this time, we see no need for any further actions. I should point out as one indication of some effectiveness of previous actions, that the casualties which our television viewers heard on their television programs tonight, and they will see in their morning newspapers, were half of what they were this same week last year, a fourth of what they were this same week 2 years ago, and a seventh of what they were in this same week of 1968. So, progress is being made.

As a result of Laos, as a result of Cambodia, the war is winding down. The Americans are coming home and we will achieve our goal of a total withdrawal. But that goal will be achieved only when we also get our prisoners of war back, and when the South Vietnamese develop the

71-234—72——41

capability to have a chance to defend themselves against a Communist takeover.

TROOP WITHDRAWAL DATE

[9.] Mr. Theis [J. William Theis, Hearst Newspapers and Hearst Headline Service].

Q. Against that background, Mr. President, would you consider setting a troop withdrawal date so far in advance that it might be considered safe from our standpoint, such as the end of 1972?

THE PRESIDENT. I see no gain from our standpoint to set a troop withdrawal date by the end of 1972 or the end of 1973 or the middle of 1972, when we get nothing for it.

Once you set a date—in other words, when we say in effect to the enemy, "We quit, regardless of what you do," then we destroy any incentive the enemy might have to negotiate. And there is still some incentive. It gets less as months go on, and as our presence becomes less. And we destroy, of course, also our bargaining position with regard to POW's.

Even more important, once we set a date we give the enemy the information that the enemy needs to launch attacks on our rapidly diminishing forces at their greatest point of vulnerability.

Therefore, the setting of a date is not something that is in our interest. It is only in the enemy's interest.

What I will do is simply to say what I have said previously—and I have kept my word throughout on this—we are withdrawing from Vietnam. Our goal is a total withdrawal. We do not plan to have a permanent residual force such as we have practically in Korea at the present time. But I am not going to set a date, because I believe that setting a date is not in our interests.

CONDITIONS FOR A RESIDUAL FORCE

[10.] Mr. Lisagor [Peter Lisagor, Chicago Daily News].

Q. Mr. President, may I ask a follow question on the conditions for the residual force? You have stated that it will be there until we get our prisoners released. You have also stated that it will be there until the South Vietnamese have at least a reasonable chance to defend themselves. Are both of these conditions for the residual force, one of them or the other? Could you clarify that for us?

THE PRESIDENT. The residual force, I think, first, Mr. Lisagor, with regard to the POW's, will be indefinite. In other words, if the North Vietnamese are so barbaric that they continue to hold our POW's, regardless of what we do with regard to withdrawal, then we are going to keep a residual force no matter how long it takes.

Second, however, with regard to the ability of the South Vietnamese to defend themselves is concerned, we have a very good idea when that will occur. And as soon as that eventuality occurs, we will be able to move on that.

So, I think I am answering your question by saying, in effect, that the two are separable. One will occur before the other, unless the North Vietnamese do move on the POW's.

WAR POWERS OF THE PRESIDENT

[11.] Q. Mr. President, the demonstrators last week focused on Capitol Hill, on Congress, rather than the White House.

Congress is, or probably will be, considering either cutting off funds for fighting in Vietnam, or war powers of the President, limiting the war powers. If you were in the Senate now, how would you vote on those two things?

THE PRESIDENT. I guess it would depend on who was President. [*Laughter*] Seriously, I understand the concern of the Senate on this, and I have talked, for example, with Senator Mansfield, for whom I have enormous respect and who disagrees with me on our plans in Vietnam—not in all respects, but believes we should move more quickly. But I believe that limiting the President's war powers, whoever is President of the United States, would be a very great mistake.

We live in times when situations can change so fast internationally that to wait until the Senate acts before a President can act might be that we acted too late.

As far as the Senate is concerned, however, I would like also to correct another impression. I think some of the people on television may have gotten the impression, when they saw some of the demonstrations down at the Senate—and Barry Goldwater's door had red paint on it, I understand, and his office door was locked—that Washington is somewhat in a state of siege.

Well, let me just make one thing very clear: The Congress is not intimidated; the President is not intimidated. This Government is going to go forward.

It doesn't mean that we are not going to listen to those who come peacefully, but those who come and break the law will be prosecuted to the full extent of the law.

In the meantime, however, I, as President, have my obligation to consider what they say and all of the other things that I know, and then to make the decision that I think will be in their best interests, as well as the best interests of other people in this country.

LT. JONATHAN ROSE

[12.] Q. Sir, according to published reports, Army Lieutenant Jonathan Rose, who is the son of a former high Eisenhower Administration official, and a Republican Party campaign contributor, is serving on duty here in the White House at your request and has served for 2 years, rather than being assigned to active duty. Now the Pentagon will not tell us why, but I wondered whether you could tell us, sir, what his expertise is that makes him so valuable to the White House?

THE PRESIDENT. First, he is a very competent lawyer, but we have other competent lawyers—excluding, of course, the President [*laughter*]—in the White House. But the other reason, I think, in fairness to Mr. Rose—and I am sorry that such a personal thing has to be brought up, but I know he would want the record clarified—he has a physical disability, an injury to his shoulder, which disqualifies him from active combat duty.

Consequently, it was felt that the best service he could perform in a civilian capacity was in the White House. That is why he is there. And I am very glad that a man with that kind of disability—there is nothing wrong with his brain—is available in the White House as one of our best young lawyers.

LIEUTENANT CALLEY

[13.] Q. If I may follow up on a question on Lieutenant Calley. I am not a lawyer, but I inferred from what you said

that in this country men who are convicted of multiple murders get out on bail. Is that actually the case, and, if so, would you recommend that someone like Manson be out on bail as you seem to imply that Lieutenant Calley should be?

THE PRESIDENT. No. I am not going to go into the specific laws of each State, and they do vary, of course—and you, even not being a lawyer, would know that they vary according to every State. And some States are much more strict than others. Where capital crimes are concerned, there are many States that do not allow any bail at all if they feel that the individual is one who is a danger to society.

What I am simply saying is this: that the real test for granting a bail in any case is whether or not the individual concerned is considered by the judge to be one who will be a danger to society.

Now, Captain [Lieutenant] Calley, let me point out—he is not getting out on bail in the usual sense. He is confined to quarters on the base. He is, therefore, not free in the sense somebody getting out on bail is.

I am simply saying that I feel that a man who has a long process of appeal ahead of him, and who is going to be confined to quarters in any event, that this was the right thing to do under these circumstances.

CHINA NEGOTIATIONS AND THE SOVIET UNION

[14.] Q. Mr. President, the State Department has said that the legal question of the future of Taiwan and Formosa is an unsettled question. Would you favor direct negotiations between the Nationalist and the Communist governments to settle their dispute?

THE PRESIDENT. I noted speculation to the effect from various departments and various sources that the way for these two entities to settle their differences was to negotiate directly. I think that is a nice legalistic way to approach it, but I think it is completely unrealistic. I am only saying at this point that the United States is seeking to, in a very measured way, while maintaining our treaty commitments to Taiwan—we are seeking a more normal relationship with the People's Republic of China.

There is one other point I think it is very important to make.

There has been speculation to the effect that the purpose of our—or one purpose of our normalizing our relations or attempting to normalize our relations with Mainland China is to some way irritate the Soviet Union. Nothing could be further from the truth.

We are seeking good relations with the Soviet Union, and I am not discouraged by the SALT talk progress. I can only say that we believe that the interests of both countries would be served by an agreement there. We seek good relations with the Soviet Union; we are seeking good relations with Communist China. And the interests of world peace require good relations between the Soviet Union and Communist China. It would make no sense for the United States, in the interest of world peace, to try to get the two to get at each other's throats, because we would be embroiled in the controversy ourselves.

VISIT TO MAINLAND CHINA

[15.] Q. Mr. President, you spoke of your intention to travel to Mainland China. Is that at the invitation of Chairman Mao?

THE PRESIDENT. I am not referring to any invitation. I am referring only to a hope and an expectation that at some time in my life and in some capacity, which, of course, does not put any deadline on when I would do it, that I would hope to go to Mainland China.

JUSTICE DEPARTMENT ACTION ON VETERANS ENCAMPMENT

[16.] Mr. Horner [Garnett D. Horner, Washington Evening Star].

Q. Mr. President, would you describe for us, sir, the extent of your participation in the Justice Department's change of mind last week about banning the Vietnam veterans from camping on the Mall?

THE PRESIDENT. First, the Justice Department, Mr. Horner, brought the action in order to establish the principle that camping on the Mall was not something that was considered to be legal.

Having established that principle, there was only 36 hours left in which to remove them and thereby, of course, to engage in a confrontation which could have been, we thought, rather nasty.

Under the circumstances, it seemed to me that since in the negotiations with their lawyer, Mr. Ramsey Clark, it had been clearly indicated that they would leave on Friday night, that the decision having been made and the principle having been established, I saw no reason to go in and to arrest the veterans and to put them into jail at that time.

CHINA POLICY ALTERNATIVES

[17.] Yes, Mr. Bailey [Charles W. Bailey 2d, Minneapolis Tribune and Minneapolis Star].

Q. Sir, in your first answer on China, you said that you were considering suggestions for a two-China policy, along with suggestions that move in the other direction. Could you expound a little bit on what you mean by that?

What is the range of alternatives?

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Bailey, what I meant to convey was that both within the Administration and from sources outside the Administration, there are those who favor a two-China policy; there are those who favor universality in the United Nations; there are those who favor a one-China policy, either Mainland China or Taiwan China.

All of these are positions that are taken. I am not suggesting that they are lively options as far as I am concerned. What I am saying is that this is a very complex problem. I will make the decision after advising with the Secretary of State and my other chief advisers in this field, and when I make it, I will announce it. But I am not going to speculate on it now because I emphasize this is a very sensitive area, and too much speculation about it might destroy or seriously imperil what I think is the significant progress we have made, at least in the travel area, and possibly in

the trade area, looking to the future.

MR. CORMIER. Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: President Nixon's fifteenth news conference was held at 9 p.m. in the East Room at the White House on Thursday, April 29, 1971. It was broadcast live on radio and television.

155 Remarks on Awarding the Presidential Unit Citation to the First Marine Division at Camp Pendleton, California. *April* 30, 1971

General Chapman, Secretary Warner, all of the distinguished guests on the platform, officers and men of the First Marine Division, and my fellow Americans here in attendance, and those listening on television and radio:

This is one of the proudest moments of my service as President of the United States—to be here for this ceremony; to award this Unit Citation, the eighth Unit Citation this division has received in its long and proud history, to the First Marine Division; and to welcome home the major elements of that division from Vietnam.

As I welcome you home, I can say to you that the Nation is proud of you. I can say to you, you come home mission accomplished.

When you went to Vietnam 5 years ago, you found a country there with millions of South Vietnamese under Communist rule, and the whole country threatened by a Communist takeover.

As you return, you left a South Vietnam with the South Vietnamese now assuming the major burden of their own defense, and soon developing the capability for their complete defense without the assistance of American fighting men.

Because of your service and the service of other Americans, we can now say that Americans can continue to be withdrawn at approximately or almost at a division a month. And because of your service and the service of other Americans, we can set as our goal—and achieve the goal—of a total withdrawal of all Americans; that goal to be achieved when the South Vietnamese have developed, as they will develop, the capability of defending themselves, and when we have returned all of our prisoners of war wherever they may be in Southeast Asia.

And now to the many of these marines who are young marines, and most of you are young marines, may I refer a bit to the history of this division going clear back to World War I, when the Fifth Regiment, which later became part of the First Marine Division, served them. It is a proud and distinguished history. The names are proud in the history of the Marine Corps and they are very proud in the history of this Nation: Belleau Wood, in World War I; Guadalcanal in World War II; Inchon, in Korea; and now Vietnam.

The question that I am sure must be in your minds is: What will the verdict of history be about your service in Vietnam? Certainly in terms of personal heroism there is no question about the verdict of history. Forty-eight members of the First Marine Division were awarded the Medal of Honor. It is the most decorated Marine division of all. This is the second Unit Citation in this war.

And there are other heroes in this division—heroes who received no medals; heroes who had a kind of heroism that was not required of your grandfathers who served in World War I or your fathers who may have served in World War II—a kind of service that was special to Vietnam: building a nation, building schools and hospitals and clinics, and helping people, and contributing thousands of dollars of your own funds for helping the people of Vietnam gain what you wanted them to gain—the right to build a nation free from outside control.

So there is no question about the verdict of history so far as your heroism is concerned.

The question which really remains is whether this war is ended in a way that will achieve our goal, and that goal is a Vietnam with a chance to defend itself from a Communist takeover.

If we fail to achieve that goal, if we take the counsel of those who would have us leave Vietnam, even if it means turning over the country to the Communists, then your service and the service of thousands of other Americans, 2½ million in fact, in Vietnam, will have been a failure. But we are not going to fail. We shall succeed.

We shall succeed because of your valor. We shall succeed because of the support of the American people as they realize what the stakes are.

And as I stand here today I look back again over the history of this country. The marines and other Americans who fought in World War I thought they were fighting in a war to end wars, and then their sons fought in World War II.

The marines and other Americans who fought in World War II, after it ended and the United Nations was formed, thought that now at long last we can have an era of peace. And then their younger brothers fought in Korea, and their sons fought in Vietnam.

Now the question is: What happens after Vietnam? How do we end the war? What kind of a peace do we want? And we do want peace.

As I think of peace and as you think of peace, I think of the hundreds of schoolchildren who are here today. I think that the kind of peace we want—and this is our goal—is just not peace in our time but peace in their time.

By your service you have done your part in trying to achieve that kind of peace, and I pledge to you that in the conduct of our foreign affairs we shall bring this war to an end in a way worthy of your service and the service of other Americans—to achieve a just and a lasting peace; to achieve what Americans have never had in this century: a full generation of peace.

So proudly today, as Commander in Chief, as one who was proud to serve with you and your predecessors in World War II, I say, America welcomes you home with pride, and we will not fail you in winning the peace.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:32 p.m. on the parade grounds.

John W. Warner was Under Secretary of the Navy.

On the same day, the White House released an announcement of the awarding of the Presidential Unit Citation. The text of the citation read as follows:

By virtue of the authority vested in me as President of the United States and as Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the United States, I have today awarded

THE PRESIDENTIAL UNIT CITATION (NAVY) FOR EXTRAORDINARY HEROISM TO FIRST MARINE DIVISION (REINFORCED) FLEET MARINE FORCE

For extraordinary heroism and outstanding performance of duty in action against enemy forces in the Republic of Vietnam from 16 September 1967 to 31 October 1968. Operating primarily in Quang Nam Province, the First Marine Division (Reinforced) superbly executed its threefold mission of searching for and destroying the enemy, defending key airfields and lines of communication, and conducting a pacification and revolutionary development program unparalleled in the annals of warfare. With the Division responsible for over 1,000 square miles of territory, it extended protection and pacification to more than one million Vietnamese. The countless examples of courage, resourcefulness, and dedication demonstrated by the officers and men of the First Marine Division attest to their professionalism and esprit de corps. Their combat activities were skillfully carried out in the face of adverse weather and difficult terrain such as canopied jungles, rugged mountains, swampy lowlands, and hot, sandy beaches. During the enemy Tet-offensive in late January of 1968, the First Marine Division dealt a devastating blow to enemy forces attempting to attack Danang. Again, in May 1968, the Division totally crushed an enemy drive directed against the Danang area through the Go Noi Island region southwest of Danang. The Division achieved this resounding victory through the skillful coordination of ground forces, supporting arms, and aircraft support. Most action in the I Corps Tactical Zone during August of 1968 was centered in the First Marine Division's tactical area of responsibility. The enemy, now looking for a victory which would achieve some measure of psychological or propaganda value, again mounted an attack of major proportions against Danang but were thoroughly repulsed, sustaining heavy casualties. The valiant fighting spirit, perseverance, and teamwork displayed by First Marine Division personnel throughout this period reflected great credit upon themselves and the Marine Corps, and were in keeping with the highest traditions of the United States Naval Service.

RICHARD NIXON

156 The President's News Conference of *May* 1, 1971

THE PRESIDENT. Good morning, ladies and gentlemen.

I thought this morning that it would be well to give those who particularly are members of the White House press corps, and others, of course, who are here, who have joined us in California, an opportunity to follow up on the press conference we had Thursday.

After that conference I noted that there were only one or two questions out of all the questions that were asked, of the 18 or 19, that were in the field of domestic policy. So consequently, so that you can have a chance to follow up in the domestic field, we will limit this conference to domestic policy questions, any area that you would like to explore in that particular case.

I note that you are all standing. I understand that for the purposes of this conference, that to get recognition if you will simply hold your hand up, or speak up, either one, and I will recognize you.

QUESTIONS

THE ECONOMIC OUTLOOK

[1.] I think Mr. Cormier [Frank Cormier, Associated Press] has the first question.

Q. Mr. President, on the basis of the first quarter GNP figures which were up sharply, Director Shultz saw the basis for a broad expansion; some others in your Administration said, "Well, it is too early." "One swallow doesn't make a spring," and what have you.

What is your view on that?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, Mr. Cormier, I think it is well to put all of these economic indicators into some perspective. I don't do it as an expert in economics, but I have heard a lot of experts and this is the way I would evaluate it at this time: First, it is true that the first quarter figures are up. I think we can say that at this time we are in the midst of a strong economic upturn. Housing starts are up; retail sales are up; productivity is up; and, just as important, inflation is down.

Now, having said that, however, as we look to the future, I think it is well to bear in mind that every month is not going to reflect the same trends. We will have zigs and zags in a free economy. That is the only thing certain about a free economy, that it does not move on a certain path. All that I am sure of is what I stated at a press conference perhaps 2 or 3 months ago when I said that I believed that this would be a good year economically, 1971, and 1972 would be a very good year.

We have projected high goals for the economy, and we are adopting policies for the purpose of achieving those goals. We have two dangers, I should point out. One, inflation. While inflation was down, the rate of inflation, it is still a danger, and we must fight it on particularly two fronts: the wage-price front, where we must have decisions made that are responsible and do not create inflationary pressures, and second, on the governmental front, where it is very important that we not exceed the full employment revenues. And that will make it necessary for me on occasion, perhaps, to veto those irresponsible spending proposals by the Congress where they go beyond the full employment revenues which are, as you know, a very, very high number, and which provide for an expansionary budget.

The other area in which we still have problems ahead is unemployment. Unemployment always hangs high in any kind of recovery or upturn. It is the last number—unemployment is the last number—in a downturn to be reflected in going up, and it is the last number in an upturn to be reflected in going down.

We, however, believe that the long-term effect of our policies will be to bring unemployment down. I would particularly refer, while we are in California, to the fact that unemployment is at this time highly regional in its impact. California is considerably above the national average; so is the State of Washington. One of the major reasons for that is that California and the State of Washington, and Oregon to an extent also, the whole west coast, has been highly dependent upon defense contracts and also on aerospace industry.

Since we have approximately now 2 million men, since this Administration has come into office, who have been let out of the armed services and also have left defense jobs, this has had its greatest impact in California. That is why decisions that I will make in the future, and decisions of this Administration insofar as future government contracts, as they deal with our turn from a wartime to a peacetime economy, California and the Pacific Northwest will get special consideration.

That is the way, of course, that the law is properly adjusted. It doesn't mean that

71-234—72——42

we regionally are favoring one part of the country over another, but this part of the country has suffered the most from the turn from a wartime to a peacetime economy, and now it is necessary, as we move in certain areas, to look at California and the Pacific Northwest, as well as other pockets where they have suffered primarily from the change in defense spending.

ANTIWAR DEMONSTRATORS

[2.] Mr. Risher [Eugene V. Risher, United Press International].

Q. Mr. President, you said that you will not be intimidated by the antiwar demonstrators in Washington, but can you tell us if you consider that these demonstrators serve a useful purpose or a legitimate purpose, or whether you will meet with any of them when you return to Washington?

THE PRESIDENT. I have no plans to meet with any of them, Mr. Risher. I am quite aware of their position. They have, along with many others—some of those who represent their views in the Senate—have strongly expressed their position to me. I respect their views. I respect their right to disagree with my position.

But I believe my position is right, and I think in the long run they are going to reach that conclusion, too, because they don't want just what is so easy for a man in terms of leadership, that quick political movement that would say "Peace now" without regard to peace in the future. And it is peace—not just in our time, but peace in their time, these young people—that I am constantly emphasizing.

Now, with regard to the demonstrators, when I say that I will not be intimidated, and that the Congress will not be intimidated, I am simply stating the American principle that while everybody has a right to protest peacefully, that policy in this country is not made by protests. Those who make policy must, of course, listen, and then they must weigh all the other facts and then do what they think is right.

And also, when I say that we will not be intimidated, I should point out that while the demonstrations a week ago were peaceful demonstrations for the most part, this week we have had some incidents at several departments where it was necessary to arrest those who were breaking the law. If this kind of illegal conduct continues next week, as some say it will, we are prepared to deal with it. We will arrest those who break the law.

The right peacefully to demonstrate, or let me put it another way, the right to demonstrate for peace abroad, does not carry with it the right to break the peace at home. And we are going to see to it that anybody who comes to Washington to demonstrate peacefully is protected in that right, and that it is recognized.

But, on the other hand, we are going to see to it that the thousands of Government workers who have a right to go to work peacefully are not interfered with by those militants, those few militants, who in the name of demonstrating for peace abroad presume that they have the right to break the peace at home.[1]

---

[1] A statement on the operation of the Government during the demonstrations was read by White House Press Secretary Ronald L. Ziegler during his regular news briefing at the White House on May 4, 1971, and is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 7, p. 725).

TAX DEPRECIATION AUTHORITY

[3.] Q. Mr. President, Senator Muskie of Maine has sent to the newspapers copies of a memorandum to the White House of last December by the Treasury Department which raises strong doubt that you have the authority to order some of the changes in tax depreciation which were announced when we were out here in January.

Senator Muskie says the memorandum by Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Nolan shows that the Administration was knowingly violating the law. As you know, this whole matter of this $3 billion tax depreciation change has become rather controversial. I wonder if you would tell us your thinking in ordering this change, and whether, specifically, you ever saw the Nolan memorandum or took any notice of it in your consideration.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, first, so that we may understand that in all these conferences—and I have said this to other members of the White House press corps, but I want the members of the California press corps to know the position that I follow—I, of course, will never comment on any political comments that are made in a conference that I hold as President of the United States. So a release that a presidential candidate or a Senator sends to the paper, I will not comment on that.

But I will comment on your question, which goes to, as I understand, the whole proposition of the order that I did issue with regard to the depreciation. The answer is that within the Government and among lawyers there is and was a difference of opinion as to what authority the President had to provide for depreciation allowances.

The Nolan memorandum and, as a matter of fact, memoranda from others were also brought to my attention, indicating what that authority was.

I, as President—and as I may say, too, formerly one who practiced a good deal of tax law—I consider that I had the responsibility then to decide what the law is. And my view is that while they had expressed a different view, that the correct legal view and the right view from the standpoint of the country was to order the depreciation allowances.

Now, the reason that we ordered it is this: The reason is that at this time it is vitally important to move this economy from a wartime to a peacetime basis. In order to move it from a wartime to a peacetime basis, we must provide incentives for business to write off faster on a depreciation basis those kinds of expenses that appropriately can be written off, and that means more jobs.

Now, any Senator or any critic who wants to oppose a program that is going to mean more jobs for Americans, peacetime jobs rather than wartime jobs, has a right to take that position.

I don't agree with him.

UNEMPLOYMENT

[4.] Q. On the matter of jobs, House Speaker Carl Albert has urged that you call a national conference on unemployment.

Are you considering doing that?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I believe that many of the critics of our economic policy should listen to their top economist, Mr. Paul Samuelson. You may recall Mr. Samuelson, who is a very fine economist and one who has been rather pessimistic

about the economy up to this point, made a statement recently to the effect that he thought those who were criticizing the Administration on the economy might find that they might not have an issue next year.

Now, I am not making any predictions about what is going to happen each month, but I do believe that we are on the right track as far as the economy is concerned.

I do believe that what we are doing has now checked the rise in unemployment. There may be zigs and zags, up and down, but the long-range goal of the Administration is one that is achievable. I will also point out that this is an activist Administration, as my answer to Mr. Oberdorfer's [Don Oberdorfer, Washington Post] question a little while ago indicated. Where I think that action can be taken to stimulate the economy, we are going to take it. And if I find, as we look at the April figures and then the May figures and the June figures, that this economy is not moving as fast as it should move to deal with the unemployment problem, then we will act. We will act on the tax front and other fronts.

I do not see anything to be gained by calling a conference on the problem. We are quite aware of it, and I can only say that we are doing something and achieving something that was not achieved in the 8 years while we were not in Washington. And that is that we are achieving an economy that is strong, and we trust one in which we will have a strong economy and a prosperous economy, but without having it at the cost of war.

We want to remember we did not have low unemployment except at the cost of war in the 8 years between 1961 to 1969. It is that that this Administration is working on.

SUBPOENAS OF NEWSMEN'S NOTES AND FILMS

[5.] Q. Mr. President, in the background of this question is the effort of a Congressional subcommittee to subpoena film which was made for, but never used in a news documentary.

THE PRESIDENT. By CBS.

Q. By CBS. Also NBC. Also in the background of the question, of course, are various pressures and counterpressures which some of us believe we see from your own Administration.

In December 1969, the Republican U.S. Senate Policy Committee issued the following statement as a matter of their policy. The question is whether you agree or disagree with this, and also I would like to get your comments on this general area of subpoenaing newsmen's notes and unused film. The Policy Committee statement was, "Whether news is fair or unfair, objective or biased, accurate or careless, is left to the consciences of the commentators, producers and network officials themselves. Government does not and cannot play any role in its presentation."

THE PRESIDENT. Let me address myself first to the quotation. I think the quotation states a principle that most Americans would support. However, I do not believe that that means that network commentators or newspaper reporters, as distinguished from editorial writers who, of course, have a right to every bias and should express such bias, are above criticism, and they shouldn't be sensitive about it.

Now, when you go, however, to the question of subpoenaing the notes of reporters, when you go to the question of government action which requires the revealing of sources, then I take a very jaundiced view of that kind of action unless it is strictly—and this would be a very narrow area—strictly in the area where there was a major crime that had been committed and where the subpoenaing of the notes had to do with information dealing directly with that crime. As you know, that is provided for in many States at the present time.

But as far as the subpoenaing of notes is concerned, of reporters, as far as bringing any pressure on the networks, as the Government is concerned, I do not support that.

I believe, however, that each of us, as a public figure, has a right to indicate when we think the news coverage has been fair or unfair. Generally speaking, I also feel that I do not have to say much about that because, regardless of what I say, you are going to say anything you want about me, and it usually may not be very good.

WIRETAPS

[6.] Q. Mr. President, regarding the use of wiretaps in domestic security matters——

THE PRESIDENT. The kind that you don't have with subpoenas, in other words?

Q. Right, without court orders. The Attorney General has stated the policy on that, and he has been criticized by Congressman Emanuel Celler of New York, who says that this could lead to a police state. Would you comment on the threat of a police state in the use of this type of activity?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I have great respect for Congressman Celler as a lawyer and as, of course, the dean—as you know, he is the dean of all the Congressmen in the House, a very distinguished Congressman. However, in this respect I would only say: Where was he in 1961? Where was he in 1962? Where was he in 1963?

Today, right today, at this moment, there are one-half as many taps as there were in 1961, '62, and '63, and 10 times as many news stories about them. Now, there wasn't a police state in 1961 and '62 and '63, in my opinion, because even then there were less than 100 taps; and there are less than 50 today; and there is none now, at the present time.

All of this hysteria—and it is hysteria, and much of it, of course, is political demagoguery to the effect that "the FBI is tapping my telephone," and the rest—simply doesn't serve the public purpose. In my view, the taps, which are always approved by the Attorney General, in a very limited area, dealing with those who would use violence or other means to overthrow the Government, and limited, as they are at the present time, to less than 50 at any one time, I think they are justified. And I think that the 200 million people in this country do not need to be concerned that the FBI, which has been—with all the criticism of it—which has a fine record of being nonpolitical, nonpartisan, and which is recognized throughout the world as probably the best police force in the world. The people of this country should be thankful that we have an FBI that is so greatly restricted in this respect.

This is not a police state. I have been to police states; I know what they are. I think that the best thing that could hap-

pen to some of the Congressmen and Senators and others who talk about police states is to take a trip—I mean a trip abroad, of course [*laughter*]—and when they go abroad, try a few police states.

This isn't a police state and isn't going to become one.

I should also point this out: Where were some of the critics in 1968 when there was Army surveillance of the Democratic National Committee—at the convention, I mean? We have stopped that.

This Administration is against any kind of repression, any kind of action that infringes on the right of privacy. However, we are for, and I will always be for, that kind of action that is necessary to protect this country from those who would imperil the peace that all people are entitled to enjoy.

CONSIDERATION OF A TAX CUT

[7.] Q. Mr. President, Director Shultz of the Office of Management and Budget said a couple of weeks ago that the performance of the economy in the first quarter did not come up to your high goals.

If the performance continues in this way for the next few months, are you considering a cut in taxes, or some other action?

THE PRESIDENT. First, with regard to the goals that we set, while the performance in the first quarter did not reach that goal, it was, nevertheless, a very strong first quarter, and I am not going to venture a guess as to what the second quarter will be.

I will say this: that this Administration is prepared to act in the event that we feel that the economy is not moving as well as it should. But at the present time, particularly based on the March figures—because when you break out the first quarter, when you break March out from February and January—you find that it was a very strong March.

If the economy continues at its present level, at its present rate, the rate that we had in March and as it seems to be moving in April, or has moved in April—we won't get the figures for April for about another week—then I see no need for the kind of action you suggest. If on the other hand, the economy does not move strongly, we will act.

LOAN GUARANTEES FOR LOCKHEED

[8.] Q. Mr. President, getting to the question of the depressed defense industry in California, are you prepared to go to Congress and ask for loan guarantees for Lockheed, for the TriStar airbus?

THE PRESIDENT. I have seen, incidentally, some speculation after my meeting with former Prime Minister Wilson, on that point. I was delighted to learn in my conversation with Mr. Wilson that he had had dinner with Senator Humphrey the night before, and that Senator Humphrey, who had opposed the SST, had indicated that he now would support the Administration in the event that we did go to the Congress for the necessary guarantee for Lockheed.

We are going to make the decision on that either Tuesday or Wednesday of next week. Secretary Connally is in charge, and he will make his recommendations to me. I will only say this: that Lockheed is one of the Nation's great companies. It provides an enormous employment lift to this part of the country, and I am going to be heavily influenced by the need to see to it that southern California—after taking the disappointment of not getting the

SST, which would, of course, have brought many, many jobs to this part of the country—that California does not have the additional jolt of losing Lockheed. That gives you an indication of where I am leaning.

On the other hand, if the Secretary of the Treasury comes in and gives me strong arguments to the contrary, I will look in the other direction.

STEEL NEGOTIATIONS

[9.] Q. Mr. President, I assume you think that the upcoming negotiations in steel could have a significant impact on the economy. What, if anything, are you doing to see, first, whether a strike can be averted, and secondly, whether a settlement can be reached that you would consider to be noninflationary?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, Mr. Kaplow [Herbert Kaplow, NBC News], to indicate that the Government is going to move in now to impose a steel settlement would mean there would be no negotiation; the parties would just quit negotiating. At this time, the companies, the steel companies, and the unions are negotiating. The Government stands ready to be of assistance at any time in the negotiating process in order to avoid a strike, if that can be done.

I will only say this with regard to the stakes involved in this settlement: Let's look at the U.S. steel industry. Twenty years ago, when I first was a Senator from California, the United States produced 50 percent of all steel in the world. Today we produce 20 percent. Last year, for example, steel's profits were 2½ percent; that is the lowest of any major industry, looking at it from a competitive standpoint.

Japan 20 years ago produced 5 million tons of steel, last year produced 100 million tons of steel, and by 1974 will produce more steel than the United States of America.

What does this all mean to us? It means that this settlement, a wage-price settlement, must reflect the competitive realities in the world, or we are going to find U.S. steel—and I am speaking of all the companies—we are going to find that the United States steel industry which has been the backbone of our economy, and is the backbone of any strong industrial economy, is going to be noncompetitive in the world.

This gives an indication of how we feel about it. But right at this time we must wait to see what industry and labor will eventually agree upon.

MARIHUANA LAWS

[10.] Q. Mr. President, many of us are rather concerned that a large percentage of our young people are breaking the law constantly by smoking marihuana. As you know, your own White House Conference on Youth voted to legalize marihuana. I know you have thought about this problem, and I wonder if you would give us some of your thoughts on it.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, Mr. Pierpoint [Robert C. Pierpoint, CBS News], as you know, there is a commission [2] that is supposed to make recommendations to me about this subject. In this instance, however, I have such strong views that I will express them. I am against legalizing mari-

[2] Commission on Marihuana and Drug Abuse. A White House announcement of the Commission's membership was released on January 30, 1971, and is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 7, p. 150).

huana. Even if the Commission does recommend that it be legalized, I will not follow that recommendation.

Now, with regard to the penalties on marihuana, that is a matter which I do think is open to a national recommendation with regard to more uniform standards. In some States they are extremely strict, and in other States they are quite lax. I believe that a penalty in some instance can have a detrimental effect in achieving our goal. But I do not believe that legalizing marihuana is in the best interests of our young people, and I do not think it is in the best interests of this country.

LOCKHEED MANAGEMENT

[11.] Q. Mr. President, let me follow up on this possible action for Lockheed. It seems a lot of its problems are from mismanagement in the military sector, and now these management problems in the commercial 1011 sector.

Mr. Packard,[3] at the Pentagon, has indicated they could continue operating these defense programs even if they were in bankruptcy.

Where are you going to draw the line about helping these multibillion dollar corporations that end up in shaky financial condition because of mismanagement?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, it is rather easy to belabor a company as big as Lockheed—as you know, it is the biggest airframe producer in the world—belabor it for its mismanagement.

There has been a lot of mismanagement in military contracts, as you know. In my view, however, looking at this precise case, the airbus problem did not come as a result of Lockheed's mismanagement. It was because of the failure of Rolls Royce in Britain.

Under those circumstances, it seems to me that this particular contract is one that should be looked at separately. And I will certainly—when I make this decision next Wednesday, Tuesday or Wednesday, whatever day we finally get together on it—I will have in mind all these considerations.

But we are not going to damn the whole company for some areas of mismanagement, for some mistakes. We need a strong airframe producer like Lockheed in southern California, and if we can save the company and, frankly, help it toward better management, we will do so.

THE CALLEY CASE

[12.] Q. Mr. President, to go to the Calley case for a minute, you said Thursday night that you felt that the military system of justice in this country was a fair system. But don't you admit the possibility that your repeated expressions of sympathy for Lieutenant Calley, and your decision to review the case, will inevitably have the consequence of influencing the judges, the military judges, who are going to be reviewing this case up the line? And don't you admit that there is a possibility, at least, that this would actually thwart the system of military justice?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I should point out that what is important is that I am the final reviewing officer. As far as I am concerned, I am going to review the case. I am going to review it fairly, having in

[3] David Packard, Deputy Secretary of Defense.

mind what the trial court has found, and also what the other reviewing authorities say.

I am not trying to influence the reviewing authorities. I am simply indicating, as they all know, and the law so provides, that as Commander in Chief, I will exercise my right to review.

CIVIL RIGHTS ACTIONS

[13.] Q. Mr. President, many black Americans seem to think that your Administration is anti-equal-rights. My question is, what are you doing to counter that impression, and what do you consider to be your most important actions in advancing the cause of civil rights?

THE PRESIDENT. When we consider the many things that we have done in this area, we could refer, for example, to the food stamp program, which, of course, benefits, as you know, many disadvantaged Americans and many black Americans. For example, the increment that we have asked for this year is twice as much as the program, the whole program, was when we came into office.

In other words, we are dealing with the problem of hunger in America which affects black Americans and many other disadvantaged Americans.

Second, we are making very great strides, significant strides, in the field of minority enterprise. They have not been well advertised, but they are known among those who have businesses, who didn't have them before and didn't have that chance.

Third, we are providing opportunities in government that have not been provided before.

Fourth, and this is an area that I think needs to be emphasized, let's look at the matter of the dual school system.

When we consider today that even before the Supreme Court decision that was handed down last week, 38 percent of all black children in the South now go to majority white schools as compared to 28 percent of all black children in the North going to majority white schools, we can see that a very quiet but significant revolution has taken place in this country; and it is to the great credit of the far-seeing, law-abiding black and white leaders of the South that this has taken place.

They now have another difficult problem, complying with the Supreme Court decision, and I believe compliance will take place because we are going to follow our same tactic of cooperation rather than coercion.

As far as the entire problem is concerned, I have met with black leaders, with the black Congressmen, and with various representatives of the black community, and will continue to do so, and with representatives of other parts of our society, because we have got to move forward not only with black Americans; we have very significant problems—we in California know it—in the Mexican-American community.

I found, for example, looking at some statistics recently, that with regard to poverty, for example, that the problem of Mexican-Americans in the Los Angeles area is even worse than that of black Americans. So we have got to zero in on that problem as well.

REPORTER. Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: President Nixon's sixteenth news conference was held at 10 a.m. on the grounds of the Western White House in San Clemente, Calif., on Saturday, May 1, 1971. It was broadcast live on radio.

157 Radio Address: "A Salute to Agriculture." *May 2, 1971*

Good afternoon, my fellow Americans:

Next Friday, May 7, I ask the people of the United States to join with me in celebrating the Salute to Agriculture Day. As a part of that celebration, I am honoring representatives of agriculture at a series of events in Washington, D.C.—including a special dinner at the White House. I officially designate this day, however, in the hope that our celebrations will extend far beyond Washington, and that it will give our people, in every walk of life, an opportunity to learn more about both the accomplishments of the American farmer and the problems he confronts.

During the last quarter century, I have had the opportunity to visit some 75 countries around the globe. I have spent a good deal of time in studying their agricultural systems, their techniques of farming. I have talked with peasants in Poland, with cultivators in India, with shepherds in Africa, with South American gauchos. And I have often been very impressed with what I have learned.

But nothing I have seen anywhere on earth can even begin to compare with the success story written by the men and women of agriculture in our own country. The surging vitality of our agriculture has made our country the best fed, the best clothed nation on earth, and it has contributed immensely to our strength abroad and to our strength at home. I have been involved in international diplomacy and international economics since my first visit to Europe as a Member of Congress in 1947. Again and again, I have seen the problems which result for a country when its leaders must deal from a position of agricultural weakness rather than agricultural strength. Some even have had to cope with the inability of their farmers to feed their own people.

For America's leaders, on the other hand, the situation has been just the reverse: Our farmers have not only provided a solid base for the United States economy, they have also helped to feed the people of other lands. Our strong international position has grown even stronger in the last few years. As recently as the 1968 fiscal year, farm exports actually dropped by half a billion dollars, a condition which I promised in 1968 to remedy during my Presidential term. I am happy to say today that we have delivered on that promise. Our agricultural exports this year will be at an alltime high. Their volume will be some 6 percent higher than it was a year ago, and their value is expected to reach at least $7.4 billion.

Today we are exporting the production from approximately one acre out of every four we harvest in America. Two-thirds of our rice crop, more than half of our wheat and our soybean crop, and one-third of our cotton crop are now going to foreign markets. This is a very good record. And yet we want to do even better. We would like to be exporting some $10 billion worth of American farm products each year. To help achieve this goal, I am announcing today an increase of $1 million in the fiscal year 1972 budget for the Foreign Agricultural Service—the Federal agency which helps our farmers expand their sales abroad. And I also pledge that we will continue our efforts to lower trading barriers to our farm exports around the world.

From Rotterdam to Singapore, from

Galveston to Duluth, a new current of energy has been felt along the trading lanes of the world in the last few years. Aspirations are rising, economies are growing, purchasing power is increasing—and our farmers have proved their ability to capitalize on these new opportunities. We know that American agriculture can compete successfully—whenever it has the chance. And we are determined to see it has that chance.

The new market energy we see abroad has also been felt in our own country. For example, beef consumption per person has gone up by one-third in the last 10 years. This means that for every 3 pounds of beef he consumed in 1960, the average American is consuming 4 pounds in 1971.

What these growing markets can mean, of course, is growing farm income. As a result, in part, of expanding markets, soybean prices, for example, have been running a good half dollar a bushel above the price support level. Grain prices and cotton prices are also well above loan levels. Cattle prices have recovered and stand above their levels of a year ago. Hog prices, of course, are still too low. To help meet this situation, the Department of Agriculture has already purchased over 145 million pounds of pork for its food distribution and school lunch programs in this fiscal year. This is the highest level of pork purchases since 1956. Our purchase program is continuing, and we expect that hog prices will show substantial improvement later this year.

All in all, it is clear that the total income of American farmers will be higher this year than ever before in our history. But this brings me to another of the major difficulties which confront our farmers: the fact that increases in total income are not always reflected in more net income. Now the reason, of course, is the high cost of farming. Over two-thirds of agriculture's gross income goes right back out again to pay for farm expenses.

That is why the farmer has such a tremendous stake in the battle against inflation. In a sense, he has a double stake, for inflation hits farmers in two ways. It drives up both the cost of farming and the cost of living. I am particularly pleased, therefore, to report that while the battle is far from won, we are definitely making progress against inflation. The rate of inflation in the first quarter of 1971 was the lowest in 4 years, only one-half of what it was in 1970. We are working very hard, then, to ease this perennially troublesome cost-price squeeze. At the same time, we recognize that the supply of farm credit is now extremely tight, and we are working to expand it.

To begin with, I am recommending that the level of farm operating loans be increased in fiscal year 1972—just as soon as the Congress enacts my proposal to allow the Farmers Home Administration to insure loans for operating expenses, as it can now do for ownership purposes. In addition, I am directing the FHA to increase the availability of its insured ownership loans by almost three-fourths—from $210 million in the current fiscal year to $350 million next year.

It is my hope that these efforts to expand farm credit will be especially helpful to the farmers of the Southwest who have been suffering so much from one of the worst droughts in history.

And I hope, too, that expanded credit will strengthen the position of younger farmers, of the hundreds of thousands of

family farm operators, because they are still the backbone of American agriculture.

Let me turn now to another set of problems—crop, plant, and livestock disease. I am today announcing several measures to step up our fight in this area. In the first place, I am asking Congress to provide an additional $7.6 million to the Agricultural Research Service and to the State Agricultural Experiment Stations. A good deal of this money would go for fighting Southern leaf blight which recently has created such major problems for corn farmers. Some of this added research money would also be used to find new ways of controlling insects, including cattle ticks, and to do needed work on the relationship between hosts and parasites, and on disease-resisting plants.

At the same time, I am offering or ordering the use of $2 million from this year's budget for more applied research on controlling the fire ant and the gypsy moth which is seriously threatening our Eastern timber stand.

I have also directed that more money be used for accelerated research on matters like cotton seed proteins and insect pests.

Another area where government should do more to provide technical assistance for farmers is that of soil and water conservation. Long before most Americans were thinking very much about the environment, our farmers, our ranchers, our woodland owners, were working together with government to conserve our natural resources. I believe we should now be providing more help for our dedicated corps of soil conservationists whose number has dropped sharply in the last 4 years. I am therefore increasing my new budget request for the Soil Conservation Service by $12 million to provide more manpower for this valuable work. I am also proposing that Federal grants for small watershed projects be increased by $28 million to a level of $105 million, and that 75 new projects be authorized. I am further recommending quadrupling of loan programs to help local communities finance their share of these projects.

In many other ways we are working to fulfill our responsibilities to the agriculture community. For example, I am ordering an additional increase of $100 million this year and $111 million next year in our insured loan program for building water and sewer systems in rural areas. Through such programs I know that this Administration can work closely with farmers, with farm organizations, and with the Congress to serve agricultural America more effectively. Working together we can resolve difficult issues involved in pesticide control, farm labor, farm bargaining legislation, other complex matters, as well as the many aspects of other national policies that bear directly on the lives of farmers.

But even as I mention all of these government programs, I know that the agricultural community also shares my feeling that in the final analysis the problems of American agriculture can best be solved by those who know farming best, farm people themselves, with government backup when necessary. That is one reason why I have high hopes for the new farm programs which are in effect this year. They remove some of the old restraints in a way which gives every farmer a chance to make more of his own decisions about

the kind of farming that suits him best. At the same time, we are continuing our search for better methods of maximizing the receipt of farm income from the market.

After all, some 60 percent of farm income comes from commodities that are not price supported and have not been supported in the past. Moreover, the major supported commodities are now selling well above loan levels. It seems to me that the brightest future for agriculture lies in actions that stimulate new energy in the free market system.

As I think about the challenges that confront American agriculture, it occurs to me that farmers must, by nature, be incurable optimists. Like everyone else they are concerned about the great questions of war and peace, about the economy and education and crime and all the other issues that face our society. But in addition, the agricultural community also has its own special problems to worry about, including such uncertain factors as the weather, the condition of volatile markets, and even the direction of government policies in this country and abroad. Their vocation, moreover, requires them not only to be good farmers but also to be good scientists, skilled engineers, able businessmen. All of these challenges have been successfully met by America's farmers.

In that process, they have achieved a remarkable record of production, setting a brisk pace for the rest of our economy. And they have also provided a continuing source of moral and spiritual strength for America, giving shape and substance to our national character from the very heartland of America.

And so we approach Salute to Agriculture Day in a spirit of gratitude with a sense of obligation to the farmers of this country. Though only a small group of farm representatives will be able to be with us at the White House next Friday night, I feel that every farmer and rancher in America, his wife, his family, will be with us there in spirit.

What we will be saying on that occasion is very simply this: Agriculture was America's first industry. For most of our history it was our largest industry. Today it continues to hold an honored place in our society, a keystone not only for our economic strength but also for our entire way of life.

NOTE: The President's address was recorded at Palm Springs, Calif., for broadcast on nationwide radio at 12:06 p.m.

An advance text of the President's address was released on the same day.

158 Memorandum Announcing Recipients of the Federal Civilian Service Awards. *May 5, 1971*

Memorandum for the Heads of Executive Departments and Agencies:

It is a great pleasure for me to announce that the President's Awards for Distinguished Federal Civilian Service are being made to these members of the career service:

SAMUEL M. COHN, Assistant Director for Budget Review, Office of Management and Budget.

U. ALEXIS JOHNSON, Career Ambassador, Under Secretary for Political Affairs, Department of State.

DR. EDWARD F. KNIPLING, Director, Entomology Research Division, Agricultural Research Service, Department of Agriculture.

DR. FRED LEONARD, Scientific Director, Army Medical Biomechanical Research Laboratory, Walter Reed Army Medical Center, Department of the Army.

GEORGE H. WILLIS, Deputy to the Assistant Secretary for International Affairs, Department of the Treasury.

These individuals are outstanding among the many men and women who serve their country and fellow citizens with great distinction. Their exceptional achievements have moved the Nation forward in such diverse fields as budgeting and finance, international relations, environmental science, lifesaving surgical techniques, and the world's monetary system. I know all of you share my gratitude for their superlative, although usually anonymous services to their country.

RICHARD NIXON

NOTE: The memorandum was dated May 4, 1971, and released May 5.

The President presented the awards for 1971 in a ceremony at the White House on May 5.

159 Special Message to the Congress Proposing Establishment of a Legal Services Corporation. *May* 5, 1971

To the Congress of the United States:

In the long, uphill struggle to secure equal rights in America, the Federal program of legal services for the poor is a relative newcomer to the cause. Yet it has already become a workhorse in this effort, pulling briskly and tirelessly at the task as the Nation moves ahead.

The legal services program began six years ago as a small experiment within the Office of Economic Opportunity. It grew swiftly, so rapidly that today more than 2000 lawyers work for the poor in some 900 neighborhood law offices. No less than a million cases a year are now processed by these dedicated attorneys, with each case giving those in need new reason to believe that they too are part of "the system."

A large measure of credit is due the organized bar. Acting in accordance with the highest standards of its profession, it has given admirable and consistent support to the legal services concept. The concept has also had the support of both political parties.

The crux of the program, however, remains in the neighborhood law office. Here each day the old, the unemployed, the underprivileged, and the largely forgotten people of our Nation may seek help. Perhaps it is an eviction, a marital conflict, repossession of a car, or misunderstanding over a welfare check—each problem may have a legal solution. These are small claims in the Nation's eye, but they loom large in the hearts and lives of poor Americans.

A NEW DIRECTION

The Nation has learned many lessons in these six short years. This program has not been without travail. Much of the litigation initiated by legal services has placed it in direct conflict with local and

State governments. The program is concerned with social issues and is thus subject to unusually strong political pressures.

Even though surrounded by controversy, this program can provide a most effective mechanism for settling differences and securing justice within the system and not on the streets. For many of our citizens, legal services has reaffirmed faith in our government of laws. However, if we are to preserve the strength of the program, we must make it immune to political pressures and make it a permanent part of our system of justice.

For two years, this administration has studied means of delivering improved, high quality legal services to those in need, as well as the question of what the proper role and structure of the legal services program should be. In 1969, we upgraded the status of legal services, recognizing it as a separate program within the Office of Economic Opportunity. Because of its importance, I also specifically asked the President's Advisory Council on Executive Organization (The Ash Council) to examine the question, and last November the Council recommended that the Government create a special corporation for the program. The role of legal services lawyers was also considered by the recent White House Conference on Youth, and a task force there expressed strong concern that the independence of these attorneys be maintained.

Today, after carefully considering the alternatives, I propose the creation of a separate, nonprofit Legal Services Corporation. The legislation being sent to the Congress to accomplish this has three major objectives: First, that the corporation itself be structured and financed so that it will be assured of independence; second, that the lawyers in the program have full freedom to protect the best interests of their clients in keeping with the Canons of Ethics and the high standards of the legal profession; and third, that the Nation be encouraged to continue giving the program the support it needs in order to become a permanent and vital part of the American system of justice.

Independence for the Corporation

True independence for a corporation created by the Government demands a governing body drawn from a wide spectrum and safeguarded against partisan interference after its appointment. I believe that we can best meet these requirements by appointing the board of directors for the Legal Services Corporation on the following bases:

—The members of the board should be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate.

—The board should consist of eleven members, no more than six of whom may be of the same political party.

—A majority should be members of the bar of the highest court of a jurisdiction, and none should be a full-time employee of the United States.

—Members should be appointed for three-year terms and serve no longer than nine years consecutively.

—The board chairman should be elected by the members from among their number and serve a term of one year.

—No board member should be involuntarily removed except by a vote of at least seven members, and only for reasons of malfeasance, persistent

neglect, or inability to perform. Political pressures cannot be a basis for removal.

These provisions, all painstakingly designed to insulate the board from outside pressures, find an apt precedent in the corporation created four years ago to promote freedom and initiative in noncommercial broadcasting. In establishing the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, the Congress was once again dealing with a sensitive area of our national life, and it chose much the same course that I am recommending today.

The primary mission of the Legal Services Corporation should be the review and approval of applications for funds submitted by neighborhood law offices, special units of private law firms, and other attorneys who seek to provide legal assistance to the poor. The decision in the case of each individual grant or contract should be made by the corporation's president—an official employed by the board—based upon guidelines established by the board.

To advise the board of the Legal Services Corporation, I propose that an advisory council also be established with its membership including eligible poor clients and representatives of the organized bar.

As a further means of assuring its independence, I recommend that grants made by the corporation to neighborhood offices and other recipients not be subject to veto by governmental officials. It is important, however, that State and local officials be given ample notice of new grants. Therefore, I propose that the corporation be required to notify the Chief Executive Officer of the State, Commonwealth, District of Columbia or possession at least 30 days prior to approving a grant or contract for that area, so that full consideration could be given to the views of that executive. Thus the legitimate concerns of the jurisdiction involved could be taken into account before proceeding, but the corporation would retain its independence.

As yet another guarantee of that independence, and also to assure continuity and facilitate long-range planning, I propose that funding by the Congress be appropriated on a three-year basis.

Independence for the Lawyer

While it is important to insulate the corporate structure so that public funds can be properly channeled into the field, it is even more important that the lawyers on the receiving end be able to use the money ethically, wisely and without unnecessary or encumbering restrictions.

The legal problems of the poor are of sufficient scope that we should not restrict the right of their attorneys to bring any type of civil suit. Only in this manner can we maintain the integrity of the adversary process and fully protect the attorney-client relationship so central to our judicial process.

At the same time, it would be a waste of our resources and a dilution of the legal services program if these same lawyers were also to become involved in criminal suits, since legal representation in criminal cases is already available to the poor under many other programs. Counsel for the indigent has been held by the Supreme Court to be a constitutional requirement in felony cases. States now provide for such counsel, and the Federal Government has made substantial sums of money available for criminal representation.

Thus I propose that legal services lawyers be prohibited from criminal representation.

For this same reason, legal services attorneys who are given full-time grants or contracts should devote their entire professional efforts to representation of eligible clients, and should not be permitted to engage in the outside practice of law. Certain lobbying activities, as well as partisan political action, should also be proscribed. The latter two activities would be another dilution of resources, and would have the further disadvantage of placing the Legal Services Corporation itself squarely in the political arena, where it does not belong—and thus inviting those political pressures from which its independence is designed to insulate it. On the other hand, these limitations should not impair the right of the legal services attorney to prepare model legislation or to respond to the inquiries of legislators. Such actions are traditionally within the scope of the attorney's right to represent a client and must be preserved.

Strength for the Future

In discussing the broad contours of this program, we must not overlook the challenges ahead. The Nation can be proud that we have come so far already. Under this administration alone, the legal services caseload has increased some 97%—from approximately 610,000 cases in fiscal year 1969 to an estimated 1,200,000 cases in fiscal year 1971—and the budget allocations have increased during this period by approximately one-third. Yet today, perhaps four out of every five legal problems of the poor still go unattended. The challenge to us is thus a significant one, and if we are to succeed in so delicate an undertaking we must devise a program which will have the full support not only of the Congress and the executive branch, but of the people as well.

The full financial support of the government is clearly needed in this endeavor. I propose that upon the date of incorporation, all of the funds then appropriated for legal services activities in the Office of Economic Opportunity, including those for research and training, be transferred to the Legal Services Corporation, so that it can undertake existing Office of Economic Opportunity obligations.

To help us broaden the attack on our unmet needs, I am also proposing two new initiatives:

—First, I propose that specific authorization be given for grants to individual lawyers. This will increase the opportunity for the private bar to participate in legal services and will enable the corporation to channel greater resources into rural areas.

—Second, I propose that the Legal Services Corporation be authorized to identify the principal legal problems of the poor involving the Federal Government and then work with appropriate governmental agencies in trying to solve them. Hopefully, this effort might in many cases eliminate the need for poor persons to seek redress in our overcrowded courts. It would also conserve the resources of the corporation without denying to any lawyer the right to bring a suit which he deems necessary.

The Federal program of providing legal pay for them is a dramatic symbol of this services to Americans otherwise unable to

Nation's commitment to the concept of equal justice. It is a program both new and unparalleled by any other system of justice in the world. I urge the Congress to join with me in adopting this proposal to give it new strength for the future.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
May 5, 1971

NOTE: The proposed Legal Services Corporation bill was introduced as S. 1769 and H.R. 8163.

On the same day, the White House released a fact sheet summarizing the major features of the proposed bill and the transcript of a news briefing on the Corporation by Frank C. Carlucci, Director, Office of Economic Opportunity.

160 Statement About Agreements With Panama and Colombia To Complete the Pan American Highway. *May* 6, 1971

THE AGREEMENTS signed today by Secretary of Transportation Volpe, Panamanian Minister of Public Works Fabrega, and Colombian Minister of Public Works Duran will enable our governments to begin construction of the last major section—the Darien Gap—needed to link together existing sections of the Pan American Highway System.

I welcome this development with the greatest enthusiasm—I believe that the completion of the Darien Gap portion over the next several years will constitute an historic milestone along the road to understanding and unity within our hemisphere.

Upon completion, this link for the Pan American Highway will allow the motorist to drive the entire 14,000 mile journey from Fairbanks, Alaska, to the southernmost tip of South America.

For a long time experts thought that this section could not be built: the "bottomless" Atrato Swamp which it must cross could not be conquered; the fact that this project will now be undertaken is a tribute not only to modern engineering but also to the determination of our countries to forge this final link in a great, unifying international project.

This effort is possible only because of the strong support it has received from the United States Congress, the Pan American Highway Congresses, and the Governments of the Republics of Panama and Colombia. I firmly believe that the completion of this highway joining the Americas will serve as an invaluable symbol of New World unity as well as an avenue of commerce and culture.

The Darien Gap Highway project calls for only 250 miles of new roadway, but these are a very significant 250 miles. I believe that when they are completed, the Pan American Highway will become a pulsing artery of trade, travel, and understanding. It will further the inter-American spirit of solidarity and will accelerate the pace of economic growth and social progress in the hemisphere. It will fulfill a dream which dates back, in the United States at least, to a proposal made in the Congress in 1884 to build a railroad connecting the countries of North and South America.

Building this final link in the highways of the Americas does not represent the end of our common undertaking. On the

contrary, it will require us to make even greater efforts to forge the agreements and mechanisms needed to improve maintenance and use of the roads and to develop further this magnificent transportation system.

161 Remarks to Farm Leaders Participating in the "Salute to Agriculture." *May 7, 1971*

Secretary Hardin, Attorney General Mitchell, and all of the distinguished guests on this very significant and historic day, the Salute to American Agriculture:

The Secretary of Agriculture has informed me that this is the most representative group of farm leaders ever gathered in Washington, D.C., for a single meeting. And it is quite appropriate, it seems to me, that this should be so.

My problem is to find the remarks to begin this day that would be appropriate for the occasion, worthy of this occasion.

During the period of the day, you will be briefed on a number of very important matters by the Attorney General, by General Haig,[1] by Governor Romney, and others; matters that involve, of course, every family in America and matters, of course, that farm families and people who live in rural America have a particular concern with.

What I would like to do in my opening remarks is perhaps to put this day in perspective, to tell you why I asked the Secretary of Agriculture to work with us and the White House staff in having a salute to Agriculture, a special day for America's farms and America's farm families alone: First, because we thought it was appropriate to express our appreciation to American agriculture for what you have done for America. And my remarks today will particularly be directed toward that subject.

Second, because we thought it might be an occasion when we could develop a better method of communication between farm leaders of America, government leaders, leaders of Congress, in developing the programs to carry out and reach the objective that I enunciated when I appeared in this room about 2 years ago: to see that America's farmers and farm families received their fair share; and that means a more fair share than they presently are receiving of America's increasing prosperity and particularly agriculture's productivity.

Then, finally, of course, this day is one in which, as is always the case, those in agriculture, those who live in rural America, want to talk not only about their own problems, but they want to consider the problems of the world in which they live.

I have always found when I have spoken—and I have spoken in many counties and cities across this country—to agricultural audiences, farm families, farm audiences, and the rest, that their interests are, of course, very, very close to the soil and the problems that they have. But they also have enormous interest in terms of the whole Nation, the families of this Nation, the families of the world, and, consequently, my remarks today in opening this conference will, to a certain extent, touch upon that theme.

May I first turn to what America owes

[1] Brig. Gen. Alexander Meigs Haig, Jr., Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs.

to agriculture? I say this not just for you, but I want to say it for all of the American people, those who may be listening on radio or may see an excerpt on television. When we think of the problems of this country, we often hear listed among those problems the problem of agriculture. I visited 67 countries in the world and, believe me, most of them would like to have our problem when it comes to agriculture: the problem of surplus, the problem of productivity, the problem of having the ability to produce more than we need. No nation in the world has that capacity. And America's farmers, therefore, have made a contribution to America that is tremendously significant.

Let me put it in terms of programs that, as President of the United States, I have been able to recommend to the Congress and that the Congress has been able to adopt, knowing that we could implement those programs that could otherwise not have been recommended and not adopted had it not been for the productivity of American agriculture.

There is the problem of hunger in the world. There is also a problem of hunger in America. And in this Administration we have moved forward, as you know, on a program to eradicate hunger in this country to the extent that we could.

The number of people in America who today receive food stamps has now passed 10 million. It was 3 million when we began this program just 2 years ago.

Now, how did that happen? It wasn't just as easy as asking the Congress to pass a law and then the Administration to print the stamps. Many nations could do that. It was the fact that in America we produced enough, that we had the food which we could distribute, and because we had that luxury—that problem, some call it—of surplus, we were able to move in a very dramatic way, as no nation in the world has been able to move, to provide for those who cannot provide for themselves.

The movement of 3 million to 10 million people who are receiving aid in terms of food stamps could not have taken place except for the productivity of those who live on America's farms.

Then I think of America's competitive position in the world. We have many problems there. This morning, for example, I was looking at some statistics with regard to radio—and I know that this address is being carried on radio. Did you know that over 90 percent of the radios in America today are not made in the United States of America? They are made abroad.

You have been hearing about the problems of America's steel industry, still a very strong and a powerful industry, and it must always be strong and powerful because you cannot have a strong industrial economy without having a strong steel industry. Let's look at what has happened to the competitive position of America's steel industry in the last 20 years.

Twenty years ago in the United States of America we produced 50 percent of all the steel in the world. Today we produce 20 percent of all the steel in the world.

Twenty years ago the Japanese, for example, strong competitors, and we do not complain about competition, but the Japanese produced only 5 million tons of steel. Today they produce 100 million tons of steel; within 2 years in Japan they will produce more steel than is produced in the United States of America.

The problem? The problem has to do, of course, with national priorities; it also has to do with productivity and the com-

petitive capacity of American industry.

And we could go down the line. Oh, there are many industries where competitively we have stayed ahead and moved ahead. There are others where we have fallen behind.

But the most dramatic, the most exciting statistic of all is what has happened in agriculture. I sat in a meeting recently with a group of America's business leaders and labor leaders. They disagreed on many things. But they all agreed that insofar as increases in productivity were concerned that American agriculture led not only the United States but led the world.

Another statistic that will bring it home: In the last 20 years, the total of the American economy or American industry, its part of the total, increased its output per man-hour by 150 percent. That is, of course, a significant increase. But in that last 20 years, American agriculture, America's farmers and farm families, increased their output per man-hour by 300 percent—almost twice as much.

Now we come to the problem. It is a rule in a free society that whoever produces more should be compensated for more. The income per capita of those who live on America's farms has gone up in the last 20 years. But in terms of sharing in this increased productivity, those who live on America's farms, those who produce from America's farms have not had the rewards from increasing productivity that their colleagues who work in American industry have had for their increases in productivity.

It is that problem that we have been addressing ourselves to. It is that problem in which, of course, we need cooperation between all branches of government, the Administration, the Congress, and the farm community to see how we can see that America's farmers receive their fair share of a dramatically increasing productivity.

Then there is a third area where, in the past 2 years, I have seen how much this Nation owes and, beyond that, how much the world owes to American agriculture. That is in the field of foreign policy.

Secretary Hardin mentioned the fact that Mrs. Nixon had been active in 4–H. As a matter of fact, she was a member of 4–H. She didn't win the blue ribbon, but she won the red ribbon, I recall. This was before I was married, so I cannot question her veracity with regard to which ribbon it was.

But she has also done some other things. She has traveled to many countries in the world. And a few months ago, you may recall, she went to Peru where they had a terrible earthquake, where over 50,000, maybe 70,000, people were killed.

And on that occasion she was able to pledge from the people of the United States and from the Government of the United States millions of dollars in assistance, assistance in many ways, but assistance, among other things, in terms of food.

There have been other disasters in the world. For example, a flood in Romania. And as President of the United States I was able to sign a particular instrument which would enable us to provide assistance, millions of dollars of assistance, to those who suffered from this flood.

And as I look at that situation, I then come to American agriculture. Why was I able to do it? We are not the only good-hearted, generous people in the world. There are many people all over this world living in countries who have very different systems of government who would

like to be generous when others are in trouble.

The reason we are able to do it is because we produce so much. The reason that the United States has been able to provide hundreds of millions of dollars worth of assistance in food across this world is because we produce it on America's farms, produce enough to make us the best fed, the best clothed people in the world, and produce enough that America can be, as we are, the most generous people in the world.

It wouldn't be possible except for the fact that out across the great heartland of America farmers and farm families produce more, and more efficiently, than any farmers in the world and make it possible for America, this Nation, as a people, as a government, both individually and collectively, to be generous in terms of what we can do for others who are in distress.

And in the field of foreign policy, of course, I had this brought home to me very vividly yesterday when Dr. Borlaug came over to the White House lawn to see the exhibit that you will see this afternoon. We looked at those strains of wheat that he developed in Mexico and which can also be used in Pakistan, in India, and other areas of the world which will enormously increase their wheat production.

And as I heard him talk, this man who won the Nobel Prize for Peace, I could see why he was, in truth, quite worthy of it. And I could see why he, by receiving this award, was pointing the way to the future of America's role in the world.

He said a very moving thing. He said, "You know, I have lived out of this country for 27 years, but I am a very proud American." And he had reason to be, because he spoke movingly of the poor people he had seen in Mexico, the children who didn't have enough to eat, and others, and he did something about it. He also said there were thousands like him. The people, the armies we shall call them, who go to other countries, who have been doing it for many years, the armies from American agriculture. They go abroad carrying plowshares, not swords. And as they go abroad, they help others learn the techniques that are so important to develop the capacity to feed themselves.

Let us understand: We fortunately have the capacity to produce enough to feed ourselves and to be generous to others. But America cannot feed all the hungry people in the world. America can help others develop, or learn, the capacity to feed themselves. And men like Dr. Borlaug, people that I have seen in other countries, teams from Purdue, for example, and Michigan State and California at Davis, all over this world I have seen them in country after country, working with the local people, helping them to develop the capacity to become self-sufficient or, at least, more self-sufficient in terms of the vital problem of poverty, hunger, as it exists in other countries of the world in such great degree.

So I want to say to you in agriculture today that in the field of foreign policy, as I see it, we now are entering what will be a new period for America. We are ending a war in which we have been engaged, a very difficult war, for the past 5 years. Once that war is ended, then the question is for America and the world and particularly for us: What do we do with the peace? Do we keep it or do we have another war, something we have had for this whole century. Every generation of Americans in the 20th century has had to go to war—World War I, and then the sons of those in World War I went to World War

II, and the brothers of those who were in World War II fought in Korea, and the sons of those who were in World War II fought in Vietnam.

Now the question is whether that dreary, dreary practice of the past is to be repeated? It is our responsibility in positions of foreign policy leadership to do all that we can diplomatically to end this war and to build the structure of peace so that Americans can have real peace, and lasting peace, a generation of peace in this last third of a century. That is one side of it.

But peace is something more than simply the absence of war. Peace means creating, giving, making a contribution to the betterment of our own people and to the betterment of people throughout the world. And who better understands that than the men and women of American agriculture?

Dr. Borlaug received the Peace Prize and I would provide certainly the peace prize for hundreds of thousands, yes, millions, of farmers and farm families who will make it possible in this last third of a century, after the world is at peace in terms of absence of war, for us to be creative, creative and helpful, in helping other nations to develop the capacity to feed themselves and to remove what would otherwise be a time bomb which would explode and involve us and all other nations in the world, if those who do not have enough to eat lose faith, lose hope that they will ever get it.

That need not happen. It will not happen. It will not happen because I think we are going to play that role. And I think you are going to help play that role.

So in a sense today I am saying to you: Thanks to American agriculture for making us the best fed, the best clothed people in America; thanks to American agriculture for providing the basic industry that is essential for any nation to be strong in many other fields. We are the richest nation in the world. And thanks to American agriculture for providing for the Government of the United States the opportunity to play a role in peace, to build a peace, a peace that will last.

You are playing a role that is far more important than simply how many bushels of wheat, or corn, or what is the price of this or that or the other thing. All of those things are naturally important in terms of the day-to-day or month-to-month or year-to-year decisions that you make.

But American agriculture plays a fundamental role in this great objective that all of us Americans want to achieve, and that is that the United States in this last third of a century—once we have brought peace, as far as we are concerned, to that area of the world in which we are involved—will be able to build a stronger peace, a more lasting peace among people who will finally appreciate that America, from the time of its beginning, has not been interested in conquest, that America now is not concerned about expanding in terms of our domination over others, but that the American people, despite our failures, despite our mistakes, that we are a generous people, we are an idealistic people. We want, of course, to take care of ourselves, but we also welcome the opportunity to help others.

And it is the idealism, it is the character of the heartland of America represented here today to which I particularly want to pay tribute. America owes a great deal for what you have done. And, looking to the future, as peace comes and as we build a stronger basis for peace, I can assure you

that those who live in American agriculture and work in American agriculture, you should receive and you will receive great credit for what you have contributed.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:08 a.m. in the Jefferson Auditorium at the Department of Agriculture. His remarks were broadcast live on radio.

On May 6, 1971, Dr. Norman E. Borlaug, winner of the 1970 Nobel Peace Prize for his role in developing a new wheat strain, joined with the President in inspecting an exhibit of the wheat on the South Lawn at the White House. The exhibit was part of an agricultural display in conjunction with the "Salute to Agriculture."

162 Remarks to Reporters After Touring the Proposed Gateway National Recreation Area in New York and New Jersey. *May* 10, 1971

Ladies and gentlemen:

Secretary Morton will be briefing the press on the project that I will refer to very briefly in my remarks this morning.

I first want to say that this is, in my opinion, one of the most significant steps that the Federal Government has taken, in cooperation with the State governments, on recreation perhaps in this century, because it moves in the direction that all people who have evaluated our parks and recreation areas believe we should move, and that is, to bring parks to the people.

I remember as a young boy what a great thrill it was for me to go to Yosemite, the Big Trees, the Grand Canyon, and the other great parks in the West.

When I moved to New York I remember a conversation that I had with an elevator operator in our building. He was about my age, and he had grown up in New York. And he spoke of his love of the outdoors and particularly of the hope that some day he might be able to visit some of those parks or parks like them that I had grown up with in the West.

The point of this remark simply is to bring home the fact that millions of Americans today do go to the great national parks that are all over this country, and particularly in the western part of the United States.

But here in the New York area, for example, 20 million people live. I would say that perhaps less than a million have ever had the opportunity to go to some of those parks, and less than half of the 20 million people that live in this area have automobiles. So what we need to do is to bring to the 20 million people who live in this area those recreational opportunities that they otherwise could not have.

This means not only an area of recreation—and we have that 23,000 acres, 10 miles of magnificent beach that we have just flown over—but also the transportation, mass transit, a ferry, a subway, whatever is necessary so that people who do not have automobiles may be able to come to these areas.

We discussed a number of other things on our trip, and I just would mention this one that I think is particularly important. There is emphasis in this particular project on wildlife—and we hear some of the wildlife, incidentally, in the hangars today—but I pointed out that to get

young people who grow up in the heart of a city to go to areas like this that are natural and have all the wildlife, there must be some magnet, some enticement.

That means that there must be a proper balance between maintaining the wildlife, the environment, and all that, and still having at the same time those areas of recreation right there that will bring the young people to the beaches and to the wildlife preserves.

The Secretary of Interior will describe our plans in that respect, whereby we hope not only to provide the transportation but also the facilities in these areas that will bring young children from the hearts of the cities of New York, Newark, and others right out here to the beaches. Once they come there for perhaps the reason that they feel they are going to find a recreational area such as they would have in the city, then they will find the wonder and the beauty of the beaches and the wildlife preserves.

I finally want to say that this is a project that has bipartisan support, it is one that this Administration is providing leadership for, and that a great deal of credit certainly should go to the Secretary of the Interior, who, while he will be moving his office to Denver in the far West as an indication of our interest in the western part of the United States and our western recreational areas—that this Gateway East is an indication of the commitment of this Administration, the commitment of the American people, to bring to the people of this country the parks, the recreation areas that otherwise a great majority would never be able to enjoy.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:33 a.m. in hangar 14 at Newark Airport, Newark, N.J. He was accompanied on a helicopter tour of the recreation area by Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller of New York, Gov. William T. Cahill of New Jersey, Mayor John V. Lindsay of New York City, and Mayor Kenneth Gibson of Newark.

On the same day, the White House released a fact sheet and the transcript of a news briefing on the proposed recreation area by Rogers C. B. Morton, Secretary, and George B. Hartzog, Jr., Director, National Park Service, Department of the Interior; Governors Rockefeller and Cahill; and Mayors Lindsay and Gibson.

163 Remarks About a Proposed National Cancer Program. *May* 11, 1971

Ladies and gentlemen:

You will recall that in the State of the Union Message, I announced a program of $100 million to find a cure for cancer. We have made progress in getting the Congress to approve that program, and we have no question at all but that Congressional approval will be forthcoming shortly.

In order to implement the program, the Secretary of HEW sent to the Congress today legislation that will set up a program, the cancer cure program, in the National Institutes of Health.

This, however, will differ from other programs in a very important respect. This program I have asked be the one program within the National Institutes of Health and within the whole health establishment of the United States that is independently budgeted and that is directly responsible to the President of the United States.

I have assumed this responsibility, have

71-234—72——43

asked this responsibility, because of a very deep personal concern about this problem, as many millions of American families have concern about the problem, and also because I believe that direct Presidential interest and Presidential guidance may hasten the day that we will find a cure for cancer.

A word with regard to what the problem is: One out of every four Americans may contract cancer during his life. That means that 50 million Americans of the 200 million in this country today will have cancer unless we make progress in finding a cure for cancer.

When we think of it in the numbers, that, of course, is sobering enough. But most of us think of it in terms of persons.

I remember perhaps my favorite aunt, my Aunt Elizabeth, died with cancer when she was just 38 years of age, and she was a wonderful person, so full of life, and my mother's, I think, favorite sister.

We also think of it in terms of other people we have known. I recall Senator Robert Taft, who died with cancer, and my last visit with him.

I recall John Foster Dulles, the many hours that I used to spend out at the Walter Reed Hospital in the days that he was withering away with cancer.

We could, each of us, in our lives think of personal examples of what this disease does and how it takes strong men and strong women and destroys them in a matter of a few weeks or months or, at best, a year.

Now, there have been some very significant breakthroughs, breakthroughs that indicate that we can really look forward to the day that we can find a cure for cancer.

It doesn't mean it is going to come quickly. How quickly it will come will depend upon the amount of effort that is put in, and also depend upon the genius of those who are working on the problem.

But as far as the cure is concerned, and as far as the time when it is found, it will not fail because of lack of money.

If $100 million this year is not enough, we will provide more money. To the extent money is needed, it will be provided. It will not fail for lack of organization.

The organization is being set up. We will call upon all of the resources of the National Institutes of Health, and, of course, you cannot separate any one disease out without having the various experts in the other fields being able to make a contribution.

And finally, it will not suffer for lack of organization, being directed and having special Presidential interest.

So, our Presidential program for cancer cure is being launched today, and the Secretary of HEW will brief on the aspects of it.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:55 a.m. in the Briefing Room at the White House.

On the same day, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing on the proposed program by Elliot L. Richardson, Secretary, and Robert Q. Marston, Director, National Institutes of Health, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare; and Edward E. David, Jr., Science Adviser to the President.

164 Statement About Proposed Legislation To Establish a National Cancer Program. *May* 11, 1971

CANCER has become one of mankind's deadliest and most elusive enemies. The conquest of cancer is one of the most important efforts of our time.

Success will test the very limits of our imagination and our resourcefulness. It will require a high sense of purpose and a strong sense of discipline.

In my message to the Congress on the State of the Union on January 22, 1971, and again in my special message to the Congress concerning a national health strategy on February 18, 1971, I expressed my determination to wage a successful campaign against this dread disease. I called upon the Congress to appropriate an additional $100 million to support such an effort. I am pleased that in recent days the Appropriations Committees in both the Senate and the House of Representatives have favorably viewed this request, and I am hopeful that the House—which votes today—and the Senate will both follow the committee recommendations.

Fears and Hopes About Cancer

Across the Nation, there is a growing consensus that our vast scientific and technological resources should promptly be marshaled in an unprecedented attack on this devastating disease.

This consensus springs both from fear and from hope.

Cancer is second only to heart disease in the number of lives it takes in this country. And the nature of its ravages makes it our most feared disease. If the present incidence of cancer were to continue, some 52 million Americans who are alive today would contract this disease someday. This means that cancer would strike one out of every four individuals in this country—and two out of every three American families. It would mean that in the next 10 years alone, 3½ million Americans would die from cancer. For many of its victims, death is a slow and painful process. And for many of their families, the personal tragedy is compounded by the financial implications of a prolonged disease.

At the same time, however, there is much reason for hope.

New vistas are now opening for further research into the treatment and prevention of cancer, the result of some remarkable advances which have been made during the past 10 years as we have multiplied many times over our fundamental knowledge in this area. Virus research, for example, has demonstrated that cancer can be produced in animals by over 110 of the nearly 1,000 viruses that science has identified. We have learned that animal cancers can be induced by over 1,000 chemical substances. Effective measures for preventing cancer have been developed in animals, and scientists have even demonstrated that human cancers can be prevented by avoiding exposure to certain chemicals. Other advances include new surgical procedures, more effective radiation therapy, and techniques for treating cancer with improved combinations of known drugs.

All of these developments have fueled our hopes and provided a broad frontier of possibilities for researchers in the months and years ahead. This is why I was able to suggest in my special health mes-

sage to the Congress in February that "of all our research endeavors, cancer research may now be in the best position to benefit from a great infusion of resources."

More Money and Better Organization

The time has now come for us to put our money where our hopes are. In the first full budget developed by this Administration last year, an increase of $20 million was provided for cancer programs. For fiscal year 1972, the Administration request for cancer programs is slightly over $332 million—an increase of $100 million from the 1971 fiscal year. If these resources are provided by the Congress, we should be able to finance a new and massive assault on cancer. If it should turn out that we need more money, however, I will not hesitate to ask the Congress to provide whatever funds can be effectively utilized. But I would also emphasize this important point: More money alone will not be enough. Money can help set the stage for faster progress, but in the end it is brainpower alone which can lead us to our goals. This means, of course, that we need to mobilize the intelligence and imagination of our doctors and scientists. And it also means that we must do a better job of tapping the Nation's administrative and organizational skills, which can help remove many roadblocks to success. Our capacities for efficient management were instrumental in our efforts to split the atom and travel to the moon. Now we need to apply those same capacities to the conquest of cancer.

This means, for one thing, that a wide variety of research activities in all parts of the country, in many areas of society, and in a great number of disciplines must be carefully coordinated. There must be as much cross-fertilization as possible between various scientific pursuits.

In the past, the National Institutes of Health have had considerable success in fostering such coordination and cooperation, and, in the process, they have earned both the respect of the scientific community and the gratitude of thousands who live happier and healthier lives because of NIH successes. It is for this reason that I have asked the Congress to establish a cancer cure program within the National Institutes of Health, where it can take the fullest advantage of other wide-ranging research.

At the same time, it is important that this program be identified as one of our highest priorities, and that its potential for relieving human suffering not be compromised by the familiar dangers of bureaucracy and redtape. For this reason, I am asking the Congress to give the cancer cure program independent budgetary status and to make its Director responsible directly to the President. This effort needs the full weight and support of the Presidency to see to it that it moves toward its goals as expeditiously as possible. I am further recommending that this Director be supported by a strong management group which has as its one goal the cure of cancer, and which can pursue that goal with single-minded tenacity.

In addition, I am recommending that a new cancer cure advisory committee be set up to provide a broad range of

advice and assistance for the President and for others who lead the cancer cure program, particularly as they work to set intelligent priorities for the Nation's efforts in this area.

I am pleased to report that the detailed management and administrative mechanisms for carrying out these plans have been discussed in considerable detail within the National Institutes of Health, with experts in the field outside of government, and in the Office of the Secretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. As these plans are translated into action, I hope that the Congress will comment on them and suggest additional ways in which we can work toward these significant goals.

I would not want to discuss the subject of cancer research, however, without offering a word of caution. Many of the experts that we consulted with told us that biomedical research is a notoriously unpredictable enterprise. Instant breakthroughs are few, and the path of progress is strewn with unexpected obstacles. As we undertake this crusade, we must put on the armor of patience, ready to persist in our efforts through a waiting period of unknown and possibly anguishing duration.

Yet I feel confident that with such funding as I have proposed, with such organizations as we are developing, with the dedicated efforts of thousands of men and women from many disciplines, and with the cooperation of the Congress and the people of the United States, we can make great strides against this terrible enemy, bringing new hope for all Americans—and indeed new hope for all the world.

165 Statement About House Approval of Funds for the Supersonic Transport Program. *May* 12, 1971

I CONGRATULATE the House of Representatives for having very wisely reversed their earlier position on the SST, and I strongly urge the Senate to reconsider promptly its earlier vote.

The Congress has today taken an important first step on behalf of thousands of workers across the country who have been engaged in the SST program—and whose vital skills and experience might otherwise be lost to the Nation.

It has been a mark of America's greatness through the years that this Nation has been willing to explore the unknown, to maintain technological leadership, and, in so doing, to contribute enormously to the progress of civilization.

I reaffirm a pledge made earlier: that the SST will not be committed to production until all environmental concerns have been thoroughly satisfied. I hope the Members of the Senate will find persuasive the same considerations that moved the House, and that when it comes before them they also will give it their approval.

166 Statement on Signing Executive Order on Protection and Enhancement of the Cultural Environment. *May* 13, 1971

SEVERAL years ago the intervention of a President averted planned construction of two huge Federal office buildings fronting on Lafayette Square opposite the White House. Instead, restoration and reconstruction of the historic 19th-century townhouses along Madison and Jackson Places was undertaken, with provision for the old residences themselves to accommodate government offices and for the large modern structures to be placed behind them. It was a significant example of the way intelligent planning can meet modern urban needs without sweeping away the gracious presence of the past.

Unfortunately, the preservation of Lafayette Square's historic character was the exception, not the rule, in recent Federal treatment of properties with special historic and cultural value. America's awakening consciousness of environmental protection has brought new respect for the best works of man as well as for the realm of nature—and the number of properties nominated for listing on the National Register of Historic Places has increased dramatically in recent years. Yet the number of nominations of federally owned properties has lagged, even though the Federal Government—particularly in its military installations—owns an important share of the Nation's historic sites and buildings.

One reason for this lag appears to be that State and local historic preservation officials have been reluctant to undertake surveys and evaluation on federally owned property. This has to change. It is time for a truce between the bulldozer of progress and the treasures of the American past.

In my environmental message last February, I announced that I would take action "to insure that no federally-owned property is demolished until its historic significance has first been reviewed." Today I am directing Federal agencies to begin evaluating their properties to determine which may possess historic, archaeological, or architectural significance. This comprehensive evaluation of all currently owned Federal properties is to be completed by July 1, 1973. Until that time Federal agencies will exercise caution to assure that properties which might qualify for listing on the National Register of Historic Places are not inadvertently transferred, sold, demolished, or altered. In addition I am directing the Federal agencies to encourage and cooperate with State and local historic preservation officials in making surveys on federally owned property.

Besides providing an example of leadership in preserving its own culturally significant sites, buildings, and artifacts, the Federal Government must take steps to encourage preservation by other levels of government and by the private sector. In my legislative proposals this year I have recommended the establishment of Federal insurance guarantees for restoration of privately owned historic properties. I have also recommended, as part of the National Land Use Policy Act of 1971, that States control land uses in historic districts to assure that construction in such areas is consistent with preservation of

historic characteristics. I am also proposing that tax laws be amended to encourage restoration of historic buildings.

As we approach the American Bicentennial, it is fitting that we devote greater attention to the protection and enhancement of our cultural heritage. By my order today I am directing Federal agencies to assure that the Government's own historic properties are identified, nominated for listing on the National Register, and preserved at professional standards. By action on my other proposals, the Congress can give new impetus to historical preservation throughout the United States.

NOTE: On May 13, 1971, the President signed Executive Order 11593.

On the same day, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing by Rogers C. B. Morton, Secretary of the Interior, and Russell E. Train, Chairman, Council on Environmental Quality, on preservation of the cultural environment.

167 Letter Reappointing E. Roland Harriman as Chairman of the American National Red Cross. *May* 15, 1971

Dear Roland:

The profound dedication to the welfare of all of our fellow men which you have demonstrated for so long as Chairman of the American National Red Cross has earned the gratitude as well as the deep respect of the American people.

The extent of your work in behalf of humanity is measureless. Past Presidents of the United States have been happy to express the Nation's confidence and appreciation by asking you to continue your splendid efforts through continued service in this demanding cause, and I am especially pleased to have the opportunity to reappoint you as Governor of the Corporation for a term of three years, from June 12, 1971. This appointment is made in accordance with provisions of Section 5 as amended, of the Act to incorporate the American Red Cross.

I also designate you to act as the principal officer of the corporation with such title and functions as may be prescribed in the by-laws of the corporation.

With best personal regards.

Sincerely,

RICHARD NIXON

[Honorable E. Roland Harriman, Chairman, American National Red Cross, Washington, D.C. 20006]

NOTE: The letter, dated May 13, 1971, was made available to the press on May 15 at Key Biscayne, Fla.

168 Statement About United States Military Forces in Europe. *May* 15, 1971

AT THIS POINT in time, it would be an error of historic dimensions for any of the North Atlantic Treaty allies to reduce unilaterally the military forces maintained in Europe for the common defense.

As the most powerful member of the Alliance, the United States bears a responsibility for leadership.

Let us persevere to carry forward the policy of this Nation under five successive

Presidents representing both political parties, confident that our united strength will promote the enduring peace we seek.

NOTE: The statement was released at Key Biscayne, Fla., following Senate debate on an amendment to the Military Selective Service Act of 1967. Introduced on May 11, 1971, by Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield, the amendment required the reduction of U.S. forces stationed in Europe by December 31, 1971.

On May 13, the President met with a group of military and diplomatic officials from present and previous administrations to discuss the proposed amendment to reduce U.S. forces in Europe. On the same day, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing on the meeting by former Secretary of State Dean Acheson and former Under Secretary of State George W. Ball.

A list of former U.S. Government officials who supported the President's statement was released by the White House on May 15 and is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 7, p. 772).

On May 15, the White House also made available to the press a statement in support of the President by former President Lyndon B. Johnson. It read as follows:

I have seen the President's statement opposing at this time a unilateral reduction of military forces maintained in Europe for the common defense. I am totally in accord with that statement.

American steadiness in support of NATO for more than 20 years has not only helped to bring security and progress to the North Atlantic community, it has also encouraged movement toward reconciliation with those toward the East. Unilateral reduction of our military forces in Europe would endanger what we have achieved in the past and shatter our hopes for the future.

On May 16, the White House made available a message from former President Harry S. Truman, which was conveyed to the White House by Mr. Acheson and read as follows:

Former President Harry S. Truman agrees entirely with the statement made by President Nixon and released Saturday morning. He also agrees with the statement issued by former President Lyndon Baines Johnson.

On May 17, the White House released the following letter from the Secretary General of NATO:

Dear Mr. President:

I have seen reports of Senator Mansfield's proposal to reduce U.S. forces in Europe from about 300,000 men to about 150,000. Everyone is, of course, entitled to his own opinion, and I do not doubt, or contest the good faith and intentions of Senator Mansfield or of anyone who may share his view. Nevertheless, I feel bound to say that to me, the ideas underlying this proposal appear to be untenable, and to run counter to the conclusions of the extensive study which has recently been completed on alliance defense problems in the 1970's.

The assumption that unilateral reduction of U.S. forces in Europe would not undermine the Atlantic Alliance and NATO's solidarity is deeply and dangerously mistaken. Such a step would withdraw all credibility from NATO's ability to keep its commitments and to maintain a solid deterrent in the face of Warsaw Pact strength. It would compromise efforts toward detente and deprive the Alliance of any serious basis for East-West negotiations on political problems and on armaments control. Finally, and most importantly, the proposed reduction would mean a return to a trip-wire strategy, in contradiction to the basis of the Alliance's present strategy of flexibility in response, for it is NATO's overall strength in Europe which provides the Alliance with an alternative to an immediate nuclear retaliation if attacked.

Furthermore, the mere fact that Senator Mansfield has suggested a major unilateral reduction could deeply affect the political and moral strength of NATO. It runs counter to repeated solemn U.S. commitments, like those of all the other allies, to maintain NATO's overall military capability and not to reduce their forces without previous full consultation in the Alliance, and except as agreed with the East on the basis of mutual and balanced force reductions.

Sincerely,

MANLIO BROSIO
Secretary General of NATO

169 Special Message to the Congress Requesting Extension of Negotiation Period in the Railway Labor Dispute. *May* 17, 1971

To the Congress of the United States:

After extended efforts at settlement the Nation is once more confronted by an emergency arising from an unresolved labor dispute in the railroad industry. The dispute involves disagreement over wages, hours and working conditions between the Brotherhood of Railway Signalmen representing approximately 10,000 employees and the National Railway Labor Conference representing the Nation's railroads. Throughout the course of negotiations, the parties have had the assistance of the Federal Government in their efforts to resolve their differences. Now, all existing governmental procedures for resolving this dispute have been exhausted and the union has called a nationwide work stoppage this morning, May 17, 1971.

A nationwide stoppage of rail service would cause great hardship to all Americans and strike a serious blow at the Nation's economy. It is essential that our railroads continue to operate. I had hoped for a voluntary negotiated settlement of this dispute; however, this was not forthcoming. I am, therefore, recommending that Congress enact legislation which would extend the present negotiations until July 1, 1971. Such a recommendation is not only consistent with the national interest in continued rail service but preserves the processes of free collective bargaining. I have asked the Secretary of Labor to follow closely the situation as it develops, to continue assisting the parties and, if no settlement has been reached, to report to me and the Congress by June 21, 1971.

It is indeed regrettable that Congress must act once again to forestall another in a long line of crises occurring in the railroad industry. This situation reemphasizes the chaotic nature of collective bargaining in the transportation industry as it functions under existing legislation. The time has long since passed for active consideration and action by the Congress on the proposals which I have twice presented to it to resolve emergencies such as this in an equitable and conclusive manner and, thus, to preclude the necessity of Congressional action on each individual dispute. It is inexcusable that the Nation should continue to pay the price of archaic procedures for the resolution of labor-management disputes in the transportation industry.

However, pending such action, I must urge that Congress act immediately on the proposal we are now presenting so that a crippling stoppage can be averted and the Nation can continue to have rail service.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
May 17, 1971

NOTE: On May 17, 1971, the President signed Executive Order 11594, providing for use of transportation priorities and allocations during the current railroad strike.

On the same day, the White House released the text of a proposed joint resolution providing for a temporary prohibition of strikes or lockouts in the dispute and a list of categories of essential items designated to receive transportation priorities.

On May 18, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing by Senator Robert P. Griffin and Representative Gerald R. Ford

71-234—72——44

on a Republican leadership meeting with the President during which the need for Congressional action to halt the strike was discussed.

On March 4, the President signed Executive Order 11585 creating an emergency board to investigate the railway labor dispute. The White House released the report of Emergency Board No. 179 on April 14.

170 Statement About Approval of the Welfare Reform and Social Security Bill by the House Committee on Ways and Means. *May* 18, 1971

THE House Ways and Means Committee has taken a momentous step in approving H.R. 1. This bill, with its important symbolic designation as the first order of business of the 92d Congress, represents an important landmark in the history of both social security and public welfare reform. As reported by the committee, under the responsible leadership of Chairman Wilbur Mills and Congressman John Byrnes, this bill represents the finest kind of cooperation between this Administration and the Congress.

H.R. 1 embodies the essential principles advanced in my welfare reform proposals of August 1969. It provides:

—A requirement that assistance recipients who are employable must register for work or training as a condition to receiving benefits.

—A basic payment of $130 per month for the adult assistance programs which go to the needy aged, to the blind, and to the disabled, increasing to $150 per month after 2 years. These programs would be administered by the National Government through the Social Security Administration, but would be funded separately from the OASDI [Old-Age, Survivors, and Disability Insurance] social insurance program.

—A financing plan which eases the pressure of mounting welfare costs on State budgets and the pressure for higher local taxes.

—Coverage of the working poor to end the penalties for work in the present welfare system.

—A substantial program to provide increased child care and job training opportunities in a way which ensures that work and training opportunities are related to the recipients' needs.

—A basic floor of dignity for every low-income family with children. It establishes a payment standard of $2,400 for a family of four, while eliminating the cumbersome and restrictive food stamp program, replacing it with cash payments.

—A new, unified administrative structure, under the Labor Department, for dealing more effectively with the problems of those family assistance recipients who are employable. Similarly the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare would administer programs for those not employable, in a manner best suited to their needs.

I believe very strongly that work—for those who are able to perform it—is essential to a person's dignity and self-respect. H.R. 1 builds on this principle. In addition to the work and registration requirement for employable recipients, H.R. 1 provides strong encouragements for wel-

fare recipients to become self-supporting in the following ways:

—200,000 new public service jobs to provide valuable work experience to prepare recipients for regular jobs. This Administration urged the adoption of such a provision last February. It is the correct approach to public service employment.

—Child care for an additional 450,000 children to enable their mothers to take work and contribute to their support when appropriate.

—Expanded training programs for an additional 225,000 persons.

—A "disregard" provision which would allow the first $720 per year of earned income in the determination of welfare payments, thus defraying the initial cost of going to work. As earnings rise toward limits tailored to family size and income, the bill also allows recipients to retain some of their added income without a commensurate loss of assistance payments. It eliminates the old penalty for going back to work.

As I have said often during the past 2 years, our present welfare system is a hopeless failure. We can no longer tolerate a system that penalizes those who work, fails to control costs and coverage, and lacks the necessary incentives to encourage those who are able to work to go to work. Taxpayers and recipients alike demand a change. Welfare reform has been one of my highest priorities since the earliest days of my Presidency.

This Congress has the opportunity to enact the most fundamental reform of the welfare system since its inception in the dark days of the Great Depression of the thirties.

I earnestly hope that the House of Representatives and the Senate will follow the lead of the Committee on Ways and Means and move promptly to enact this bill into law.

Much of the discussion over H.R. 1 has concerned its welfare provisions. But this important bill also includes historic reforms in the social security system, the program which undergirds the income of millions of older Americans. H.R. 1 includes:

—Automatic adjustment provisions which will allow basic payments to keep pace with the cost of living, thus protecting our older citizens against the ravages of inflation. This has long been a goal which I have endorsed.

—Increased benefits for widows and widowers, eliminating an inequity which now creates a particular hardship on some of our poorer citizens.

—Liberalization of the retirment work-income test, removing once and for all the present confiscatory reduction in benefits for any earnings above $2,800.

—Incentives for recipients of both Medicare and Medicaid to seek more comprehensive health care—particularly preventive care—by encouraging the use of health maintenance organizations.

—Mechanisms to foster greater cost-consciousness and more efficient utilization of medical services, by increasing the deductible amount in the supplementary medical insurance program and by providing for cost-sharing and for reasonable limitations on Medicaid services.

The committee also added a 5 percent increase in social security effective in June of 1972. This increase means that social security benefits will have risen 33 percent

over the past 3 years. This is an important recognition of the needs of the Nation's elderly. This new 5 percent increase helps to establish the point that I have long been urging that social security benefits be tied to the cost of living, and I believe it is appropriate.

Any bill can be improved; H.R. 1 is no exception. While hailing the concepts embodied in this legislation, I would hope that subsequent Congressional action could focus on several areas of possible improvement.

First, the cost of the social security and Medicare measures as provided in the bill should be determined in the light of present budget realities. The cost-saving approaches which were proposed for Medicare at an earlier time should now be enacted following similar actions on the Medicaid program. These actions should be accompanied by a shift in the way we would finance our supplementary medical insurance program. Payments for this program should be made while the beneficiary is working rather than by reducing his retirement income.

Finally, it should be made very clear that the fiscal relief this bill provides is only a partial response to the fiscal pressures now bearing down on States and cities throughout the country. There is a need for welfare reform, but there is also a pressing need for revenue sharing—distributed in a fashion more appropriate to the real financial burdens felt by all States and cities. I would urge speedy action on this front as well.

I view revenue sharing and welfare reform as interlocking components in our effort to reform Federal fiscal relief to the State and local institutions of government. Welfare reform in 1973 will relieve fiscal pressure, primarily on State governments, by helping them to meet the fastest growing element of their present expenditures. Revenue sharing would provide immediate help to our equally hard-pressed cities and to States as well. Revenue sharing would also help to promote a long-range reform of the present fragmented and inefficient system of delivering Federal aid to State and local governments, and it would do much to strengthen the overall capacities of State and local governments.

H.R. 1 is the single most significant piece of social legislation to be considered by the Congress in decades. It is my profound hope that the House of Representatives and the Senate of the United States will carry forward the momentum which has been generated, thus seizing an historic opportunity—and meeting an historic obligation.

NOTE: The White House released the transcripts of two news briefings on H.R. 1: the first, on May 12, 1971, by Elliot L. Richardson, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare; and the second, on May 18, by John G. Veneman, Under Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.

171 Statement on Signing Bill Extending Negotiation Period in the Railway Labor Dispute. *May* 18, 1971

I AM SIGNING this legislation in order to end the current national railroad strike which has resulted in severe hardship to millions of Americans and would, if it continued, sharply curtail the current upturn in the Nation's economy. I fully ex-

pect that the striking signalmen and all those who have supported the strike will immediately return to work. I urge the representatives of both the railroads and labor to return to the bargaining table with a clear view of their obligations to the Nation so that this dispute can be settled through the process of free collective bargaining.

It is regrettable that the Congress was forced to act in this matter under the pressures of an existing strike and mounting harm to the Nation. This situation underscores the need for the Congress to consider immediately the permanent legislation which I have twice proposed for resolving such disputes without separate Congressional action in each instance. A pattern of repeated strikes and Congressional reaction to them can only impair free collective bargaining while placing an unnecessary burden on the Nation.

The legislation which I have signed this evening demonstrates that the Congress can act swiftly on matters of grave national concern. The circumstances which gave rise to this legislation indicate that restructuring the legal framework for labor-management relations in the transportation industry is a matter of very high national priority. The need for reform in this area has been evident for some time. Now it is imperative that Congress take action to provide permanent, effective legislation, as I have proposed.

NOTE: As enacted, the bill (S.J. Res. 100) is Public Law 92–17 (85 Stat. 39).

On the same day, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing on the bill and the need for permanent legislation by James D. Hodgson, Secretary, and W. J. Usery, Jr., Assistant Secretary for Labor-Management Relations, Department of Labor.

172 Letter to Representative Charles C. Diggs, Jr., in Response to Recommendations of the Congressional Black Caucus. *May* 19, 1971

Dear Congressman Diggs:

I valued the opportunity to meet with you and your colleagues of the Congressional Black Caucus [1] on March 25. The sixty recommendations for governmental action which you presented to me at that meeting have served as a framework for review of the matters we discussed.

The Administration has examined these recommendations in depth over the past seven weeks. A fresh assessment of all the alternatives in each area characterized this review process, both at the operating department level and then at the White House. Present policies served as a starting point, but we went beyond these in attempting to draw our conclusions on the merits in each case. We found that your broad goals are largely the same as those of the Administration, and we used this review as an occasion for measuring actual results against these goals and for considering appropriate changes where results seemed inadequate.

This review, culminating in the preparation of detailed responses to each of your proposals, was conducted under the overall supervision of the Domestic Council and the Office of Management and Budget. At the same time, George Shultz,

[1] The Congressional Black Caucus included the 12 black Members of the House of Representatives and the District of Columbia Delegate to Congress.

Director of OMB, prepared at my request a summary report on this Administration's major programs and activities in the field of civil rights and related social and economic programs. Having reviewed and concurred in this report and the sixty responses, I am pleased to transmit them to you and your colleagues herewith.

These documents constitute a progress report on our efforts to achieve equality, justice, and full opportunity for all Americans. We have tried to make them candid and factual. They measure both successes and shortcomings. In those instances in which we have found ourselves in disagreement with your recommendations, we have acknowledged the disagreement but also spelled out our alternative approaches. In many cases, we have found a basic accord between your recommendations and our policies.

I am encouraged to note that there is such accord in three especially critical areas: We share a determination to reform the welfare system so that it will help solve, rather than aggravate, the problems of those who lack a minimum income. You attach high priority, as I do, to a program of revenue sharing that will enable our cities and States to serve the people better. And you are committed, as I am, to a concerted drive for expanded economic opportunities for minorities and all other Americans—a drive to validate with jobs, income, and tangible benefits the pledges this society has made to the disadvantaged in the past decade.

This is the building work of the Seventies, and it is bound to be more difficult than the legislative efforts of the Sixties. Equality of opportunity has been affirmed in American law; conscience and public resolve brought that much to pass. But now we have entered a new and much harder phase. The steady gains of the years ahead will inevitably be less dramatic than the bright hopes raised a few years ago. We continue to honor those hopes. At issue now is whether all of us have the realism and stamina to persist in the long, hard task of realizing them in American life, of translating rhetorical promise into concrete results.

We are already making significant progress as noted in the attached report and the detailed responses. Much more remains to be done to realize our shared goals. I am determined to press forward vigorously—believing as I do that full opportunity and equal justice for all are basic to the American ideal.

I have directed that the process of monitoring and evaluation reflected by the report and responses be continued, and my Administration will remain receptive to your views and those of your Congressional colleagues as we continue to search for the best ways of achieving progress on matters of common concern.

Sincerely,

RICHARD NIXON

[Honorable Charles C. Diggs, Jr., House of Representatives, Washington, D.C. 20515]

NOTE: The letter, dated May 18, 1971, was made available to the press on May 19, together with a document detailing the recommendations of the Caucus and Administration response to them and a memorandum to the President from George P. Shultz, Director, Office of Management and Budget, summarizing Administration progress in civil rights and related social programs.

On May 19, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing on the Administration's response to the recommendations by Director Shultz and Arnold R. Weber, Associate Director, Office of Management and Budget.

173 Remarks at the Annual Convention of the American National Red Cross. *May* 19, 1971

Chairman Kenney, all of the distinguished guests who are delegates, and those attending the convention of the American Red Cross:

I wish first to tell you that I am very appreciative and grateful of the invitation that I have received to address this organization, which I am proud to serve as Honorary Chairman. In fact, it is the only organization, as President of the United States, in which I have that distinguished title.

I want you to know, too, that I am glad that before you left the city of Washington that I was able to come before you in this session to address you very briefly, but from the heart, about the work that you have done and the pride that I have as your Honorary Chairman, and also as the President of this country, in working with you in great and good causes.

I was not sure that I was going to be able to come to this convention on Monday and Tuesday—we have a few problems at the present time in this country.

Tuesday, as you know, we had the problem of the railway strike. At 10:30 last night, I signed the bill that the Congress passed. So the trains will run, and you will all be able to go home, in case anybody rides the trains anymore. But late yesterday, when it appeared that the strike would go on through today, I called in my Appointments Secretary and said, "It doesn't look as if I may be able to get to the Red Cross on Wednesday morning, because if the strike is still going on, consultations would have to take place with Congressional leaders, and other matters of importance would have to come before me."

And I said, "When will they be back to Washington for a convention?" And so he checked the record, and he said, "Well, the last time they were here was in 1957, and President Eisenhower addressed the convention on that occasion." He said, "The next time they will be in Washington will be in 1981. Maybe they will invite you, but you can't do it as President of the United States."

Then I noted, however, that E. Roland Harriman is going to serve his eighth term as Chairman of the American Red Cross. And if I followed in his footsteps, maybe we might be able to make it, but I won't take that chance.

I did not want the American Red Cross to meet in Washington on this historic occasion without having the opportunity to come before you. And so I am here, and I want to cover briefly those points that anyone who serves as President of the United States would want to make to this organization, because perhaps no one in this country knows better than I do how much we depend upon you, your 2,400,000 members, and the millions who contribute to the American Red Cross for the works that you participate in.

I think back through my own term of office, over 2 years, and I think of those occasions when the American Red Cross has come to the assistance of our Government and of the American people.

I know that you have expressed deep concern in this convention about the plight of our prisoners of war, missing in action, throughout all of Southeast Asia. I am grateful for the work that you have done and the great tradition of the Red Cross, a tradition which recognizes that

humanitarian concern transcends any differences that may be the cause of a war.

And you, in your handling of this issue of POW's and missing in action throughout Southeast Asia, have acted in the great tradition of the Red Cross, I am most grateful for what you have done.

Then I think of those other areas where the American Red Cross has been called upon and has come through in case after case, and the fact that I mention those that have been most newsworthy, the big news events, doesn't mean that those hundreds of other instances in community after community, State after State, are not also just as important in their way.

But I think of a hurricane in Mississippi. I remember visiting that area and seeing the devastation. And wherever there was devastation, and wherever there was suffering, the Red Cross was there helping, helping in a very personal way that the Government of the United States would not be able to match.

I know of an earthquake in California. I was not there at the time. I was there at the time of the '33 quake, however. I recall what the Red Cross did then, in 1933. I know what you did in this case in this year, 1971.

I know, too, of what you have done abroad. I know, for example, of an earthquake that occurred in Peru. I got a first-hand report on that earthquake from Mrs. Nixon, who went down to Peru in order to express the interest of our Government, but more important, the interest of the American people in the people of Peru.

This allows me to make a very important point about volunteerism, which the Red Cross, of course, represents in the eyes of most Americans and people throughout the world, perhaps better than any organization, more uniformly than any organization that we have.

When Mrs. Nixon went to Peru, it was recognized that the Government of the United States and the Government of Peru had very wide differences. You have read of those differences: the expropriation, for example, of some of our businesses in that country. But also, it was recognized that at least 60,000 people had been killed in that earthquake, had lost their lives. The suffering was simply indescribable.

So when she went, she went down in a plane, an American plane, the Air Force One. It was filled not with people, but with various items that were needed for those who were suffering—medical supplies, blankets, et cetera. That was, of course, symbolic.

She took a check with her, a check from the American Government. I think it was $10 million. That is a lot of money. But she also took several other checks, one a very large one from the American Red Cross, and others from other organizations—a labor union, other volunteer organizations.

When she came back, she said that as far as the people of Peru were concerned, that she met, and the Government leaders of Peru were concerned, they were far more impressed by the checks they received and the funds they received and the help they received from the American Red Cross and the other volunteer agencies than they were with the funds they received from the Government of the United States.

They needed both. They wanted both, and I am happy that this country is wealthy enough that, whether it is an earthquake in Peru or a flood in Romania, whatever the differences we have with

governments, we always respond to humanitarian concern as a government, but even more important, we have throughout this country organizations like the Red Cross who, when there are problems abroad, when there is human suffering, whatever the political differences there may be between our country and that country, we come to their assistance.

I can assure you that that very personal reaction that Mrs. Nixon found among the people of Peru proved to me, demonstrated to me, something I had known before, but what we always need to be reminded of: that what we do as a government is very important—but other nations can also do things as a government, people with a different standard than we have—but what we do as people, what we do voluntarily, that comes from the heart; that comes from one person having a concern about another person, and that really gets through.

So I express appreciation to the American Red Cross not only for what you did in the earthquake in Peru but for human suffering in the United States, abroad, wherever the case might be. This serves the cause of peace. It serves the cause, eventually, of good will which we hope will permeate the governments as well as the people of the world more than it is the case today.

Let me perhaps bring that message home in terms that people here in the Red Cross, who know this long and distinguished history of this organization much better than I, and also to update it in terms of a personal experience that Mrs. Nixon and I had in 1953 in Hong Kong.

Everybody who has studied the Red Cross record knows of that moving experience on the terrible battlefield of Solferino in the year 1859 when Henri Dunant, with three Austrian doctors, and some English tourists, an Italian priest, walked among the wounded and, regardless of which side they had fought on, gave them water. As they moved among the wounded, the word began to be heard over and over again from group to group: *"Tutti fratèlli,"* all are brothers.

Nothing, perhaps, more symbolizes the spirit of the Red Cross, your humanitarian concern for distress wherever it may be, than that *"tutti fratèlli,"* all are brothers.

I saw it in a very different sense in 1953. We visited Hong Kong immediately after the truce had been agreed on in Korea, which ended the fighting in that war-torn country. We were driving in an automobile in an area called the New Territories, which is on the other side of the bay from Hong Kong city proper.

As we drove along, we had a little bit of water in our schedule, and we saw an elementary school in which the schoolchildren were apparently at recess and were in the schoolyard. We stopped the car, we got out, we walked into the schoolgrounds.

As soon as the word was around that the Vice President of the United States and his wife were there, the little Chinese children swarmed around, just as American children would swarm around some stranger or some VIP from another country who had happened to visit their schoolgrounds.

We talked to them. Mrs. Nixon went into the first grade room, having been a former teacher, and talked to them, signed her name with a brush, Chinese style. After 25 or 30 minutes, it was time for us to go on to make our next appointment.

I talked to the principal of the school, who was also the teacher of English, and I asked him at the next assembly to speak

to all of the children in the school and to give them a message. I said to him, "Tell them that as Vice President of the United States I bring greetings and best wishes and the spirit of friendship from all the people of the United States to all the Chinese people."

He saw the significance of that statement, because thousands of Americans had been killed in Korea by Chinese troops. And then he said, "Mr. Vice President, I am deeply grateful for the visit that you and your wife have paid to our school, and I will pass this message on."

I can tell you that despite the differences that presently exist, and have existed, between governments, that I am convinced that the time will come when our two peoples, the Chinese people, wherever they are, on the mainland or elsewhere, and the American people, will again live together in peace and friendship, because he said, "As the visit that you and Mrs. Nixon have paid to our school today demonstrates, we are all brothers in our hearts."

The year 1981 will come. Another President of the United States will be standing here, perhaps with this podium or an improvement. He will be addressing some of you—oh, perhaps most of you. I am sure most of you will perhaps attend that convention, and I think of what I would wish this Nation would be like and what the world would be like at that time.

Let me put it very simply in this way: I want to see, and you want to see, the United States at peace with all nations in the world, and we will be at peace with all nations in the world long before 1981. Beyond that, when that year comes, and long before it, I want the United States, through its leadership, to have broken down the barriers that divide people from people in the world.

As I have often said, and I am sure you will agree with this sentiment: I want the world then, and as soon before then as we can bring it about, to be one in which our children can go to any country in the world so that they can know the people, whether they are Chinese or Russian, or whatever country they may be in.

There will always be differences between governments. There will always be rivalries between peoples. We are never going to have a period, of course, in which those differences will be totally erased. But we can have the absence of war in the world. We can have peace in that sense.

Once having achieved that, then we must go on to a new understanding, a new understanding between and among people. That understanding cannot come from government. Government can help by breaking down the barriers. It will only come as great organizations like the Red Cross, as far as the United States is concerned, move through the world and demonstrate that we care about other people, because we care about them as individuals; not because of their wealth, not because of their power, not because of what they can do to us or take away from us, but because we are concerned about them as individual human beings.

It is that spirit which built the Red Cross. And so when the year comes, the year 1881, I confidently hope—in 1981, I confidently hope—I don't think anybody was here in 1881 [*laughter*]—when that year comes, 1981, I confidently hope and I confidently believe that not only will we have the United States at peace with all

nations in the world, but that our children will have that opportunity, which they do not have today, to visit all parts of the world, to know people in all parts of the world, and to learn the truth of the great principle upon which this organization was founded: that we are, in truth, all brothers in our hearts.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:22 a.m. in the Sheraton Park Hotel.

W. John Kenney was chairman of the District of Columbia chapter, American National Red Cross, and chairman of the convention.

174 Statement About Federal Assistance for Farmers in Drought-Stricken Areas of the Southwest. *May* 19, 1971

THE SEVERE drought in the Southwest has created serious hardships on farmers, ranchers, and the agricultural economy in that part of the country. The severity of the drought is most forcefully demonstrated by the estimate that losses to agricultural enterprises may now exceed $400 million.

The drought situation has caused increasing concern on two levels: first, the effect on the individual farmer, especially the small farmer who cannot grow his crops but still must make the mortgage payments on his farm and equipment; and second, the effect on the economy of the region.

Today I am ordering additional steps to help these farmers by dealing with both their immediate and longer range needs.

For the farmer who is suffering financial distress, even to the point of possibly losing his farm because of foreclosure as the result of the drought, I am today instructing the Secretary of Agriculture to make available $50 million in Farm Ownership Loan Program funds. This will serve as an important source of aid for drought victims in emergency counties in the Southwest.

I have also directed the Secretary of Agriculture to reduce the price at which feed grain can be sold to drought-stricken farmers to 75 percent of support level. This equals approximately 50 percent of the open market price for feed grain. This step should help alleviate both the immediate and medium-range problems now facing those who are most directly affected by the drought.

In addition, I am prepared to direct the release of an additional $75 million to the Operating Loan Program as soon as the House of Representatives acts favorably on S. 1806, legislation which will convert the Operating Loan Program from a direct to an insured basis.

I have also directed the Secretary of Agriculture to create a Hay Bank which will allow farmers to grow and put up hay on 25 percent of their set-aside lands for use in drought emergencies.

To help the farmer who cannot operate his farm because he does not have the money or credit to buy feed, fuel, or fertilizer, we have submitted to the Congress a request to make available $65 million through the Farmers Home Administration Emergency Farm Operating Loan program. A substantial portion of these funds will be available to victims of the drought and are in addition to $28 million which has already been made available in the drought-stricken area.

To monitor our programs and insure

that our resources are being effectively mobilized to meet the needs of the area, I have set up an interagency committee. The committee, which will include representatives of the Office of Emergency Preparedness, the Department of Agriculture, the Small Business Administration, and the Office of Management and Budget, will make periodic reports and recommendations to me concerning these important efforts.

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing on the President's actions by Clifford M. Hardin, Secretary of Agriculture, and Senators Henry L. Bellmon of Oklahoma and John G. Tower of Texas.

A White House announcement of Federal assistance to farmers and ranchers in drought-stricken areas of Texas was released on April 14, 1971, and is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 7, p. 629).

175 Remarks Announcing an Agreement on Strategic Arms Limitation Talks. *May* 20, 1971

Good afternoon, ladies and gentlemen:

As you know, the Soviet-American talks on limiting nuclear arms have been deadlocked for over a year. As a result of negotiations involving the highest level of both governments, I am announcing today a significant development in breaking the deadlock.

The statement that I shall now read is being issued simultaneously in Moscow and Washington: Washington, 12 o'clock; Moscow, 7 p.m.

> The Governments of the United States and the Soviet Union, after reviewing the course of their talks on the limitation of strategic armaments, have agreed to concentrate this year on working out an agreement for the limitation of the deployment of anti-ballistic missile systems (ABMs). They have also agreed that, together with concluding an agreement to limit ABMs, they will agree on certain measures with respect to the limitation of offensive strategic weapons.
>
> The two sides are taking this course in the conviction that it will create more favorable conditions for further negotiations to limit all strategic arms. These negotiations will be actively pursued.

This agreement is a major step in breaking the stalemate on nuclear arms talks. Intensive negotiations, however, will be required to translate this understanding into a concrete agreement.

This statement that I have just read expresses the commitment of the Soviet and American Governments at the highest levels to achieve that goal. If we succeed, this joint statement that has been issued today may well be remembered as the beginning of a new era in which all nations will devote more of their energies and their resources not to the weapons of war, but to the works of peace.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12 noon in the Briefing Room at the White House. His remarks were broadcast live on radio and television.

On the same day, the White House released the text of the joint statement read by the President; a chronology of the strategic arms limitation talks, including a list of the U.S. delegation; and an information sheet on the status of the SAFEGUARD antiballistic missile system and comparisons of U.S. and Soviet strategic force strengths.

176 Remarks on Presenting the National Medal of Science Awards for 1970. *May* 21, 1971

Ladies and gentlemen:

Mrs. Nixon and I are very happy to welcome you, all of our distinguished recipients of the Medal of Science and their families and their friends, on this occasion.

All of you know that this medal is one of the very highest that can be awarded in the United States, and in the field of science the very highest, and it is particularly significant that those who are the recipients today cover such a wide range of disciplines in the field of science.

A few moments will pass before Dr. David will bring each of them up to receive the award, and on that occasion he will read the citation, which will indicate the various studies in which they have been engaged and the breakthroughs and other contributions they have made.

I have read them, and I want you to know that I do not understand them; but I want you to know, too, that because I do not understand them, I realize how enormously important their contributions are to this Nation. That, to me, is the nature of science to the unsophisticated people.

It is why we, as a nation, must always recognize the men of science and the women of science, because of their ability to explore the unknown and to go beyond the limits of knowledge for the great majority of people, their ability to thereby make it possible for a nation to have progress in so many fields, and we hope, in the years ahead particularly, and eventually exclusively, in the field of peaceful pursuits. This is what, of course, has brought this Nation where it is, and many other nations where they are, from the position that we occupied long before.

In that respect, incidentally, when I speak in such awe of scientists, I do so with a great deal of reason. I know that sometimes those of us in the field of politics are called political scientists. Let me tell you something: Politics is not a science. It has been called many things. Some think it is a racket; and others have said that it is an art. But perhaps the best description is that politics is a mystery, a mystery because it deals with those great problems of human relationships, and no one, therefore, can sit down, as the scientist does, and examine this proposition and this fact and that fact and expect that by putting it all together it will come out just the way that his formula indicated it would come out.

If that were the case, we would not have to have elections in this country to determine whether one man was right or another was right.

However, speaking as I do of the men of science and the women of science that we are honoring today, I also should point out that we had an announcement yesterday that, with justification, gives hope to the people of the world, and the people of this Nation particularly, that we are moving forward toward our goal, a goal that all Americans share and that I believe all people in the world share, of a more peaceful world where arms may be limited and where the men and women of science can devote their great energies exclusively to the works of peace and not the weapons of war.

In this field we cannot promise anything in terms of what will happen on a certain day or a certain month; but we can say that the hopes for peaceful prog-

ress are far greater now than they were before this joint announcement was made, and we will continue to give all possible support to this initiative that has now been taken at the highest levels in the Soviet and American Governments.

But having moved in that field, I now come to the recipients of the day. Once we have peace in this world, peace in the sense of absence of war, we have then only the beginning of not just problems, but opportunities that go far beyond, and the question is: What do we do with the peace?

Here, again, the men of science, the men of reason, will have the answer, because for us simply to think of peace as the absence of war, of standing still, would not be worthy of our people, and it would, in the end, be self-destructive. So we think of peace in a creative sense.

Here I would like to refer to our Nobel prize winner, Dr. Borlaug, who was here a few days ago on our Salute to Agriculture Day. He spoke movingly of the millions of people that he had seen in India and parts of Southeast Asia, and in Mexico and Latin America, and of the great progress that had been made, as a result of developing new strains of wheat and rice, in reducing famine in those areas of the world.

He told those of us who were gathered in a small meeting that that progress would not have been possible except for science, and that also it would not have been possible except for certain chemicals. Then he made the point that we are now going through a process, which all of us can well understand, where many raise questions about the use of chemicals in the field of agriculture, because the use of a chemical may produce a reaction which can be detrimental to the human body.

Then, speaking as a scientist—and he is a scientist—he said what we must, however, always weigh is the benefit that we get, on the one hand, by going forward with the scientific initiative and applying it, and what would happen in the event that we did not go forward—famines sweeping the world, and particularly those areas of the world that have had such enormous difficulties in this respect in the past.

So to the men in science and the women of science today, I would say we honor you for exploring the unknown, for making progress possible, and we ask you to help create among the people of this Nation an understanding of your disciplines; to remove the fears, the unreasonable fears that some people may have of any kind of progress, recognizing that there is not always all good in any advance, scientifically or otherwise, that this is a problem of balance, because the men and women of science, above everything else, are men of balance, men who can think rationally, men who can think reasonably.

This world, and this Nation, needs that kind of leadership, that kind of thinking, that kind of education, at this time when we tend to go overboard one way or another because of "hypo-ing" a particular issue that may be in the public press or the public mind at a particular time.

During the French Revolution, the great French chemist Lavoisier was put on trial, and chalked on the wall just above his head was the slogan "The Republic has no use for scientists." He was guillotined.

In every age there are men of violence and men of fury and men of ignorance who say, "The nation, the world, has no use for the men of science and the men of reason." This is not such a time in this

country, and may it never be such a time, because as these citations are read, all of us as Americans, and all of us as citizens of the world, will be proud that America produced these people—these award winners—who, through their work in the field of science, through their work in the field of exploring the unknown, have contributed to the works of peace and a better world for all of us.

[At this point, Dr. Edward E. David, Jr., Science Adviser to the President, read the citations, the texts of which follow. Fred G. Brauer accepted the medal on behalf of his father, Richard D. Brauer; James Wheeler accepted the medal on behalf of his father, John A. Wheeler; and Mrs. Saul Winstein accepted the medal awarded posthumously to her husband.

BARBARA MCCLINTOCK—For establishing the relations between inherited characters in plants and the detailed shapes of their chromosomes, and for showing that some genes are controlled by other genes within chromosomes.

ALBERT B. SABIN—For numerous fundamental contributions to the understanding of viruses and viral diseases, culminating in the development of the vaccine which has eliminated poliomyelitis as a major threat to human health.

GEORGE E. MUELLER—For his many individual contributions to the design of the Apollo system, including the planning and interpretation of a large array of advanced experiments necessary to insure the success of this venture into a new and little known environment.

RICHARD D. BRAUER—For his work on conjectures of Dickson, Cartan, Maschke, and Artin, his introduction of the Brauer group, and his development of the theory of modular representations.

ROBERT H. DICKE—For fashioning radio and light waves into tools of extraordinary accuracy and for decisive studies of cosmology and of the nature of gravitation.

ALLAN R. SANDAGE—For bringing the very limits of the universe within the reach of man's awareness and unraveling the evolution of stars and galaxies—their origins and ages, distances and destinies.

JOHN C. SLATER—For wide-ranging contributions to the basic theory of atoms, molecules, and matter in the solid form.

JOHN A. WHEELER—For his basic contributions to our understanding of the nuclei of atoms, exemplified by his theory of nuclear fission, and his own work and stimulus to others on basic questions of gravitational and electromagnetic phenomena.

SAUL WINSTEIN—In recognition of his many innovative and perceptive contributions to the study of mechanism in organic chemical reactions.

After the presentation of the medals by the President, he resumed speaking as follows:]

Well, ladies and gentlemen, that concludes the official ceremony, and now, at this time, we would like to invite all of you to join Mrs. Nixon in the State Dining Room for coffee and other refreshments, for those who are not on diets, and I would like to say that I would like very much to join you also, but the Secretary of State and I will have to leave this meeting for an 11:30 meeting at the State Department which, incidentally, does involve science to an extent.

After over 2 years of negotiations, the INTELSAT agreement, covering 79 nations with regard to communications satellites throughout the world, is being signed and initialed by the various nations, so we are going there for that purpose. So, if you will excuse us for leaving, Mrs. Nixon will be very happy to receive you. And we hope you enjoy this house. It belongs to all of you as much as it does to us.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:10 a.m. in the East Room at the White House.

The National Medal of Science was established in 1959 by act of Congress (73 Stat. 431) "to provide recognition for individuals

who make outstanding contributions in the physical, biological, mathematical, and engineering sciences." Awards are based on recommendations of the President's Committee on the National Medal of Science.

A White House announcement of the National Medal of Science recipients for 1970 was released on January 27, 1971, and is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 7, p. 124).

177 Remarks to the International Telecommunications Satellite Consortium Plenipotentiary Conference. *May* 21, 1971

Mr. Secretary of State, Your Excellencies, the members of the diplomatic corps, and ladies and gentlemen:

I am very honored to participate in this ceremony and briefly to have the opportunity, first, to express appreciation to all of those who have worked for 27 months on this project, and to add to the congratulations that you have just received from the Secretary of State for the culmination of 27 months of work.

Seventy-nine nations [1] have agreed to the document, which I understand will be initialed finally by the representatives of those nations at a later time. For 79 nations to agree on anything is a major accomplishment. For 79 nations to agree in an area that is new—new in terms of a scientific breakthrough, new in terms of not being as predictable as most of those things that we negotiate about—for that kind of an agreement to be worked out is an enormous tribute to the men and women who represented their countries and other organizations in negotiating the agreement.

Also, it should be pointed out that I have been here in the State Department Auditorium on several occasions for participating in treaties and other signing ceremonies. This one is particularly unique because not only have 79 governments agreed to it; in addition to that, at the operating level, as I understand it, a document has been agreed to that will affect all of the operating agencies in the various nations. Those agencies are not all the same. They take a different form; for example, Comsat in the United States, and others in other countries. They are not the same in each country.

To bring the basically commercial operating agencies—although many of them are government entities—to bring them together in an agreement at the same time that the governments agree is indeed an historic and unique accomplishment, and is an indication of what can happen in the future in these exciting areas where breakthroughs are occurring.

I say these things because I know that when you have met here and in other places, you probably wonder why it is that INTELSAT doesn't make the headlines. It is not always on the first page; sometimes it is not even in the paper at all when you have an important meeting.

I can simply say that those of us at the highest levels of government in all countries know how important your work is. We realize that this is a very unique and vital breakthrough in communications between nations and among nations, as well

[1] Of the 79 member states, the vote was: 73 approved, 0 opposed, 4 abstained, 1 absent, 1 not registered at the Conference.

as in communications in the technical sense, which you have negotiated.

So our congratulations go to you who have labored so long and so hard in a difficult field, and finally have reached agreements after over 2 years.

Now a word about what this can mean to the future.

You will have noted that yesterday a joint announcement was made by the Government of the United States and the Government of the Soviet Union indicating a commitment by the leaders at the highest level in both countries to work toward limitation of nuclear arms, both in the defensive and in the offensive areas, and to work toward an agreement in this field to be implemented sometime this year.

As I pointed out in making that announcement, some very intensive negotiations now will have to take place to achieve our goal; but we are hopeful that it will be achieved because of the interest and the commitment that now has been expressed at the very highest levels in both governments.

Let me relate that kind of statement, and the agreement that we trust will follow from it, to the work that you have here.

We, as sophisticates in the field of international affairs—and I guess we can describe ourselves as that—those who have participated in this conference and others of us who have worked in these areas for some time, know that there will always be differences between nations, differences that will not be resolved. There will always be competition between nations, and that competition, if it is peaceful, can be constructive rather than destructive.

What is important is for us to set up those patterns and those processes whereby differences between nations that cannot be resolved will not result in the use of arms or military force. We are making progress in that direction, progress in many areas of the world.

We trust that we can be living in a world where there will be the absence of war, in which we can move in peaceful ways to discuss differences, recognizing always that we are not going to resolve all differences. It will never be that kind of a world. It will never be that kind of a nation, because people do have differences, and they cannot always resolve them.

But there is one thing we can also be sure of: There are many differences in the world which exist today, not because of basic vital interests which are irreconcilable, but simply because of lack of information, because of ignorance, because the people or the governments of one part of the world do not really know the people or the governments of the other part of the world.

So as you can well see, this kind of breakthrough, through which it will be possible to have instant communication around the world, will reduce the ignorance. It will increase the information. It will reduce those areas of difference which exist because of ignorance and lack of information to a minimum.

This has never been true in the world before. This does not mean that this is the total answer to the problem of peace in the world, because as I have indicated, and as all of you know, there are always going to be certain other areas where all information will be available to all sides, and there still may not be agreement; there will still be differences.

But at last, now, we have the chance,

through what you have done, to close completely the information gap. That is what you have done. That is what you have contributed.

The Government of the United States, the people of the United States, the governments of all your countries and of the whole world are grateful to you for your work and what you have done.

As you conclude your work, I wish you the very best on your journeys as you return to your home countries. I hope that in the future at some time I may be able to speak to you by satellite.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:52 a.m. in the Main Conference Room at the Department of State to the final plenary session of the Conference, following approval by member countries of definitive arrangements for a permanent INTELSAT charter.

178 Remarks on Arrival at Austin, Texas. *May* 22, 1971

MRS. NIXON and I want to tell you how very grateful we are for your giving us this very warm welcome here deep in the heart of Texas.

Incidentally, I want you to know that as I saw these clouds, that if it rains, give us the credit, will you please?

I went to Florida last weekend—I only get away for a couple of days at a time and usually I complain when it rains—but they have been having a drought there, too; and it rained and I am happy. I hope it rains today, and I am sure that President Johnson will agree, even at that ceremony there.

Let me say, too, that in our visit today we have some very distinguished people with us. And I would like to present them to you so that you can know who these people are that you see on television.

The Secretary of State is here, Secretary Rogers, and Mrs. Rogers.

Then we have a very distinguished man who is known to all Texans, who won your hearts as indicated by your votes the many times you reelected him Governor of this State, and now the strong man in our Cabinet, the Secretary of the Treasury, John Connally. Incidentally, we appointed him to the Cabinet not just because of his abilities but because he also has a very attractive wife—don't you think?

Another member of our Cabinet, one who has taken on a very great responsibility representing the United States in New York as our Ambassador to the United Nations, the former Congressman, George Bush, and Mrs. Bush. Isn't it fine to have a fine couple like that representing the United States in the United Nations? We think so.

I also have another visitor who has come with us. This puts a completely bipartisan and nonpartisan tone on this, but the man who will give the invocation today for this ceremony, and who spent the evening last night with us at the White House, Dr. Billy Graham, and his wife.

Now they tell me that we must go on to the ceremonies which will be on live television, I understand, starting in about three-quarters of an hour, or an hour.

Just let me say this in conclusion: I always enjoy an opportunity to travel to any part of the country, and I particularly appreciate the opportunity to come to Texas, a State that I visited often in many campaigns and that I visited on several occasions in a nonpolitical capacity dur-

ing my term as President of the United States.

I want you to know that as I go to help dedicate a library which will contain the papers of former President Johnson, that I will do so bringing the best wishes of all the American people to a former President of the United States.

As I dedicate that library I will say there what I want to say to you now. Here in this crowd we have people of both parties, Democrats and Republicans. We have a lot of young people, and we have some older people. I am awfully glad to see that wonderful group there on the truck from the Texas School of the Deaf. Isn't it fine that they could come out here today?

But as I see this crowd and I think of the responsibilities that whoever has the office of Presidency must meet—and I know that President Johnson felt this way when he was President, I feel this way now—it is very simply this: We see all of these children; we think of their future; and we want them to grow up in a world in which we will be at peace with every nation in the world.

We cannot do that unless this Nation is strong. And this State of Texas, through its Congressmen, through its Senators, both Republican and Democrat, must be credited with supporting a strong national defense which will make it possible for winning the kind of peace we want in America and in the world.

Finally, we want to grow up in a world where these young people will have a better chance than we have had for a good life. And this is a great country, make no mistake about it, it is today. And we have the opportunity to make it better and a world in which they can travel to all parts of the world and get to know the people of all parts of the world where there will be no barriers that divide us.

This is a great goal. It is not a Republican goal; it is not a Democratic goal. It is what you in this great State, made up, as you are, with people from all parts of the Nation, it is what you believe in; it is what we believe in.

We will appreciate your support, and we will appreciate your prayers as we work toward that great goal for all Americans.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:06 a.m. at Bergstrom Air Force Base.

179 Remarks at the Dedication of the Lyndon Baines Johnson Library in Austin, Texas. *May 22, 1971*

President and Mrs. Johnson, Mr. Vice President, and all of the very distinguished guests here on this occasion:

Mrs. Nixon and I are very honored to be here deep in the heart of Texas. I can say that the heart of America, today at this moment, is in the heart of Texas as this distinguished company so well illustrates.

It is here to pay tribute to the life of a man, and the life of his wife as well, who has given 40 years of service to this State and to this Nation.

The entire Nation is indebted to you, President Johnson, and to this great university, the University of Texas, to all who have had a hand in assembling and establishing this extraordinary treasury of

insights into a critical period of this Nation's history. And on behalf of all the people of the United States, I am honored and privileged to accept it for America. The American people have reason to be doubly grateful to you today, first for your long period of service to the Nation, and now for this collection that can take the scholars of future generations behind the scenes of that service, as you have indicated in your remarks.

One of the first rules of statecraft is that we can successfully chart the future only if we can understand the past. Libraries such as this can be among our best keys to that understanding. With its more than 31 million documents, this contains more items by far than any other Presidential library yet established; and through its connection with a great university, it promises both to enrich the university and to be enriched by the university.

Often I am asked what it feels like to sit in the President's Oval Office—to know, in President Truman's famous phrase, that "the buck stops here," and to experience the weight of history that hangs over that office.

Just a few minutes ago, as President Johnson was throwing me [*laughter*]—showing me through the library—I am coming back later when I have more time [*laughter*]—we visited what I think may prove to be the most exciting and popular room in the whole library for the visitor, a replica of the Oval Office. As we were there in that office, furnished as it was during the period that he served as President, I reflected, as I am sure he did, once again on the answer to that question.

President Johnson sometimes used to comment, in speaking about the Presidency, that "the problem is not doing what is right; the problem is knowing what is right."

Sitting in the Oval Office in Washington the other day, I found myself reflecting on its shape—on the fact that it is built as an oval, without corners, and with walls that might be said to have no sides or an infinite number of sides—and on the fact that there is a certain parallel with the shape of that office and the Presidency itself. For the President of the United States cannot approach a question from one side or the other; on each issue that comes to the Oval Office there normally are an infinite number of sides and of competing considerations to be resolved or chosen among.

This reflects the fact, of course, that the easy questions are not the ones that come to the President; those are decided at other levels. The ones that he must decide are the ones on which there are disagreements, even among members of his own administration who share his own goals but who have different perspectives or different judgments about the best way to achieve those goals. They deal not simply with right versus wrong but with varying degrees of right and wrong, with various balances of legitimate but competing interests, and with varying judgments about how best to accomplish what is right. And so the study of the Presidency is a study, in the final analysis, of the difficult decision, the close question. But I have found that the more deeply I study the Presidency, the more firm I become in my faith that throughout our history, the basic high principle of those who have been called upon to govern has been one of the great sustaining strengths of America.

I believe this has been true because the office inhabits the man, just as the man inhabits the office. No one holds that office

without a profound sense of obligation—to the country, to the world, and to the future.

As we look back over all the past Presidencies, we also find something else: that each one who has been President has recognized, in his turn, that he is the one who must speak for all the people of America. A man of one region must speak for all regions. A man of one party must strive to see how problems look from the other party's point of view. A man who has crusaded for a cause recognizes that he has a responsibility to those of the opposite view, as well as to those who may agree with him.

One of the most scholarly men ever to sit in the Senate of the United States was Albert Beveridge of Indiana. In a speech in Boston in 1898, he once discussed partisanship in these terms:

"Partisanship," he said, "should only be a method of patriotism. He who is a partisan merely for the sake of spoils is a buccaneer. He who is a partisan merely for the sake of a party name is a ghost of the past among living events. He who is merely the partisan of an ordinary organization is only a pebble in the sling of a boss. But he who is the partisan of principle is a prince of citizenship."

A partisan of principle—that is what our political system is all about; that is what transforms ordinary disputes into those great debates that illumine for years to come the issues confronting the Nation, in which men of principle test their principles and the Nation achieves a deeper understanding of itself. It also is what holds us together on those great questions on which our unity has kept us free.

Every President has to be a leader of his party—and our party system is essential to our democratic system. But more and more in today's world, the times require that a President, and indeed all of us who help lead the Nation, go beyond party to be partisans of principle. For increasingly we confront great concerns that go beyond partisan considerations and partisan differences—concerns that reach to the security of our Nation, to our hopes for peace in the world, to realizing the American dream here at home in our lives and those of our children—on these great goals we must all be partisans of principle.

It has been my privilege, during a quarter-century of public service, to know many partisans of principle. I think today especially of those times during the Eisenhower Administration, when I was Vice President and Lyndon Johnson was the Majority Leader of the United States Senate. He was a vigorous leader of his party. But I knew, and President Eisenhower often told me, and he knew, that whenever the great issues of national security were concerned, he would always be a partisan of principle, not a partisan of party. That is Lyndon Baines Johnson.

And so it is in that same spirit that we are gathered here today to dedicate this library, in doing so, to pay tribute to President Johnson—and to dedicate ourselves to the proposition, as Senator Albert Beveridge so eloquently put it so long ago, that "the partisan of principle is a prince of citizenship."

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:50 a.m. at the University of Texas. The ceremony was broadcast live on radio and television.

An advance text of the President's remarks was released on the same day.

The White House also announced that the President and Mrs. Nixon had arranged for the loan of a Thomas Sully portrait of President Andrew Jackson to President and Mrs. Johnson

for the Johnson Library. President Nixon presented the painting during his visit to the Library. The portrait, which is owned by the National Gallery of Art, was placed on loan to the White House during the Johnson Administration and hung in the Oval Office from February 1964 to January 20, 1969.

A White House announcement containing further information on the portrait was released on May 22, 1971.

180 Remarks at the Dedication of the Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway in Mobile, Alabama. *May* 25, 1971

President Nunn, President-elect Wallace [laughter]:

As I said to Governor Wallace, this has been a very wonderful welcome we have received here in Mobile. And I must say that I have never seen such a good-humored and good-spirited crowd, here in Mobile, Alabama. I hope to come back some day.

As a matter of fact, when this was put on my schedule, they pointed out that I would be coming into a State where a man had been and might be in the future a candidate for President of the United States, and that there were others in this State who had very great popularity. I must say that Bear Bryant[1] really scares me.

But certainly in the spirit of this occasion, where we are not Republicans, where we are not Democrats, where we are not Southerners or Northerners or Easterners or Westerners, where we know no race, no religion, where we are Americans, it seems to me that it is most appropriate that I should put this event in historical perspective in just a few moments to tell you what it means in terms of the five States that will be affected by it, to tell you also what it means in a larger sense in terms of the spirit of America and where we go in the years ahead.

I studied this project when I was in the Congress of the United States and many of the distinguished Members of the Congress were there then when the Tennessee-Tombigbee, in the 80th Congress 24 years ago, was a major issue. I thought that was when people started to talk about it, but I found that Albert Gallatin, who was the Secretary of the Treasury in 1808, 160 years ago, proposed a series of waterways for the whole country that would bring the country together in a geographical sense and also in a national sense and that would mean that all the country could grow economically together. And the Delaware Valley went forward under that program many, many years ago, and the Ohio Valley and the Missouri Valley; but the Tennessee-Tombigbee, some way or other, never got up to the place where the Congress would approve it.

Finally, after 160 years of trying to talk it to death, the Congress decided to pass it and now here it is: the Tennessee-Tombigbee.

I want you to know that it is to the great credit of both parties of several administrations that this project now begins, and I would say in that context that we can think today of, for example, the people that are on this platform representing the States that are involved—Governor Wallace, of course, of this State of Alabama; Governor Dunn could not be here, but his State is, of course, represented, the

[1] Paul (Bear) Bryant, football coach at the University of Alabama.

State of Tennessee; Governor Nunn, who is the present President of the project; Governor Williams of Mississippi; and Governor Askew of Florida, the State from which I have just come.

We think, too, of others that are represented on this platform and how they speak to the whole country in a sense. Only one, except for myself, is here from the national administration, and I am proud that our Postmaster General is from the State of Alabama, and that "Red" Blount could be here with us.

But when we think of the Members of the Senate, the two distinguished Members of the Senate from this State, Senator Sparkman, Senator Allen; the Members of the House of Representatives, and what they have contributed, and particularly your own Congressman, Jack Edwards, who, I can tell you, has been in beating my desk day after day for this project.

Let me say that when they suggested remarks for me, they said, "You ought to give credit to this one or that one or this one or the other one." All that I can say is that when there is a success, there is plenty of credit for everybody, and we give credit to all on this platform for supporting this project in the interests of this State and this region and the Nation.

What does this project mean? Well, it means a lot to this city, because it means that this port, already a great port, will now have a waterway that will connect it with the Ohio and with the Missouri and the Mississippi, but it means, therefore, that there will be more traffic coming in and through the port of Mobile.

It means something to all the States in the area, because as a waterway like this is constructed, it means that all of those States will have more job opportunities; it means that all of those States will have more business that means progress.

And also, I would suggest I am confident that we can carry this out with due respect for the problems of maintaining the beauty of this part of the country, and it has so much natural beauty. We can and we will do that, because the two must go together.

So we think of those prospects, what it means in terms of more jobs and more prosperity for this part of the country, which has such a great, it seems to me, hope for the future.

But in a larger aspect, let's not just think of this Tennessee-Tombigbee project as a great engineering feat, which it will be; as a feat that will join together five States and all five States will benefit from it, and that is the case; but let's think in terms of what this project means as far as America is concerned.

Here I would like to go to a little more historical perspective, if I may. Whenever I visit a city for the first time, I always check to see when the last time was when a President of the United States was there, and I find that the last time that a President of the United States spoke in Mobile was the year I was born, in 1913, when President Wilson spoke in Mobile. And let me say that is too long a time for Presidents to stay away from Mobile.

President Wilson, on that occasion—remember the year was 1913 at the very beginning of his term—made a major foreign policy speech in which he talked about the end of imperialism in the world.

Since that time, let's see what has happened. We have had, as far as the United States is concerned, four occasions when young Americans have gone abroad to fight in wars—World War I, World War

II, Korea, and now the war in Vietnam. We are bringing that war to an end—bringing it to an end in a way that we can contribute to a lasting peace for all.

But I am sure that when Woodrow Wilson spoke in this city on that historic occasion 58 years ago, he thought, as I think, and as every President of the United States and every citizen of America, Republican and Democrat, must think, of how this Nation could contribute to peace for not only America but for the whole world.

He had high hopes and high dreams, and he died virtually of a broken heart because at the conclusion of World War I the nations of the world would not join him as he thought they might join him, or in the spirit that he thought they might join him.

There were difficulties also with the Senate of the United States, some of those you have all read about and heard about, but now here we are 58 years later, and I, like all the Presidents in this century and the ones in the previous century, speak to you about peace for America, peace for the world.

As I came through the streets of Mobile, I saw lots of people. There were a lot of older people, there were many people who were wage earners, and I am sure people who were taking off from their jobs during the noon hour, but there were also thousands and thousands of children, and I thought of them as you must think of them. We want them to grow up in a world of peace. We don't want them to have to fight in any war, anytime. We have always had that as a goal.

I simply want to say on this occasion that I believe as a result of developments that have occurred and that are occurring at this time, that we have a better chance to achieve what we have not had in this century for our children, and that is a full generation without war, a full generation of peace.

But if we are to have that we must remember that the United States must not withdraw from the world. If we are to have that we must remember that the strength of the United States, its military strength, its economic strength has been, in this century, and will always be used for peace; never to bring on war, but to bring peace if we can; never to destroy freedom, but to save freedom around the world. And, therefore, a strong United States, as long as there are other nations in the world who might threaten the peace, is essential if we are going to have it.

And so, therefore, it is important to note—and I can speak of all of the Members of the Senate and the House that are on this platform, they differ as far as partisan affiliations are concerned, but when the national security of this country is concerned, the national defense of this country is concerned, these men, you can be proud, have voted for strong national defense, and we need that if we are to have peace in the world.

But with defense that is only part of the picture. From that base of strength we then negotiate the mutual reduction of forces around the world, a limitation of armaments, so that we can have a safer, more peaceful world. But we need another kind of strength. America must continue to be economically strong, and this project will contribute to that. But America also must have a kind of strength that it had 160 years ago in 1808. It perhaps had it more then than it has it today.



Above: Delivering the State of the Union Address, January 22, 1971.

Right: Swearing in of John B. Connally as Secretary of the Treasury, in the East Room of the White House on February 11, 1971.







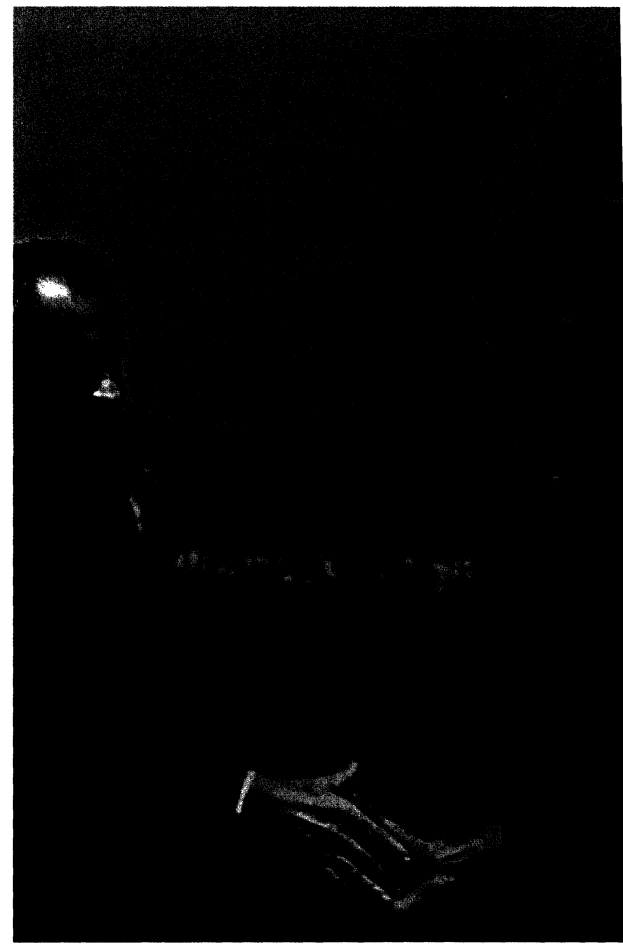
Above: Televised conversation with 4 network representatives in the Library of the White House on January 4, 1971.

Left: Ceremony at the National Archives opening the American Revolution Bicentennial Era on July 3, 1971. With the President are Speaker Albert, Chief Justice Burger, and Bicentennial Commission Chairman Mahoney.

Far Left: Addressing a student-faculty convocation at the University of Nebraska, January 14, 1971.

Far Right: A motorcade, after arriving on Terceira Island, the Azores, for meetings with President Pompidou of France, December 12, 1971.

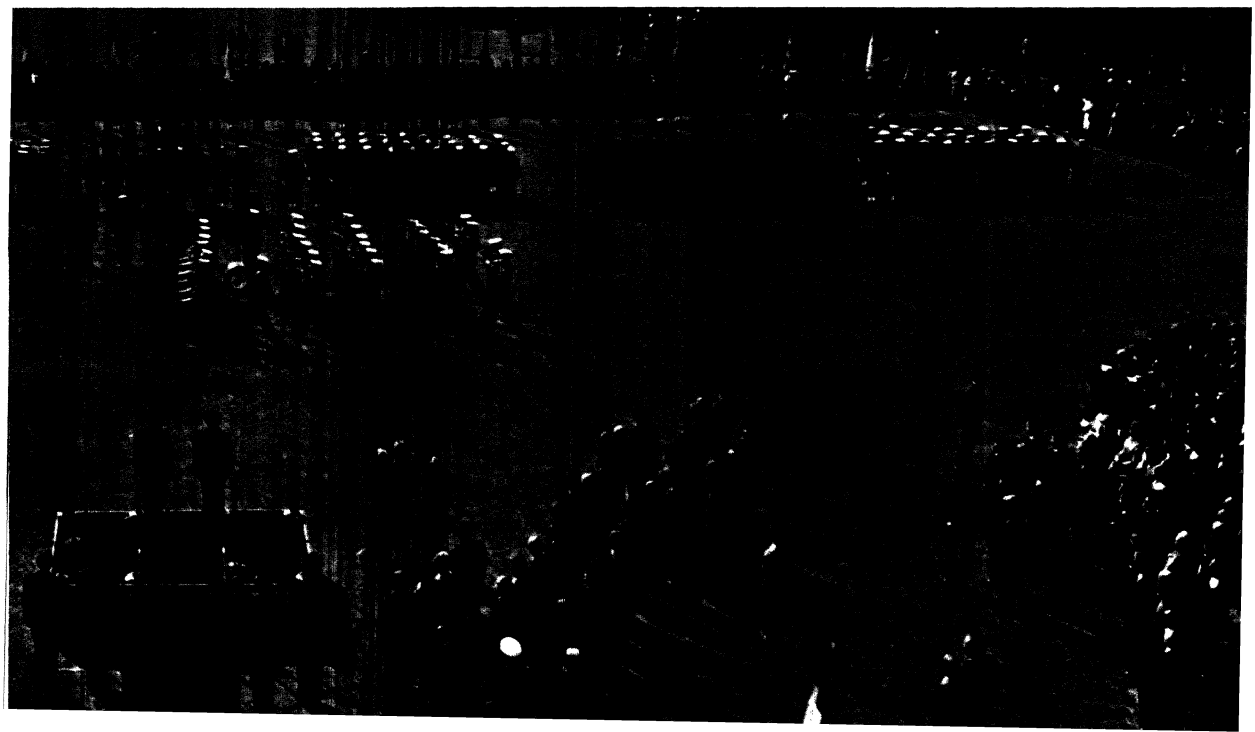
Right: At Camp Pendleton, California, welcoming the First Marine Division home from Vietnam on April 30, 1971.



Right: A formal welcome on the South Lawn of the White House for Prime Minister Emilio Colombo of Italy on February 18, 1971.





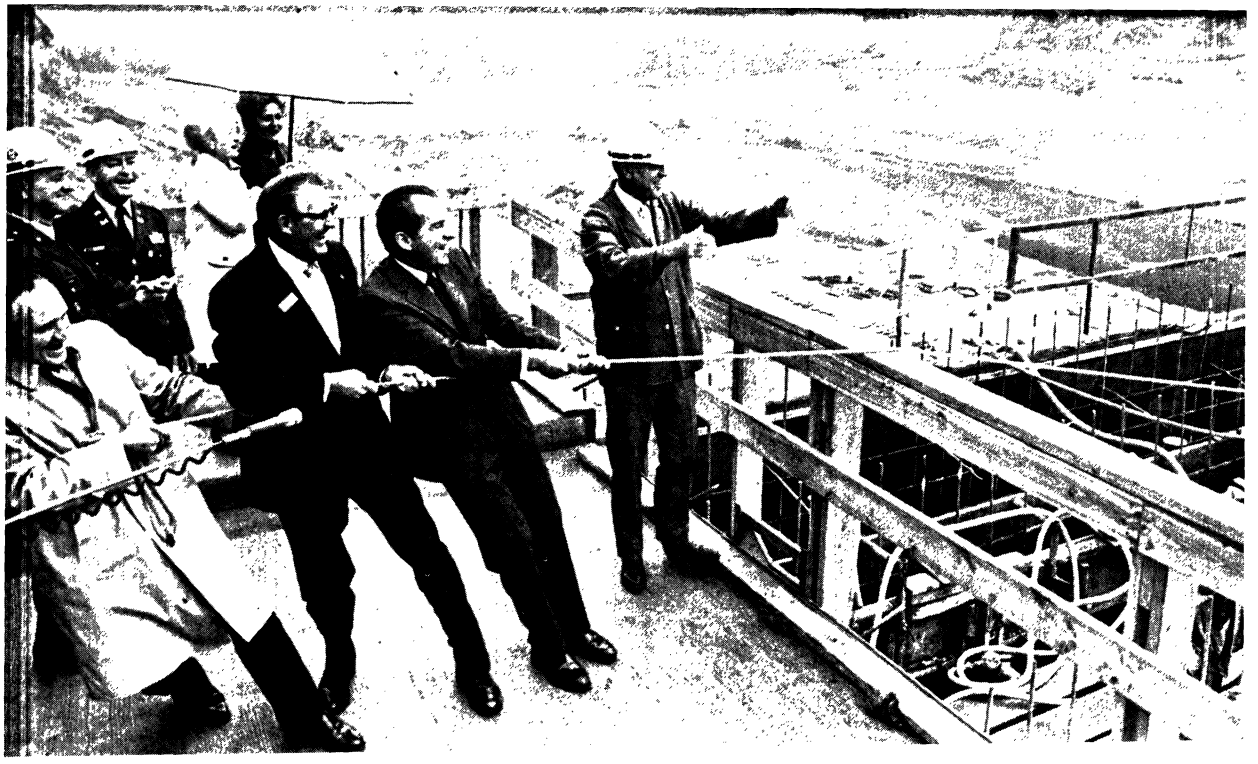


Above: Signing the National Cancer Act of 1971 in the State Dining Room of the White House on December 23, 1971.

Right: With the American Committee on Italian Migration in the White House Rose Garden on June 8, 1971.

Far Right: Accepting portraits of John and Abigail Adams for the White House Collection on February 24, 1971.







Above: Activating a system for pouring concrete into a new section of Libby Dam, during visit to Kalispell, Montana, on September 25, 1971.

Left: Visit to the Greenbriar Nursing Home in Nashua, New Hampshire, on August 6, 1971.



Just think of that country then. It was small, it was weak militarily, it was poor economically, but Americans had faith in themselves, they were united that they had a mission in the world bigger than their own country, and it was that faith and that sense of mission that built the great nation that we have today.

Oh, I do not suggest that most Americans still do not have faith in this country, that most Americans still do not have that sense of mission, but I do say that it is essential for us to recognize on an occasion like this, as we think of history, as we set in motion a new project for the economic development of this country and the strength of America, that we must think of what this occasion means in terms of our spiritual strength.

And I would summarize it this way: Here we see five States joining together, and the Federal Government working in cooperation with the five States. And in that, it seems to me, that sense of partnership, we really see where the future of America really lies.

We cannot be a strong nation in a spiritual and moral and ideological sense if we are torn apart by regional differences, by racial differences, by religious differences, by differences between States, by differences between State government and the Federal Government.

Let me put it another way: I do not suggest that there are not differences, real differences, between various regions of the country, between various States, between religions, between races, between generations. That has always been the case; that will continue to be the case.

But let us, on an occasion like this, remember that what we must do is to join together in working out those differences in a peaceful and constructive way, so that there will be no difference when we work for peace for America and the world; there will be no difference when we work for cooperation.

There is no difference in our desire to get rid of hunger in this Nation and the world. There are no differences among us in our desire to have better education and better health for all of our people. Let Americans today be united North, East, West, and South, all races and religions, for the great goals of peace, prosperity, opportunity for every American and every people in the world today.

So in dedicating this project as it begins, I do so with great pride, pride that these States have worked together with the Federal Government, pride that this is going to mean great progress for this part of the country, pride also that it has enabled all of us to think of our history, where we come from, to think of our idealism, what it is, and to rededicate ourselves anew to that proposition that excited the whole world 190 years ago.

America was then the hope of the world. And I can tell you from having traveled to most nations of the world, despite what you may hear about the weakness of American foreign policy, about what other nations may think of us, I can simply say this: I can tell you that as far as this Nation is concerned, 205 million, what we do, our economic strength, our military strength—always for peace never for the purpose of aggression—and our spiritual and moral and ideological strength, that is the hope of the world, let us keep that hope strong and firm as we dedicate this project.

71-234—72——45

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:30 p.m. at the Alabama State docks.

Gov. Louie B. Nunn of Kentucky and Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama were president and president-elect, respectively, of the Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway Development Authority.

On May 24, 1971, the White House released a fact sheet on the waterway project.

181 Remarks on Arrival in Birmingham, Alabama. *May* 25, 1971

Mr. Mayor, ladies and gentlemen:

I wish to express my very great appreciation for this wonderfully warm welcome here in the heart of Dixie.

We have some very distinguished guests who flew up on Air Force One from Mobile, and I think you would like to see them all here.

I will not try to introduce them in order of protocol. But I think you will be interested in meeting first a member of my Cabinet who has served in a very distinguished way, your own, Alabama's own, Postmaster General "Red" Blount.

And your own Governor, Governor George Wallace.

Then from the neighboring State of Kentucky, Governor Louie Nunn of Kentucky.

And from the State of Mississippi, a man who came to the Congress with me 24 years ago, John Bell Williams of Mississippi.

And from the State that I just came from this morning, the State of Florida, Governor Askew of Florida.

Now there are a number of other distinguished people here, Members of Congress and others, but I simply want to say that when the mayor came in to invite me to come to Birmingham, I did not think it would be possible, particularly to come at the period of time that he issued the invitation.

As you know, you celebrate your 100th anniversary, your centennial, this fall. Now I would like to come then for two reasons: One, because the 100th birthday is very unusual and a special occasion; and, two, because I know this is the football capital of the South as well as the Nation.

I was unable to come, however, in the fall, and so I will have to see that occasion on television. But I do want you to know that coming here in the spring, to have an opportunity to be here with you, has a very special meaning to me.

I have checked history for those younger people who are here, and some of you older ones will remember—but not very many—the last time that a President of the United States came to Birmingham was 50 years ago, in 1921. And while candidates for President have been here—as a matter of fact, I was here one year as a candidate for President—since that time 50 years ago, no President of the United States, while he was in office, has visited Birmingham.

May I say I am proud to be here, and I trust that more Presidents will come more often in the future to Birmingham.

Now when I talked to the mayor and to Congressman Buchanan and the others about this visit, I know that they felt very deeply about this ceremony, and in this large crowd, where so many of you have been standing so long in the hot sun, I am trying to think of what will really

capsule this very special year for this city in the right way.

A hundred years seems like a long time, but as I am sure you know, Birmingham, which is one of the great cities of the world, is one of the youngest big cities of the world, because most great cities go back many years more than 100 years. So this is a young city. It is a big city. It has a great spirit. It has won the prize as the All-American City, and that is another reason I am very proud to be here.

There is a tendency always on such a day as this—a day when you are looking forward to the celebration of your 100th anniversary, and when you, therefore, are thinking of the past—to think mostly of the past, of the great days in the history of this city, of this State, and this Nation. And it is well that you think of the past.

I know that the people of this city and the people of this State are proud of their State; they are proud of their city and they are proud of their country.

But at this particular time, this is the time particularly when we see all of the young people that are here, and all those wonderful bands that we saw all the way along reminded me of the fact that many schools were out, from the high schools and the other schools in the area. This reminds us all of our obligation to the future.

Let me say that coming here to Birmingham after being in Mobile, seeing the vitality of this area, seeing the great love of country that you have, whether they are Democrats or Republicans among those that I visited, whether they are officials or people in any walks of life, there is a respect for the office of the Presidency. There is a respect for this country and a love of this country.

Let me say, I am convinced that what is now termed the New South, with new economic development, with new strength, is going to contribute enormously to America in the future. But even more than that is the spirit that you have. I don't believe that I have ever seen in any American city, either here or any place else, more American flags than I saw today.

And I know what that flag means to you. It means that you love your country, that you want your country to be strong, that you want your country to work for the great cause of peace in the world, as well as peace for America—that cause we are dedicated to and that we are going to bring.

We are going to find the way to give our young people a chance, a chance to have what none of us have had in this century in America: a full generation of peace.

And the way we can do that is not only to end the war in which we are engaged in a way that will discourage aggression, but also to keep America strong so that a strong America will be able to negotiate for the kind of peace that all the world wants.

The military strength is one thing. There is another kind of strength that is more important. When America was very young 190 years ago, when it was very weak, this Nation had a spirit—you all remember what it was—a spirit that caught the imagination of the world. It was called the "Spirit of the American Revolution." And there are some who say we don't have it today. Well, they are wrong.

I sense it here. I sense it every place I go over this country. The American spirit is strong. It is deep. We have had problems, problems of division, differences between States, between regions, between religions, between races, between the generations.

But let me say, Americans are united in their devotion to peace; they are united in wanting to build a stronger country, a country in which all Americans can have an equal opportunity for good education, for good jobs, for good housing, all of these things we are for.

And even more important is the spirit of America which I have sensed in so many of the people that I have shaken hands with today. As I have walked along the line many of them say, "Good luck, Mr. President," showing a respect for the office that we always find, as we travel around the country, regardless of what the partisanship may be, but many say—and this to me is very, very moving—over and over again, I hear the words, "God bless you. We're praying for you."

Let me say that not only the deep patriotism of the people that I sense every place I go here, but your religious faith, your moral strength, the idealism that is here, America needs it.

We thank you for the progress and the strength and the vitality that I see in this new—even though it is 100 years old—great city of the world. And we thank you particularly for that very strong inner moral spiritual faith that will continue to make America the great nation, a nation that will lead the world to peace and freedom.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:55 p.m. at the Parliament House hotel.

George Seibels was mayor of Birmingham.

182 Remarks to Southern News Media Representatives Attending a Briefing on Domestic Policy in Birmingham, Alabama. *May* 25, 1971

GENTLEMEN, I do know that from the schedule that I have read that you have been exposed to a great amount of material already with regard to some of our domestic programs. I know, too, that you are aware of the fact that this is the first of four regional briefings we are going to have on domestic policy, just as we previously had four on foreign policy, and perhaps we will be able to repeat these from time to time in the future as various issues develop.

Now when I read your schedule, I could see that there was not much left for me to talk about, because Governor Romney, of course, covered various aspects of revenue sharing; and Secretary Hodgson covered other aspects of manpower training; Herb Stein knows all about the economy—I wish he would tell me, but he knows all about it—and, of course, John Ehrlichman, in terms of Government reorganization and the other issues, has talked to you and answered questions; and I know that Herb Klein, too, has filled you in on some aspects of it.

What I would like to do is to try to put these domestic programs in this period of the seventies in a broader perspective. In order to do so, it will be necessary for me to talk about foreign policy first, not in precise details, as would be the case in a foreign policy briefing, but in more general terms, so that we can see why domestic programs of the types you have been hearing about today, programs that normally

just don't make the first lead on television or a front page today in the newspapers due to the overwhelming interest in foreign policy, why that domestic policy is so important for the future.

I begin with the developments in foreign policy with which you are all familiar. While it must seem at times that the more things change in foreign policy, the more they remain the same, I think that a sophisticated observer would have to agree that historians in the future will look to this period, and they will probably write that the American people—and through the American people, through their relations with other people in the world—were going through a very historic change insofar as our relations with other nations in the world were concerned.

The word "new era" is overused. I will only say that if there was ever a new era in the field of foreign policy, we are now in the middle of it. We are on the threshold of it.

I think the most significant changes in American foreign policy and the most significant changes in the relations between major nations in the world are taking place now than at any period since World War II.

Now this is not because we made it so. I speak of "we" in terms of this Administration. We played a role, but what has happened here is that we see a number of developments coming together contemporaneously. The one that of course is first and foremost in your minds, and should be, is the war in Vietnam.

There is argument about how that war should be ended, when it should be ended. There is no argument, however, among any sophisticated observers on the point that the war in Vietnam, after a long period—5 years—in which no end was in sight, in which more and more Americans went to Vietnam, and in which more and more casualties occurred in Vietnam, that now the situation is changed. Americans are coming home. Casualties are going down, and we can say confidently today that the war in Vietnam will be ended.

You know the arguments, and I will not go into them now, why we cannot, in our national interest, accept the proposition of setting a deadline as far as our own withdrawal is concerned. I will only say that there is no question but that this Administration's policy is succeeding and bringing the war to an end and bringing it to an end in a way which I believe will contribute to our goal of discouraging that kind of war, that kind of aggression that brought this war on, in the future, and thereby bringing it to an end in a way that will not guarantee—we can never guarantee anything in world events—but that will give us a chance to have a more peaceful Southeast Asia, a more peaceful Pacific.

Now, if we are able to accomplish this goal—and I am confident that we are accomplishing it and that we can see it now in sight—this is in itself, by itself—although by itself it is not the major development which we are presently seeing—but this by itself has enormous significance, because both World War II and the Korean war, as far as the United States was concerned, did come from the Pacific, and so did Vietnam.

So a peaceful Pacific and an end to this conflict in a way that will maintain the position of confidence of the United States in the Pacific is enormously important in terms of achieving our broader goal of peace in the world.

The second point, of course, that has been much in the news this past week is

our relations with the Soviet Union. Here, the announcement that I made last week deliberately was brief. I will not expand on it now, because that would not be in the interest of achieving the goal that the announcement set forth. Suffice it to say that now at the highest level of the two super powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, the leaders have committed themselves to taking a first, very significant step toward limiting both defensive and offensive nuclear weapons.

That commitment, having been taken publicly, thereby gives us at this period—since it was committed publicly in terms of attempting to achieve it and hoping to achieve it this year—it gives us an idea as to what could develop from now on out between the two super powers.

Again, it does not guarantee that because the two super powers may agree that their mutual interest will be served by a limitation, on the one hand, on our part of defensive weapons and a limitation on the part of the Soviet Union as far as offensive weapons are concerned, that the two powers are not going to have other differences.

It does not guarantee that they will agree on everything else, that they will agree on the Mideast, that they will agree on East-West relations insofar as Europe is concerned, et cetera. But the fact that this step is being taken in the field of negotiation is enormously significant simply because it has happened.

The announcement is significant; the commitment on the part of the leaders is significant; but even more important, if that commitment can become a reality—and it will take hard negotiating on the part of both sides to bring that reality into being—but if that can become a reality, then the two super powers, not by rhetoric, and we have had cool rhetoric ever since this Administration came into Washington, but in deeds the two super powers will have entered into a new period of better relations.

You can see what that would mean in contributing to the peace of the world, because wherever the two super powers rub against each other, whether it is in the Mideast or whether it is in the Caribbean or whether it happens to be tangentially in a place like Vietnam, where it is tangential as far as the Soviet is concerned, but nevertheless real, or whether it is where the blue chip is involved in the heart of Europe, all of this, of course, potentially carries within it the danger of conflict at the very highest level. And so making movement toward reducing or limiting arms, making this kind of step indicates and gives us at least some hope that a different relationship between the two powers will, on a step-by-step basis, develop in the years ahead.

A few weeks ago you all, of course, covered in your newspapers, on your television and radio programs, the developments with regard to China, Mainland China.

In a recent press conference, you may recall that I said that—when asked about what this meant—I said we must realize that what happened was significant; not simply the visit of the table tennis team, that had some significance and, of course, great interest because of its rather bizarre character as far as we were concerned. But because in the field of travel and in the field of trade, in the field of exchange of persons and in the field of trade, to put it more precisely, we see a very significant change occurring for the first time since the Government which presently is in power in Mainland China—the People's

Republic of China—for the first time that Government and the Government of the United States have found two areas, exchange of persons and travel, where again, on a precise step-by-step basis, they are beginning to have a different relationship than they had previously. As I put it, what we have done really is broken the ice; now we have to test the water to see how deep it is. More steps will be taken on our part and on their part when it is to the reciprocal interest of both to do so.

I do not suggest that any steps are presently being contemplated on either side. That would not be in the interest of having that come about. But I do say that the very fact that the United States and the Government on Mainland China, the People's Republic of China, have finally moved in these limited areas toward a relation of normalcy gives us hope that not immediately—not within a year, for example—but looking to the future, that 800 million Chinese will not be isolated from the rest of the world.

Let me just say parenthetically that when we think of the dangers to peace of the world, I can think of none that would quite exceed the fact that 800 million, and then perhaps in 25 years a billion, of the most capable and able people in the world would be isolated from the rest of the world, living there, not knowing the rest of the world, and with a growing and very dangerous nuclear capability.

I do not suggest that the steps that we have taken have dealt with that problem conclusively up to this point, but again we have made movement and more movement will take place as we, on either side, find that it is in our best interest.

We look to another area of conflict, the Mideast. Here the Secretary of State has just completed a very significant trip. It did not, and none of the reporters who went with him expected it to happen—and they, incidentally, wrote it very objectively and, it seems to me, in a highly professional way—it did not settle the differences. We did not expect that to happen.

But when we look at that troubled area of the world, it can be said now that we have had a truce for 9 months and that is some progress. It can be seen that while the two parties are still, it seems, very, very far apart with irreconcilable difference—that is what it seems on the surface—there is still the fact of discussion going on through third parties, but nevertheless going on, which will not resolve those differences completely. And no one suggests that they may be resolved completely at any time in the future, but that may resolve them in part, again on a step-by-step basis.

Now let me put all of this together in terms of what it means in foreign policy and then why our own policies in the United States in the domestic field are so important as they relate to this.

Let's look to the future, what could happen. Here we must put our hopes high. As I said at Mobile earlier today, every President in this century, and I suppose every President long before this century, has spoken in terms of peace, not only for America but for the world.

Woodrow Wilson, I think, honestly felt that the war that he was involved in, World War I, would be a war that would end wars.

Franklin D. Roosevelt felt very strongly that World War II, particularly with the United Nations following it, could be the war that, as far as major powers were concerned, that would be the last great war.

And certainly my predecessors, President Eisenhower, President Truman, President Kennedy, President Johnson, were all dedicated to that proposition, as I am.

At this time I think we could say that because of these significant developments, one, the end of the American involvement in Vietnam, which we know is coming, and on a basis which, in my view, will contribute to a more peaceful rather than a less peaceful era in the Pacific.

Second, a significant change in the relation between the Soviet Union and the United States—still a long way to go, but still a significant change at the highest level with the leaders involved.

Third, a change, not as significant, as far as our relations with the Mainland Government are concerned in China, but nevertheless looking down the road, with great historical possibilities.

Fourth, the situation in the Mideast that I have just referred to.

With all of these developments occurring, what we in the United States may be facing and may be confronted with—and this is something I guess we would all like to be confronted with—is an era in which we could have peace for a generation.

Now having said that, that will also carry with it enormous problems for this country—enormous problems because once you have peace, what do you do with it? How do you maintain it? How do you keep it?

Here I think that we have to be—as opinion leaders in the South, I would commend these thoughts to you as they have been commended to me by my advisers—here we must recognize that there will be no instant peace in any part of the world. Once these different relationships occur, if they do, if progress is made with the Soviet Union, later with China, the People's Republic, in the Mideast and in Vietnam and the rest, this does not mean that as a result of these developments that the differences between nations end, that their interests will be the same, and that the need for a continued, strong American presence in the world and strong defense will have evaporated.

On the contrary, we must recognize the fact that we are going to continue to have differences, very significant and deep differences with other nations in the world.

And looking again at a very difficult and explosive part of the world, the Mideast, no matter what kind of arrangement is made there, no matter what kind of an agreement is agreed to, because of the historical differences that have existed there for centuries, there is not going to be a period when people are going to have a relationship that can be a completely comfortable one.

But on the other hand, we are entering that period when there is a chance to have a live-and-let-live attitude, a settlement of differences by peaceful means, peaceful competition, so on down the road.

Now, what must the United States do in this period? First, it is almost a cliche to say that we must maintain our strength. That does not mean we maintain our strength out of any sense of jingoism, but it does mean that we only reduce our strength on a mutual basis.

Now there are many well-intentioned people who constantly—whether in the Senate or sometimes in columns in the press or on radio and television—suggest that the way that the United States can demonstrate its interest in disarmament, and thereby in peace, is to discontinue our ABM system, reduce our offensive capa-

bilities in the nuclear area, and that that demonstration will lead others to do likewise.

That is not the way it will happen. In my view, wherever you have two nations—as you have in the Soviet Union and the United States—wherever you have two nations that are competitive, whose interests are different, where both mutually reduce their forces, that contributes to peace.

But where one or the other unilaterally reduces its force, and becomes very significantly weaker than the other, that enormously increases the danger of war. Therefore, the United States—and I would say the same if I were a leader of the Soviet Union—the United States does not serve the cause of peace by unilaterally reducing its forces without at the same time mutually negotiating a reduction on the part of the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union leaders, I think, understand that. That has certainly been the way they approached the problem. We understand their position. We do not expect them to reduce their forces unilaterally; we will not ours. So whether it is our forces of a conventional type in Europe or whether it is our nuclear forces, offensive or defensive, the United States, it seems to me, serves the cause of peace by maintaining its strength and reducing that strength only as others who may have different interests reduce theirs.

The second point that I would make is on the economic field. We enter a period when it is enormously important that the United States not lose the position of economic leadership which it presently has in the world. I say presently. That position is being jeopardized. It is being jeopardized perhaps not so much because of our failings, although that may be partially the reason, but it is being jeopardized because the whole situation is changed, and we should be gratified in a sense that it has changed, since World War II.

Take the two defeated nations of World War II, the two major ones, the Japanese and the Germans. At the present time they are our major competitors in the world, and as they compete and as they become more efficient, the United States finds that as far as its world markets are concerned, and as far also as its markets in the United States are concerned, that Japanese competition, German, and, as Britain enters the Common Market, European competition, is going to be a continuingly more difficult problem.

So let me put that in perspective, as far as our economic policy is concerned. First a strong American economy is essential if we are going to be able to maintain the military strength that we need to maintain in order to create the processes that will lead to a peaceful balance in the world, and that is what we seek.

Second, it is going to be essential, in order for the United States to maintain the movement forward and upward of greater opportunity, more jobs, higher wages, a higher standard of living to which Americans have become accustomed for 190 years. It is a remarkable program of progress—a few ups and downs, depressions, recessions and the rest, but the trend line is up, and it must continue to go up or we will have problems not only abroad, we will have enormous problems at home where these rising expectations will be bitterly disappointed.

So that brings us to our economy. Looking at the economy, I am sure Herb Stein has indicated to you that what we find is that there is argument at the present time not about whether the economy is moving

71-234—72——46

up; there is argument—and this is fortunately a good subject to have the argument on—on how fast it is moving up.

It is moving up. It will continue to move up. The question is whether we can have upward movement in the economy and have it with two major factors that are quite different from upward movements in some periods of growth in the past.

First, it will be an upward movement without war and with a decreasing military budget. I do not suggest that that will happen now, but looking to the future, in the event that some of these relationships that I have indicated do come together, that could be the prospect in the future.

But in any event, our goal is a peacetime economy, an economy without war and with the military commitment dependent upon whether we are able to work out concomitant arrangements with other competing powers in the world for mutual reduction of forces.

If that happens, on the one side we are most gratified. Most Americans—all Americans would rather have their energies and their creative ability devoted to the works of peace rather than to weapons of war. On the other hand, when you consider the fact that since this Administration came into office, as a result of the winding down of the war in Vietnam, and the reduction of our forces in places like Korea and Thailand and the Philippines and in other parts of the world, as well as in the continental United States, 2.1 million Americans have been added to the labor force, let out of the Armed Forces and let out of defense plants.

This has a traumatic effect—we believe temporary—but it is certainly very difficult, particularly while it goes on in the Pacific Northwest, southern California, areas like that with which you are familiar.

We will survive it. We will see it through, but it means that we have got to develop within this basic economy of ours new activities that will take up that lag that the military expenditure no longer is filling.

Second, there is the problem that you are all familiar with: How can we have an increasing American economy, an upward movement without reigniting the fires of inflation? There are no easy answers to that problem.

The easy one, of course, is wage and price controls, governmentally imposed. The difficulty is that the answer would bring on, in the opinion of most of us, it certainly could well bring on, much worse problems than it was curing. It would have some effect on unemployment.

I was just looking at the figures recently and when the OPA [Office of Price Administration] was finally discontinued in 1945, there were 57,000 Americans that were working for OPA so we could get at the unemployment to a certain extent by moving to wage and price controls at a national basis. That is not the most significant point to mention if we do not have other problems.

But turning to the problem, this means that in two respects the United States must face up to these problems. One, insofar as our Federal budget is concerned, it must be responsible. By responsible we believe that while the economy is not at full capacity, the Federal Government has a responsibility to spend more than it takes in in order to take up that capacity; that there must be a limitation on how far that goes or otherwise you have, inevitably, inflation.

That is why we say that under no cir-

cumstances should a budget exceed what the economy would produce at full capacity, or full employment as some describe it.

On the other hand, having said that, on simply having a limitation with regard to what the Federal Government spends, it is only part of the problem; there is the problem of monetary policy. I will not get into it except to say it must be also responsible enough to fuel the growing economy yet not so much as to reignite the fires of inflation.

On the other side of the coin, there is the very nagging problem of a wage-price spiral. Here there is no reason to place blame in any quarter except simply to say that as the United States looks at its competitive position around the world, we must recognize that a wage-price spiral—in other words very significant wage increases which go far beyond increases in productivity—will inevitably have the effect not only of contributing to inflation but of pricing those particular industries out of the world market and, for that matter, out of the domestic market.

The upcoming steel negotiations are a case in point. Without getting into those negotiations specifically, we simply can look at what the numbers are.

Back 20 years ago, in 1950, and you have to go back only that far, Japan produced 5 million tons of steel and the United States produced 50 percent of all the steel in the world. Today Japan produces 100 million tons of steel; the United States produces only 27 percent of all the steel in the world, and within 2 years, Japan will pass the United States in steel production.

That is not bad in and of itself, except to point up the fact that the American steel industry, and certainly we want a steel industry, we need a steel industry—here in this city, in Birmingham, we all understand what steel means; it is a very basic industry.

If the United States is going to continue to have a strong steel industry, the wage policies and the price policies—and the productivity insofar as that is concerned and affects it—of the American industry, will have to be reexamined, because we cannot continue to have a wage push and then a price push with the United States getting a continually decreasing share of the world market.

Now, a third area that we should look to, having covered both the defense area and the economic area, relates to this whole matter of the organization of government. Since it has been covered so extensively by the previous speakers I will simply summarize it this way: The American people, at the present time, feel that we need some very significant changes in government, and they are right. They are fed up with government at all levels. They think it costs too much; they think it does not work; and they think they don't have enough to say about it.

All of our plans in revenue sharing, general revenue sharing, special revenue sharing, Government reorganization, are designed to get at those three nagging questions that Americans want. We are trying to make government cost less; we are trying to make it work better, and we are trying to give people who are affected by government more of a voice in what kind of government they want, how much government they want.

Those who suggest that our general and special revenue sharing, or either or both, or reorganization, any of these programs, would have the effect of having Washington have a bigger voice, of course, are 180 degrees wrong; because what has hap-

pened is that as we have grown in categorical grants, with over 400 major ones at the present time, this means that the Congress, the Federal Government, passes out money, in effect, to the States and the cities, and the Governors and the mayors, et cetera, simply become clerks for the purpose of dispensing it according to whatever rules are handed down by the Federal Government.

We want to change that, and as the briefers have already indicated, we think this historic change is needed. We think the people want it. It goes far beyond simply rescuing the States and cities from a fiscal crisis. That is not enough reason. It goes to the heart of the problem of government in this country, and it is something that is basically needed if our government is to meet the responsibilities that it will have to meet in this very competitive and very crucial time in the last third of this century when the quality of American government, the quality of American leadership, and the faith of the American people in their government may determine not only our future but the future of hundreds of millions of other people on this earth. That I firmly believe and that is why I consider this so important.

I come now to another point that perhaps may seem somewhat—in view of the rather hard news points that I have tried to emphasize up to this time—that seem not as realistic, but which I think in the final analysis may be even more important.

If the United States is to play the role that it needs to play, we need first to have military strength. We need a strong economy. We need a government that is responsive to the peoples' needs, that costs less, that works better.

But we can have all these and still fail unless this country develops a new spirit. I say a new spirit. I am not speaking of any one individual or one area. I am speaking of the Nation as a whole—a new spirit of unity, a new spirit among its people of confidence in ourselves and faith in our future.

Now I don't mean to suggest that—most Americans, I think most, still have confidence in this country. They believe in it. They have faith in our future. We are a confident people by nature. We are a very idealistic people by nature. We want to hear good news. We are terribly depressed by bad news.

That is why it is very difficult for us to be a world leader. We cannot take the ups and downs as the great powers of the past have taken them and ridden them through.

But at the present time, it is vitally important that this Nation attain a sense of unity which can only come from sharing our concerns about our common ideals. Let me not cover it in detail—that would take too much time—but simply to touch upon three or four points very briefly.

I referred a moment ago to Woodrow Wilson's remarks when he came to Mobile in 1913, the year I was born, and he spoke of the end of imperialism. He said, "American imperialism in the world," but I am sure that he believed that. We think of what has happened since that time, four wars, and America was in all of them—World War II, World War I, Korea, and then Vietnam. And then we look at those wars and what do we say to our young people about them, about all of them? We can argue about whether it was a mistake to go into any.

My mother and grandmother and my

grandmother on my mother's side would have said, yes, it was a mistake, because they were pacifists and they even disagreed when I was in World War II. Many others would say that.

But when we look at the U.S. role in the world in those four wars, whatever our mistakes may have been, we at least can be proud of the fact that we did not start any of them, we gained nothing from them and asked nothing from them in the way of domination over any other people, and third we came to the aid of people whose freedom was threatened.

Now I will not go into a rather meaningless debate at this point, because we all have our views, and we are probably pretty concrete about them, about the war in which we are presently engaged. But as far as the motivation of America, why we are doing what we are doing, its motivation has no imperialistic overtones, its motivation as was the case in Korea, World War I, and World War II is to help another nation whose freedom, independence, call it what you will, is threatened and also to build a more peaceful world. That is a record that we can be proud of.

Second, as far as America's strength in the world is concerned, we need not be apologetic about it. At the present time, is there any other nation in the world that you would rather have this strength? I have been to 70 countries. I talked to the leaders of countries—leaders of countries with very different philosophies. I have yet to find a leader that feared the United States of America, that feared that we would use our armed strength for the purpose of invading it, of conquest, or for any other purpose except to help them maintain their independence.

We made our mistakes. We make them now, but we in America, as we play our world role, perhaps we are naive, but we are basically idealistic, we maintain our strength for purposes of peace and not for other purposes.

Turning to the domestic field, we have many faults here. I spoke in Mobile of the fact that we have differences between regions, we have differences between races, we have differences between religions, we have differences between the generations today, and these differences have at times been very destructive. We must recognize that we will always have those differences. People of different races, different religions, from different backgrounds, and of different ages are not always going to agree.

The question is, can those differences be resolved peacefully, and second, can they be made creative rather than destructive? Must they be a drain upon us? Must they go so far that they destroy the confidence and faith of this great Nation in its destiny and its future? I do not believe that that is necessary.

Two specific points that I would like to mention. I would say this in the North if I were speaking there; I say it in the South. I know the difficult problems most of you in the Southern States have had on the school desegregation problem. I went to school in the South, and so, therefore, I am more familiar with how Southerners feel about that problem than others. Also, I went to school in the North, or the West I should say, and I have nothing but utter contempt for the double hypocritical standard of Northerners who look at the South and point the finger and say, "Why don't those Southerners do something about their race problem?"

Let's look at the facts. In the past year, 2 years, there has been a peaceful, rela-

tively quiet, very significant revolution. Oh, it is not over, there are problems—there was one in Chattanooga, I understand, the last couple days; there will be more. But look what has happened in the South. Today 38 percent of all black children in the South go to majority white schools. Today only 28 percent of all black children in the North go to majority white schools. There has been no progress in the North in the past 2 years in that respect. There has been significant progress in the South.

How did it come about? It came about because farsighted leaders in the South, black and white, some of whom I am sure did not agree with the opinions handed down by the Supreme Court which were the law of the land, recognized as law-abiding citizens that they had the responsibility to meet that law of the land, and they had dealt with the problem—not completely, there is more yet to be done. The recent decision of the Supreme Court presents some more problems, but I am confident that over a period of time those problems will also be handled in a peaceful and orderly way for the most part.

But let's look at the deeper significance of this. As I speak today in what is called the Heart of Dixie, I realize that America at this time needs to become one country. Too long we have been divided. It has been North versus South versus West; Wall Street versus the country and the country versus the city and the rest. That does not mean we don't have differences and will not continue to have them, but those regional differences, it seems to me, must go. Presidents of the United States should come to Alabama and Mississippi and Georgia and Louisiana more than once, more often than every 50 years or every 100 years as the case might be, to some of the cities, and they should come because this is one nation, and we must speak as one nation, we must work as one nation.

Second, and here this is difficult, but we have made enormous progress, and we are going to make more. The problems of race can be and must be solved. They must be solved in an orderly way recognizing we will continue to have differences, but recognizing that unless they are solved, this destructive force, this division over an issue of this type is going to weaken this part of the country in a way that could be very, very detrimental to the national interest and weaken other parts of the country where there are also racial problems.

What I am simply suggesting is this: I am suggesting that we are at a period in our country when America needs to be strong militarily, it must be strong economically, and it must be strong in its spirit, strong in its heart.

I think the South traditionally has contributed to the military strength of this country. More Southerners voluntarily serve in the Armed Forces than any other part of the country. I think the New South has a greater contribution to make in terms of economic growth than perhaps any other section of the country, because the South starts from a lower base and now is moving up, not evenly, but moving up very significantly and will continue to.

So, you have a great role to play in that respect. I think, too, that this part of the country has a very significant role to play insofar as the spirit of this country is concerned. I speak of such square things as patriotism; I speak of such things as religious faith. I also speak of such things as respect for law, even those laws that you don't like. And if this great and power-

ful and vibrant and dynamic part of the country can make the contribution of which it is capable, then America will have a better chance to meet the responsibility that it must meet in the world to be strong militarily, economically together with the ideological and spiritual strength which will enable us to meet our challenges.

I simply close with a last thought. There is another point of view, I recognize it, I respect it, I totally disagree with it. It is that at this time America should turn away from the problems of the world and turn inward. It is a point of view which rejects new ventures, whether it is an SST or an exploration in space or whatever the case might be, because we have such terrible problems at home.

It is one in which every time we see a chance for progress we consult our fears rather than our hopes. And I would simply say that I am convinced that as opinion leaders in this country, you and me, we all have an obligation to see that America, after 190 years, now that we are the strongest nation in the world, still the richest, with more freedom, more opportunity here than any place in the world, that we do not, at this point, because of internal differences, differences between races, between religions, between regions, between ages, turn inward to attempt to solve those problems at the exclusion of moving forward, whether it is in playing our role in the world or exploring the unknown.

I don't agree with everything General de Gaulle said, because he said many things about this country that were very uncomplimentary and other things that he may have been wrong about. But he was a great judge of the spirit of the people. That was his contribution to France. And he restored the French spirit and he said France is her true self only when she is engaged in a great enterprise.

And America, in my view, will cease to be her true self when we cease to be engaged in an enterprise greater than ourselves, whether it is in playing our role in the world to bring peace with freedom wherever we can, whether it is exploring the unknown, whether it is moving forward in these problems, very difficult ones, human problems that we have between races and religions and generations in this country.

I simply want to say that one of the reasons that these regional briefings, I think, are very important to me as an individual, it gives me an opportunity to meet the opinion leaders, to share with you my concerns and to tell you that I will, of course, do everything that I can to end the war that we are in, to have better relations to build a lasting peace, to keep the Nation strong militarily, to get this economy moving so that we can get at unemployment and resist the high inflation.

But in this other field we desperately need your help to restore America's sense of confidence and sense of faith. Don't gloss over our failures. They are many. But recognize that this is a great country; that we are very fortunate to live here.

As we travel over the world, much as we see, much as we may want to go again, that when we return we realize that we have had good fortune to live in this country at a time when what we do matters—matters to us, matters to the world. We must meet that challenge, and we can meet it materially.

The question is, can we meet it spirit-

ually, and I think we can if we can get the right leadership from the opinion-makers like yourselves in this room.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:28 p.m. in the Parliament House hotel.

Participants included press, television, and radio representatives from Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.

183 Remarks at the Annual Conference of the Associated Councils of the Arts. *May* 26, 1971

Mr. Anderson and ladies and gentlemen:

As you can imagine, I have the responsibility and the very great honor and privilege of welcoming many groups to Washington. And of those groups, there are very few that I could greet with as much pleasure as this Conference of the Associated Councils of the Arts.

One reason, of course, is here on the platform with me. I feel a special debt of gratitude to you because you gave us Nancy Hanks, not only because she adds beauty to the White House Staff in many ways but because she was the president of this organization when I appointed her Chairman of the National Endowment of the Arts. And I hardly need tell you how vigorously and effectively, not only in Washington with the Congress and all over the Nation that Nancy Hanks has worked, together with many of you here, to make the Endowment's programs a success.

Another reason is quite simply this: It is a lesson from history. We, this Nation of ours, could be the richest nation in the world. We could be the most powerful nation in the world. We could be the freest nation in the world—but only if the arts are alive and flourishing can we experience the true meaning of our freedom and know the full glory of the human spirit.

We all, no doubt, remember the debates that went on in this Nation over many years, over government involvement of the arts, the feeling of some that it was a frivolous waste of the taxpayers' money, the concern of others that government support might lead to government control or a drying up of the private funds on which ultimately the arts, of course, depend.

The important thing now is that government has accepted support of the arts as one of its responsibilities, not only on the Federal level but on the State and local levels as well.

And increasingly, governments at all levels see this not only as a responsibility but also as an opportunity, for there is a growing recognition that few investments in the quality of life in America pay off so handsomely as the money spent to stimulate the arts.

We can spend billions on new scientific miracles as we do, on education, on housing, on medical care, on highways and airports, and all of the other goods and services, those material things that government is expected to provide. And in doing so, we can meet very genuine needs for people and discharge very real responsibilities. But all of this, all of this together, alone would be like designing a violin without the strings.

As we look ahead, 10, 20, 30 years, we can chart the prospect of many great achievements. We have seen technological

advances speed up by almost a geometrical proportion. Already we take moon landings almost for granted. Computers and industrial advances, agricultural breakthroughs, all are multiplying the goods and services that our economy can provide.

These material advances are important. They extend man's reach. They widen our range of choices. They make it possible to look ahead toward an end to hunger and misery and disease, not only in America but elsewhere in the world as well.

But by themselves, these advances can never be enough. The engineers and the scientists can take us to the moon, but we need the poet or the painter to take us to the heights of understanding and perception.

Doctors are enabling us to live longer and healthier lives, but we need the musician and the dancer and the filmmaker to bring beauty and meaning to our lives.

So on urging greater support for the arts, I do it not only because the arts need help. I do it also because the Nation needs what the arts and only the arts can give.

That is why I have urged the Congress to provide full funding for this year's authorization for the arts and humanities Endowments, funding that would raise each to $30 million, more than three times the level of 2 years ago.

This is an investment in cultural resources that we can expect to find repaid, in my opinion, many, many times over, not only in terms of a strengthening of the arts themselves and their supporting institutions but also in terms of a new awareness and appreciation of the arts and artists by people all across the Nation.

And we should remember that we add immeasurably to the store of human happiness as we help millions of persons find in their lives the added meaning that only the arts convey, the appreciation that only they can provide.

To my mind, one of the most exciting new directions charted by the National Council on the Arts has been its effort to take arts to the people and to the people in all walks of life, all across this Nation.

By doing this, we not only build a deeper, more solid base of support for the arts in the future, attracting new people to an understanding and appreciation of what they can offer in terms of spiritual enrichment and therefore building audiences for the future, but also the arts themselves do more to enrich the quality of life for people, whatever their background may be throughout America.

I had this brought home to me when I was the devil's advocate in asking a question of a group of motion picture producers and directors and others with whom I met at the Western White House in San Clemente just a few weeks ago.[1]

One of those who was there was a producer, as I recall, and a very successful one, one of the new successful ones at the moment in monetary terms in Hollywood. He told me that he was very proud to work with Nancy Hanks and others in the work that you are devoting so much time to.

Then I asked him the question that sometimes I am asked of Congressmen and Senators when they say, "Why in this

[1] On April 5, 1971, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing by Peter M. Flanigan, Assistant to the President, Charlton Heston, president, Screen Actors Guild, Jack J. Valenti, president, Motion Picture Association of America, Inc., and Taft B. Schreiber, vice president, Music Corporation of America, following a meeting with the President to discuss problems in the motion picture industry.

period when we have so many other priorities do we spend $30 million on the arts?"

I asked him, "How do you answer this question when you talk to somebody who is in a deprived area of a city or of rural America? How do you answer it to those who live in a ghetto?"

He gave me an answer, an answer that I share with you, one that you probably already know. He said, "Let me tell you what we have used the major portion of the funds for, that have been allocated to southern California. We have used them for the purpose of bringing the arts to those areas of Los Angeles and other parts of southern California where not simply those children who are in schools from upper-income families live, but particularly emphasizing those children who come from the lower-income families."

He told me—and I am sure I am not exaggerating what he said—that as a result of the program in southern California which we support as a government, which you support individually, that there were literally thousands of schoolchildren from Watts who had been brought to musical entertainments, to other kinds of activities in the field of painting, et cetera, as far as the arts are concerned, who otherwise would never have an opportunity to have this kind of experience.

This doesn't mean that all of them will become artists. It doesn't mean that all of them will become wealthy enough to support the arts. But it does mean that some of them, some who otherwise might never be taken on this mountain top, get a new view of life, a life they can never get living in that ghetto, a life that they could never get through the other things that we want to provide.

We can provide the housing. We can provide the education. We can provide the medical care. We can provide mass transit for transportation. But unless we reach the quality of life through activities like this, we have not met our responsibility to all the people of this country.

That, to me, was one of the most dramatic stories that I have heard.

Now, I hope I can get that kind of a response when I try to sell it to some recalcitrant Congressmen and Senators on the Appropriations Committee.

I can assure you, however, that when I fail to make a sale, Nancy Hanks always makes the sale.

One of the most promising developments during these first years of the arts Endowment has been the extent to which Federal funds, far from replacing local and private funds, which as you know many thought would be the case, have actually stimulated a greater flow from other sources.

It is essential that this pattern be continued, that we maintain and strengthen the working partnership among the governmental and private efforts in support of the arts.

I would also stress one other point, which I know has been of concern to many of you here at this conference, and that is: In its relation to the arts, the role of government should not be simply that of patron. Government uses the arts, and I think we can learn to use them more creatively; government supports the arts, and we are moving to support them more broadly.

But government also needs the ideas of artists, not only the special perceptions they so often bring but also the artistic and aesthetic values for which they speak.

Concerned as we constantly are with the economic and social development of

the Nation, we must also bear in mind that the values the artist represents are essential if our Nation's growth is to be balanced and truly to represent quantity with quality.

I know that a great deal of your discussion here these past 3 days has been directed toward the question of how agencies of government, other than this Endowment, can bring the arts more prominently into their own thinking, planning and programing. That question, of course, is a very important one, and as a result, I am sending a memorandum today to the heads of the various departments of the government and agencies of the executive branch—all of them—asking them to look at the new ways in which their agencies can more vigorously assist the arts and artists and also, perhaps more important, how the arts and artists can be of additional help to the agencies and their programs.

Whatever my influence with the Congress may be, at least for the time being I still have influence with the agencies of government where I have appointed them.

Your discussions, the book you produced for this convention, "Washington and the Arts," will provide a very helpful beginning, and we will see that that is well distributed among the various agency heads.

I hope and believe that as we follow through we can write a new chapter in developing partnership to the lasting benefit of the arts and artists, the Government, and most important, the people of America.

Before concluding, I would like to share with you a personal experience, if I could, which relates to this problem of priorities; what it means.

Of course, in this particular field, I cannot pretend to be an expert. Len Garment,[2] I know, has already exposed the fact that in addition to the piano, I have at one time played the violin. It didn't have any strings, but I played it.

But be that as it may, I do recall my first year in college in California. I went to a very small college—we had only 300 students at that time—Whittier College. It was 1931, the beginning and the depths of the depression.

And as a college freshman, I recall a convocation that we had in which the president of the college, who was a man enormously interested in the arts, whether in music or painting or whatever the field was, brought to us a very outstanding lady.

I do not remember who she was or where she came from. As a matter of fact, she must have come without an honorarium, because we couldn't afford honorariums at Whittier College in those days. So for her it was a labor of love, and certainly nothing else was involved.

But I remember of all the many convocations I sat through at Whittier College in 4 years—and we were required to go to convocations every week at Whittier College in those days—but I remember of all those convocations, this one particularly stood out in my mind.

She talked about the arts and her interest. She had paintings that she displayed. And we were interested in that. Most of us knew very little about it, because we had no courses in art of that type, portraits or painting, in any respect at Whittier in those days.

But then she told a story which got the lesson through. Remember the time

---

[2] Leonard Garment, Special Consultant to the President.

again, 1931, the depths of the depression, people were just thinking, "How do we get a job? How do we make a living?" And here is a lady talking about the arts and how important it was.

She told of an experience that she had had when she was in her teens, about our age. Her father, apparently, was a man not very, very wealthy, but relatively well to do. He took his family, a fairly large family, on a steamer to Europe.

They went over second class. All the way over, the children, the teenagers particularly—there were three or four of them—heard the music of the orchestra on first class, and they talked to their father and said, "Couldn't we come back first class?"

They went to Europe, they traveled through Europe, and she said they had a very exciting experience. But just before traveling to Cherbourg for the boat that was to bring them back—or the steamer—she said that they went through, in Paris, a very interesting gallery where paintings were for sale.

Her father and mother fell in love with a particular painting. The children also saw the painting, and they liked it very, very much. They wanted to buy the painting.

It cost, for them, a great deal of money. Then the father thought about whether or not he should make the purchase, and they had a family conference.

In the family conference, he said, quite frankly, to the whole family, "We really can't afford the painting. But, if we could go back second class, we could do so. So I will let you decide. We will go back first class, which I have already promised you, or we will buy the painting and go back second class."

They voted. It was unanimous. They bought the painting. They went back second class. And she said to us, "We have never regretted it."

So that brought home to me, as it brought home, I am sure, to the 300 in that convocation, the meaning—the meaning which all of you sense in this audience and all of you with whom you work also sense, and what you live for, the meaning of understanding what art can mean, even in a period when we have difficulties in economics, when we are thinking of the material considerations and the rest.

It is that particular lesson, I think, that this group can most effectively bring home to the people of America, not just those in the higher income brackets—all of them for fashion may want to be with you, some of them because they deeply believe, as you believe—but to open for those who otherwise, like those children in Watts, would never have any experience except simply grubbing along to make enough to live on, to make enough to have a house to live in, to have enough food. They could have an experience which raised the level of their lives far above what it otherwise would be.

So when I reflect on the importance of the arts in America, I also think in personal terms of the magnificent performances that we have been privileged to hear at state dinners and at our "Evenings at the White House," where so many gifted artists have helped us present some of the best in American music and other performing arts.

And I also think of a January evening a year ago. I went to Philadelphia to hear the Philadelphia Orchestra—it celebrated its 70th birthday—and on that occasion to present the Medal of Freedom to its conductor, Eugene Ormandy.

The citation on that medal incorporated a great truth about the arts. Let me read it to you: "He has reminded audiences here in his adopted country and all over the world that the heart of music is a human heart and that the glory of music reflects and sustains the true glory of the human spirit."

The heart of music is a human heart, and this is true not only of music but of all the arts, and their glory does reflect and sustain the true glory of the human spirit. By working as you are to bring the arts to a new pride of place in American life, you and the organizations you represent here today are making this Nation a gift, a gift of spirit—and our lives, and those of our children, will be made immeasurably richer because of your gift.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:47 a.m. in the Mayflower Hotel.

Robert O. Anderson, chairman, Business Committee for the Arts, Inc., was chairman of the conference.

An advance text of the President's remarks was released on the same day.

184 Memorandum About the Federal Government and the Arts. *May 26, 1971*

Memorandum to the Heads of Departments and Agencies:

Americans in all walks of life are becoming increasingly aware of the importance of the arts as a key factor in the quality of the Nation's life, and of their individual lives—whether in terms of the availability of great cultural resources, the accessibility of exhibits and performances, or simply the aesthetic enjoyment of good design.

As you know, direct Federal assistance to the arts is being sharply increased, and I have asked the Congress for full funding of the budget authorizations for the National Endowments for the Arts and the Humanities for fiscal 1972—which would roughly double their present funding levels, and raise them to more than three times what they were just two years ago. But the Endowment programs are by no means the only Federal programs that affect, employ or contribute to the arts. In architecture, graphics, school programs, and many other activities, Federal agencies are daily involved deeply with the arts in one form or another.

It is my urgent desire that the growing partnership between Government and the arts continue to be developed to the benefit of both, and more particularly to the benefit of the people of America.

To contribute to this development, I ask each of you to direct your attention to two questions: first, how, as a part of its various programs, your agency can most vigorously assist the arts and artists; second, and perhaps more important, how the arts and artists can be of help to your agency and to its programs.

By focusing consciously, creatively and in a concerted way on these two questions, I believe that we all can find that the arts have a great deal more to contribute to what we in government are seeking to accomplish—and that this will be good for the arts and good for the country.

I am asking Nancy Hanks, Chairman of the National Endowment for the Arts,

to coordinate responses on this, and I would appreciate your letting her know by September 20, what ideas and suggestions you may have, and also what new actions your agency may already be taking toward this same objective.

RICHARD NIXON

185 Statement Urging Congressional Action To Implement a National Cancer Program. *May* 26, 1971

THE SECOND supplemental appropriations bill [1] which I signed yesterday included an extra $100 million to launch an intensive campaign to find a cure for cancer. I had called for this appropriation in both my State of the Union Message and in my special message to the Congress on a national health strategy, and I strongly commend the Congress for acting favorably on this request.

But money alone will not be enough. The way we organize our work in this field is also extremely important. For this reason I proposed to the Congress on May 11 legislation to establish a new cancer cure program, one that is independently budgeted with its Director responsible directly to the President of the United States.

I now urge the Congress to match its prompt action in appropriating funds with further prompt action to implement this new program.

As I have said before, the time has come in America when the same kind of concentrated effort that split the atom and took man to the moon should be turned toward conquering this dread disease.

[1] The bill (H.R. 8190), approved May 25, 1971, is Public Law 92–18 (85 Stat. 40).

186 Remarks of Welcome to King Faisal ibn Abd al-Aziz al-Saud of Saudi Arabia. *May* 27, 1971

Your Majesty:

You have visited our country many times, but it is a very great honor for me to welcome you on this occasion officially as the head of state and the head of government of the great nation you represent.

I know that the talks that we shall have and the talks that your advisers will have with members of our Administration will contribute to the already excellent relations we have between our two countries.

And I am particularly looking forward to the opportunity of having the benefit of your wise counsel as one of the senior statesmen of the world on how our two nations can work together for a just and secure peace in the Mideast and in all parts of the world.

I know that this visit will be of great benefit to the representatives of our Government, and we hope that you and all the members of your royal party will enjoy your stay in our Nation's Capital.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:18 a.m. on the South Lawn at the White House where King Faisal was given a formal welcome with full military honors.

Later the same day, King Faisal was hon-

ored at a luncheon at the White House.

King Faisal responded to the President's welcome in Arabic. His remarks were translated simultaneously by an interpreter, as follows:

In the name of God, the Merciful and the Beneficient, Mr. President, it is a great pleasure for me to meet with Your Excellency in this great country. Undoubtedly I am no stranger to this country. But I do believe that our meeting under these circumstances will prove fruitful, particularly as a result of Your Excellency's contribution to them.

The good relations between our two countries and the close and friendly relations between us do not need a great effort for them to remain the way they are.

We hope that this good relationship which exists between our countries will be in the interest of all and in the interest of the world at large. And I hope that the friendship of the United States will not be restricted only to our country, and that relations, good relations, will not exist only between our two countries.

We hope that these good relations and this friendship will exist not only between this great country and its great President and its great people and ourselves, but also between you and the Arab and Islamic countries of the Middle East.

If certain factors, powers, and circumstances have succeeded in disrupting the relations at times between your great country and ours and between your country and the Arab and Islamic countries of the world, we hope that through your efforts, Mr. President, these good relations will be reestablished and that there will always be a condition, a situation of good relations and friendship between your country and ours and the countries of the Middle East.

The aggression which our countries are subjected to at the present time certainly requires the attention of you, Mr. President, and your great nation.

This aggression, which exemplifies itself in the occupancy of parts of our country [nation] and our holy places and the subjugation of one of our peoples is one which has brought about some disagreement, a disruption of the good relations between your country, your good country, and ours.

But the qualities which Your Excellency, Mr. President, and which the American people are characterized by, the love for goodness and for justice and for right, make us hope that we will be able to overcome these difficulties and that we will eventually be able to establish justice and peace in that part of the world and throughout the world.

And I am pleased, Mr. President, to exchange with you talks which will help us to be able to achieve these objectives for the interest of your country and ours.

I am pleased, Mr. President, to reiterate my gratitude for the reception and the warm welcome which I and the members of my party, of my delegation, have been accorded by you, Mr. President, and by your Government, and by your great people.

And I would like to thank you again for this reception on this occasion.

187 Remarks to the Corps of Cadets at the United States Military Academy in West Point, New York. *May* 29, 1971

General Knowlton, honored guests, gentlemen of the Cadet Corps:

I am honored to be with you here today on my first visit as President of the United States. And feeling the spirit of this Corps of Cadets, I recall with deep gratitude and pride General MacArthur's tribute: "The Long Gray Line has never failed us"—I am certain you never will.

It has been 9 years now since a President last came to West Point, and on that commencement day in 1962, President Kennedy told the Corps that the decade ahead would challenge our professional

soldiers as no period in our history has ever done. And now looking back we can see how right he was. Through a long and bitter struggle in Vietnam, American fighting men have served the cause of freedom magnificently. American military leadership, much of it from here at West Point, has been superb, and the American people have stood behind our commitment to the people of South Vietnam in the face of great temptations to turn aside.

But now at last, we have the end of the American role in this war clearly in sight. And we are ending our involvement with honor, in a way that will discourage new aggression and contribute to a lasting peace in the Pacific and in the world.

I am grateful that only a small number of this Class of 1971 has orders for Vietnam, that only a few of the more than 3,700 cadets here today will ever be called to serve there. And beyond this, it is my highest hope that the great majority of you standing before me today will never be called on to serve in any war at all.

More and more, we have good grounds to believe that this hope for a new era of world peace will come true. America and the Soviet Union, the two super powers, are committed more seriously than ever before to working out an agreement that will limit strategic arms. America and Mainland China, after more than 20 years of hostility and isolation, are beginning to move toward a new and more normal relationship. The nations of Europe are taking important steps toward greater unity. The truce in the Mideast will soon be a year old.

Now, none of this is a cause for euphoria. The harvesttime of peace is not yet. What we can say, though, is that the seeds of peace are planted, that they are germinating in a way that seems to hold great promise, and certainly that chances for a full generation of peace in America and the world are stronger today than at any period in our lifetime, or your lifetime.

We stand at what could well be a turning point in modern history. But this momentous opportunity will slip away if America is lulled into wishful thinking and passive policies. Events offer us not a gift of ease, but a summons to action. We must be more resourceful than ever in the pursuit of peace, and at the same time more determined than ever in the maintenance of our defenses.

For even as many things are changing in the world of the seventies, one fact remains: American strength is the keystone in the structure of peace. There still are those in the world who would strike out at freedom because freedom makes them afraid. There are still those who would resort to violence to work their will because they have not learned that to live by the sword is to die by it as well. As long as these threats persist, peace cannot be self-sustaining. It will continue to depend heavily on the vigilance and power of those who love it.

We all pray for a time when military strength will be unnecessary, but as long as strength is essential, we shall maintain the preparedness which is essential to protect the peace.

The record speaks plainly. The United States has fought four wars in this century—none of them at our own instigation, none of them for conquest, territory, or selfish aims, all of them in defense of freedom and self-determination for other people. The United States, for all its power, is not feared, but trusted among the nations of the world. I have visited

more than 70 countries, large and small, of all political philosophies, and I have never, in all of those countries, encountered a leader who felt that American military strength was a threat to peace or to his nation's independence.

You can be proud of your country's power. You can be proud of your uniform, because your uniform, which helps to make that power, is wholly committed to the service of peace. That power is without exception the instrument of principle, of high respect for the basic rights of men and nations. And to those who speak of American might as something arrogant, something ominous, you need only ask one question: In the world today, a world which permits no vacuum of power, what other nation would you trust more with that power than America?

At the same time, we know that the very existence of huge arsenals of destruction tends to heighten the danger of war. Thus we will continue actively to seek opportunities for safe limitation of armaments. The best assurance of such safety is balanced mutual action. You have heard the arguments of those who urge steps of unilateral disarmament as a sign of our good faith, so as to ease international tensions. But we must remember that limitation of arms, however desirable, is not an end of itself, but a means of contributing to a more peaceful world. When one side reduces its forces unilaterally and thus creates an imbalance, this increases the danger of war. Only when both sides reduce their forces together do we truly serve the cause of peace. That is the cause we mean to serve, and that is the path we intend to pursue.

And so, the stage is set for your generation to inherit the American future. You have grown up in stormy times. You have not come gently to maturity. And yet there is bright promise in your spirit, your energy, and your moral vision. I believe you can be the leaders of a great generation. Surely those of you who will soon be the young leaders of the United States Army have an opportunity to serve mankind which is almost unparalleled in history.

The stakes could hardly be higher. Never before have the needs for peace been so strong and never have the potential consequences of war been so catastrophic. As the keystone of peace in the years ahead will be the strength of the United States of America, so in turn the keystone of American strength will be your service.

It is not megatonnage; it is not hardware; it is not the mere masses of men under arms. It is the caliber and the purpose of the men who serve. This is what will really determine our ability to lead the world into a new era of lasting peace. It will fall to you to be America's peacetime soldiers. This is a difficult and demanding assignment, but one for which I am sure West Point is preparing you well.

As you set the course of your career, let the great motto of the Military Academy be the star you steer by: "Duty . . . honor . . . country."

Duty: Your duty quite simply will be to keep America so ready to defend herself that she is never challenged to do so. General Eisenhower, a man who spoke from 50 years of service to the Nation, once told me that it was far more difficult for the professional military man to serve in time of peace than in war. You will find this to be true. In combat a man risks his life, but at least the issues are

clearly drawn and the outcome is decisive. But the challenge of patient readiness, the challenge to be strong when you want to use your strength for peace, not war—this takes a special kind of courage, of stamina, and of statesmanship. And I know you have it.

Honor: You must retain your own high sense of honor, knowing that you will not receive civilian recognition to the measure you deserve, and knowing that the emotional antimilitarism and moral upheaval of our times will test you severely. It is no secret that the discipline, integrity, patriotism, self-sacrifice, which are the very lifeblood of an effective armed force and which the Corps represents, can no longer be taken for granted in the Army in which you will serve. The symptoms of trouble are plain enough, from drug abuse to insubordination.

I believe, in perspective, that the military ethic remains strong in the hearts of America's fighting men, and particularly strong in your hearts. Your special task will be to reaffirm it, to give it new life and meaning for the difficult times ahead. And as you succeed in this task, your success can set an example of moral rebirth for all the people and institutions of this land, civilian as well as military.

Country: Each of you is sworn to place the security of your country, the freedom of your countrymen, above all your own desires and even above life itself. You pay a price for this. Your duty, though supremely important, may often be thankless. Your honor, though high and true, may meet with the scorn of some. But you will have this great reward: Your country, the United States and all its people, will be deeply in your debt. Day by day, through all your years in uniform, you will be rendering your country the very highest service: the protection of our liberties, the preservation of our peace. People you will never know, people you will never meet, children yet unborn will have better and safer lives because you took your stand for America and the world. You can always be proud of that.

In choosing the profession of arms, you have chosen wisely and well; for a career of service to your fellow man is the highest career of all.

Recently, I received a letter from a young man who enlisted in the Army 6 months ago. His statement of pride in wearing the uniform of the United States of America moved me deeply. I would like to share it with you.

He wrote, "One year ago I wouldn't have given two cents to be a soldier in the Army. Today I wouldn't take a million to leave it. . . . As the days go by I become more and more proud to be a soldier. . . . The reason I'm in the Army is because I didn't feel right by having the country protecting me and I wasn't doing anything for the country."

To the simple but eloquent words of that private in the United States Army there is little I can add except that to his devotion I know you will add your own. And my part, the part of the Nation's leaders, will be to do our best to fashion a just and lasting peace for America and for the world.

Your part, the role of the soldier, will be to help to keep the peace that we make. If we fail, then you will have to pay the price of risking your lives. If you fail, then we cannot succeed. But, true to your duty, firm in your honor, loyal to your

country, I know that you will not fail; that those who know the blessings of peace will be forever in your debt.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:27 p.m. on the Parade Ground.

Maj. Gen. William A. Knowlton was Superintendent of the United States Military Academy.

An advance text of the President's remarks was released on the same day.

188 Remarks Announcing a Proclamation of Amnesty for Cadets at the Military Academy. *May* 29, 1971

General Knowlton and First Captain Pyrz and gentlemen of the Corps:

In the ceremony that has just been completed, I want you to know that I was enormously impressed, as all the rest of your visitors today, by the precision, the magnificence, of your appearance there on the Parade Ground. It made us all very proud to be Americans, to see you marching by.

Also during the course of my apperance here today, I had a lot of things on my mind. I just finished my speech late last night, and my Military Aide, General Hughes,[1] a graduate of West Point—who will be celebrating his 25th anniversary this year and he is coming back—came up and nudged me just a few minutes ago. He said, "You forgot, sir." I said, "What did I forget?" "You forgot something in your speech. You forgot the most important thing."

I began to ask him what it was, and he just handed it to me now.

So I would like to ask First Captain, if you would have the Adjutant read this to the Corps, or you read it, I don't know how this is done.

[At this point, Brigade Adjutant Calvert P. Benedict, Jr., read the Amnesty Proclamation, the text of which follows:]

AMNESTY FOR CADETS
THE UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY

Whereas, it is customary and traditional that a visiting Head of State at the United States Military Academy grant amnesty to those cadets who are undergoing punishment for having committed certain infractions of United States Military Academy regulations; and whereas, my duties as Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the United States include responsibility in matters of discipline; therefore, I do proclaim amnesty for all cadets who have committed violations of the regulations of the United States Military Academy for which ordinary and special punishment has been imposed or is being considered.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
May 28, 1971

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:33 p.m. in Washington Hall at the Academy, West Point, N.Y.

First Captain Thomas A. Pyrz was senior ranking cadet in the Corps.

[1] Brig. Gen. James D. Hughes, USAF, Military Assistant to the President.

189 The President's News Conference of *June* 1, 1971

QUESTIONS

TROOP WITHDRAWALS FROM EUROPE

THE PRESIDENT. [1.] Mr. Risher [Eugene V. Risher, United Press International] has the first question tonight.

Q. Mr. President, Chairman Brezhnev[1] recently indicated a willingness to negotiate troop withdrawals from Europe. Do you plan to take him up on this?

THE PRESIDENT. We have completed within our own Government our study of the question of balanced, mutual force reductions. Secretary Laird has had some consultations last week on this matter with the NATO defense chiefs, and Secretary Rogers is conducting consultations at the present time with the Foreign Ministers of the various NATO countries. When those consultations have been completed, then the United States and our allies will move forward to discuss, negotiate, with the Soviet Union and other countries involved, with regard to mutual, balanced force reductions.

POSSIBILITY OF EUROPEAN MEETINGS

[2.] Q. Mr. President, we not only have the prospect—maybe distant in the future—of the mutual reduction of force, but we have the Berlin question, the SALT talks, the dollar problem in Europe. Do you foresee meeting with the leaders of Europe on their own soil within the foreseeable future?

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Cormier [Frank Cormier, Associated Press], I plan no trip to Europe and no meetings with European leaders in the near future. If such plans do develop, of course, I will announce them. And if it becomes necessary, as a result of developments in the question of mutual force reductions or arms limitation, that such meetings occur, I will, of course, go any place that I think would serve the interests of our goal of reducing the dangers to peace in the world and, of course, reducing the burden of armaments.

DRUG ADDICTION PROBLEMS

[3.] Q. Mr. President, what are you going to do about the tens of thousands of American soldiers who are coming back from Vietnam with an addiction to heroin?

THE PRESIDENT. I think it is well for us first to put the problem of drug addiction in Vietnam in perspective. It is not simply a problem of Vietnam veterans; it is a national problem. It is a national problem that primarily focuses on young people. When Mr. Finch and Mr. Rumsfeld came back from Europe,[2] they pointed out that it was an affliction not only of young people who were in the armed services but of young people who were tourists in Europe.

[1] Leonid I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

[2] Robert H. Finch and Donald Rumsfeld, Counsellors to the President, made a 23-day trip to Europe and North Africa to discuss drug abuse prevention and control with foreign officials. On May 21, 1971, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing on the trip by Mr. Finch and Mr. Rumsfeld.

Consequently, what we need is a national offensive on this problem and one which, of course, will particularly take into account the immediate problem in Vietnam. The problem in Vietnam is aggravated by the fact that heroin can be purchased there at a much lower price than it can in the United States, and, therefore, when men are exposed to it, or they are able to obtain it, the habit is one that they can afford to have.

What we are going to do, therefore, is to step up our national program on four fronts: First, the front of getting at the sources. This means working with foreign governments where the drugs come from, including the Government of South Vietnam, where they have, of course, a special responsibility.

It means, also, prosecuting those who are the pushers. It means, in addition to that, a program of treating the addicts, and that, incidentally, insofar as veterans are concerned, means treating them where they are addicted to heroin or hard drugs before releasing them, giving them the opportunity. And, finally, it requires a massive program of information for the American people with regard to how the drug habit begins and how we eventually end up with so many being addicted to heroin, the hard drug, which virtually is a point of no return for many.

In that respect, that is one of the reasons I have taken such a strong position with regard to the question of marihuana. I realize this is controversial. But I can see no social or moral justification whatever for legalizing marihuana. I think it would be exactly the wrong step. It would simply encourage more and more of our young people to start down that long, dismal road that leads to hard drugs and eventually self-destruction.

I am going to be meeting, incidentally, Thursday of this week, with the Secretary of Defense, the three Service Secretaries, the three heads of the armed services, and get a direct report from them on the programs they have initiated at my suggestion and at the suggestion and request of the Secretary of Defense in the drug field.

We consider it a problem of the highest priority, and we are going to give it the highest priority attention at all levels, not just with regard to veterans, where it is a special problem, but nationally, where it is one that concerns us all.

MORALITY OF THE VIETNAM WAR

[4.] Q. Mr. President, much of the debate about Vietnam seems to have shifted from the question of practicality of policy to questions about morality of the U.S. involvement. Some of the people who have been demonstrating against the war have contended that your Administration is responsible for war crimes, not only speaking of certain face-to-face encounters between U.S. soldiers and civilians but speaking of the policy of massive bombing of large areas of Southeast Asia.

How do you respond to the suggestions that the bombing constitutes immoral, criminal conduct?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, my views with regard to war are well known. I grew up in a tradition where we consider all wars immoral. My mother, my grandmother on my mother's side were Quakers, as I have often pointed out to this press corps, and very strongly disapproved of my entering World War II. As far as Vietnam is concerned, like all wars it involves activities that certainly would be subject to criticism if we were considering it solely in a vacuum.

But when we consider the consequences of not acting, I think we can see why we have done what we have. To allow a take-over of South Vietnam by the Communist aggressors would not only result in the loss of freedom for 17 million people in South Vietnam, it would greatly increase the danger of that kind of aggression and also the danger of a larger war in the Pacific and in the world. That I believe. That is why I have strongly supported ending this war, ending our involvement as we are, withdrawing Americans, but ending in a way that we do not turn the country over to the Communists, ending it in a way that we give the South Vietnamese a reasonable chance to defend themselves against Communist aggression. And that is why I believe that kind of ending will contribute to the peace that we all want.

STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION

[5.] Q. Mr. President, if there should be agreements on both defensive and offensive weapons with the Soviet Union, do you plan to submit both of those agreements to the Senate in a treaty form, or only the agreement on defensive weapons, leaving the other to an understanding?

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Lisagor [Peter Lisagor, Chicago Daily News], this is a matter which you have raised, along with other reporters that cover the White House, in some of the background briefings, and I am sure that all of you know that it is not possible for me, and it would not be appropriate for me, to discuss this matter in any way that would jeopardize the agreement itself.

We cannot tell at this time what form the agreement will take. With regard to defensive weapons, the ABM, it is a simpler matter, because we are talking about only one weapons system. Therefore, it might be subject to a treaty.

With regard to the offensive limitations that we are talking about, it is not as simple a matter, because here we have several weapons systems. We have missiles. We have bombers. We have nuclear submarines. And the understanding, the commitment that has been made at the highest level, deals with only some of those systems. Consequently, what would come out with regard to offensive weapons may or may not be at the treaty level. It might be at an understanding level at this point, and be at a treaty level at a later point.

I would like to be more precise than that, but that is an accurate statement of what we expect.

WOMEN IN GOVERNMENT JOBS

[6.] Miss Means [Marianne Means, Hearst Newspapers and Hearst Headline Service].

Q. Mr. President, women make up more than 50 percent of the population, but it seems that men have a lock on the top Government jobs. Out of the top 10,000 Federal supervisory posts, only 150 are filled by women, and in 2½ years you have appointed only 200 women to Federal jobs, 62 of them to one single arts commission.

What are your goals for bringing more qualified women into Government and promoting them, and how do you personally feel about women's liberation?

THE PRESIDENT. After that question, I am not going to comment upon women's liberation! But I will comment about the problem about women in Government jobs.

This Administration is proud of its record insofar as putting women in top positions of responsibility. We have women, as you know, as not just members of commissions, but one is the Chairman of the Maritime Commission, and I have just appointed a woman as Chairman of the Tariff Commission. These are breakthroughs. There will be more. They were appointed to these positions not because they were women, but because they were the best qualified people for those jobs.

There are many women who are the best qualified people for jobs in Government, and wherever we can get women to take those jobs, they will be appointed.

I have asked my staff—and particularly in this case we have Mrs. Franklin working on this—to give me any recommendations that they possibly can that will bring qualified women into Government, because finding qualified people is very difficult and we don't want to rule out such a great source of qualified people as the women might provide.

THE MIDDLE EAST

[7.] Q. Mr. President, what effect will the Soviet-Egyptian treaty have on your efforts to get a peaceful settlement in the Middle East?

THE PRESIDENT. The Soviet-Egyptian treaty will have effect only in terms of how it might affect the arms balance. In the event that this will be followed by an introduction of more weapons into the Middle Eastern area, it can only mean a new arms race and could greatly jeopardize the chances for peace. We trust that that is not the case.

It is too early to appraise the treaty in terms of what it could mean, in terms of introducing arms into the area.

As far as we are concerned, we continue to support the truce which is now in its tenth month. We continue to work for an agreement, either an interim agreement if necessary; of course, a comprehensive one if possible.

And we are not going to allow this treaty to discourage us insofar as seeking that agreement is concerned. We seek normal relations with all the countries in the area, including the U.A.R. And we believe that the chances for an agreement are still there. Whether the Soviet follows up with large-scale arms shipments into the area will determine whether or not it increases the chances for peace or sharply increases the chances for war.

CONGRESSMAN MC CLOSKEY

[8.] Q. Mr. President, a Republican Congressman who is a Marine Corps veteran from your own State, Paul McCloskey, has been going around the country talking against your Vietnam policies and has plans to run against you in the primaries next year. Do you welcome this as a challenge, or does it make you the least bit nervous?

THE PRESIDENT. I realize that there are probably many political questions in the minds of reporters and, of course, many of our listening audience. I, however, have decided as a matter of policy that the Presidential press conference is not a proper forum to comment on any partisan political matters or political questions.

Consequently, I will not comment on that, and I will not comment on any other political questions.

PRISONERS OF WAR

[9.] Mr. Horner [Garnett D. Horner, Washington Evening Star].

Q. Mr. President, what does a refusal of all but a handful of the sick and disabled prisoners that South Vietnam had planned to return to the North do to the chances for exchange of such prisoners?

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Horner, you will remember that we went through somewhat the same thing in Korea many years ago when the Korean prisoners, many of them, refused to go back. As far as this is concerned, there are a few, less than 20, who have agreed to go back, and, of course, they will be returned.

We hope that the refusal of the others to go back will not deter the North Vietnamese at least to consider some kind of action on their part with regard to sick and disabled prisoners.

Mr. Rather [Dan Rather, CBS News].

Q. Mr. President, thank you. And I especially appreciate it because it gives me an opportunity to follow up on Mr. Horner's question. Some of the wives—by no means all—but some of the wives of prisoners of war held by North Vietnam are critical of you and your policies concerning their husbands, saying specifically, among other things, that you should set a date for withdrawal of all U.S. troops in Vietnam contingent upon release of all the prisoners; that, if North Vietnam doesn't respond, then you lose nothing by that.

The question is, first, generally, would you respond to that criticism, and then specifically, what is there to lose by setting a date contingent upon release of all prisoners?

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Rather, I discussed this matter with Ambassador Bruce when he was here. And I asked him what success he had had in raising this question with the North Vietnamese, because, as you note, they have even put out stories to the effect that if we would set a date certain, way in the future, they would be willing to move on the prisoner issue. It always comes back to the same thing. If we end our involvement in Vietnam and set a date, they will agree to discuss prisoners, not release them.

Now, we have been around this track before. I should point out that when President Johnson agreed to the bombing halt in October of 1968, he did so with the understanding that there was going to be progress in the negotiations, that there was going to be discussions, and for 2½ years we have had discussions in Paris and no progress.

Now, as far as we are concerned, we at this time are not going to make any kind of agreement with regard to prisoners that is not going to be followed by action or concurrent with action; from the standpoint of the North Vietnamese, we have yet no indication whatever that they would be willing to release prisoners in the event that we took certain steps.

POLICE ACTION DURING DEMONSTRATIONS

[10.] Mr. Kaplow [Herbert Kaplow, NBC News].

Q. Mr. President, it has been about a month now since the Mayday demonstrations, and in that period, several people have raised the question as to whether the police handled it properly. And also the charges against, I think, more than 2,000 people arrested on that Monday have been dropped.

I wonder with that perspective now of a month, whether you think the police handled it properly; and the broader constitutional question involved of protecting individual rights in a difficult situation of control.

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Kaplow, yes, I believe the police in Washington did handle the question properly with the right combination of firmness and restraint in a very difficult siutation.

Let us separate the question into what we are really dealing with.

First, there are demonstrators. The right to demonstrate is recognized and protected and, incidentally, has been recognized and protected by the Washington police. Thousands of demonstrators have come down here peacefully and have not been, of course, bothered. They have been protected in that right.

But when people come in and slice tires, when they block traffic, when they make a trash bin out of Georgetown and other areas of the city, and when they terrorize innocent bystanders, they are not demonstrators, they are vandals and hoodlums and lawbreakers, and they should be treated as lawbreakers.

Now, as far as the police were concerned, they gave those who were in this particular area, and who were engaging in these activities, approximately 15,000 in all, an opportunity to disperse. They did not. They said they were there to stop the Government from operating.

I have pledged to keep this Government going. I approve the action of the police in what they did. I supported it after they did it. And in the event that others come in not to demonstrate for peace, but to break the peace, the police will be supported by the President and by the Attorney General in stopping that kind of activity.

This Government is going to go forward, and that kind of activity which is not demonstration, but vandalism, lawbreaking, is not going to be tolerated in this Capital.

POSSIBILITY OF VISIT TO SOUTHEAST ASIA

[11.] Mr. Theis [J. William Theis, Hearst Newspapers and Hearst Headline Service].

Q. Mr. President, there has been persistent speculation that you might also visit Southeast Asia this year. If you can tell us anything about that, it would be welcome, but specifically, are you ruling out a visit to South Vietnam in advance of the presidential elections there this fall?

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Theis, I have no plans to visit South Vietnam before the presidential elections. As far as any other travel to Southeast Asia is concerned, I have no present plans. Naturally, I will give all of you advance notice because I know you have to have shots before you go to Southeast Asia.

CIVIL RIGHTS

[12.] Mr. Morgan [Edward P. Morgan, ABC News].

Q. Mr. President, last week in Birmingham you praised Southern progress in civil rights. And you held in contempt those northerners who you said used a double standard on civil rights. However, the Civil Rights Commission has in effect accused your Administration of the same thing. In its May 10th report for instance, it says that the Department of HUD appears to be withdrawing from the battle for fair and desegregated housing.

Do you have a response to that report?

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Morgan, I have read the report of the Civil Rights Commission, and I respectfully disagree with it in two areas: One, where they say that this Nation, the American people do not have a commitment to the cause of civil rights. I believe that is an unfair charge. I

71-234—72——47

do not question the sincerity of the members of the Commission. I do not think they should question the sincerity of the great majority of the American people on this issue, particularly in view of the great progress that has been made.

With regard to the housing question, I should point out that the Supreme Court has spoken out on that issue in two recent cases, the Lackawanna case and the California case.[3] As a result of those two cases, it is now possible for us to issue a comprehensive statement on housing which will be in compliance with the Supreme Court cases.

The Attorney General and the Secretary of HUD are completing their memoranda. They will be submitted to me later this week. The statement will be issued the first of next week. It will set forth this Administration's position on the housing question, which will be in complete compliance with the law, as interpreted by the Supreme Court.

FURTHER QUESTIONS ON POLICE ACTION

[13.] Q. Mr. President, regarding the mass arrests, I wonder—you seem to have thought that closing down the Government—keeping it running, in other words, was so important that some methods such as suspending constitutional rights was justified.

Was it that important? Do you think it was?

THE PRESIDENT. I think when you talk about suspending constitutional rights that this is really an exaggeration of what was done. What we were talking about here basically was a situation where masses of individuals did attempt to block traffic, did attempt to stop the Government. They said in advance that is what they were going to do. They tried it, and they had to be stopped. They were stopped without injuries of any significance. They were stopped, I think, with a minimum amount of force and with a great deal of patience.

And I must say that I think the police showed a great deal more concern for their rights than they showed for the rights of the people of Washington.

Q. Mr. President, as pretty much expected, if I may follow up, if that is true, then why are the courts releasing so many of the cases and so many of the people that have been arrested? If they were lawfully and properly arrested, why are the courts letting them out?

THE PRESIDENT. Because, of course, Mr. terHorst [J. F. terHorst, Detroit News, North American Newspaper Alliance], as you know, that arrest does not mean that an individual is guilty. The whole constitutional system is one that provides that after arrest an individual has an opportunity for a trial. And in the event that the evidence is not presented which will convict him, he is released. I think that proves the very point that we have made.

Q. Mr. President, but they are not being released on the grounds that guilt hasn't been proved. They are being released on the grounds that they weren't properly arrested.

THE PRESIDENT. It seems to me that when we look at this whole situation that we have to look at it in terms of what the police were confronted with when those who contended they were demonstrators,

[3] *Kennedy Park Homes Association* v. *City of Lackawanna, N.Y.* (401 U.S. 1010) and *James* v. *Valtierra* (402 U.S. 137).

but actually were lawbreakers, came into Washington.

They were confronted with what could have been a very difficult crisis. They dealt with it. They dealt with it, it seems to me, with very great restraint and with necessary firmness.

I approve of what they did, and in the event that we have similar situations in the future, I hope that we can handle those situations as well as this was handled. And I hope they can be handled that well in other cities so that we do not have to resort to violence.

SUPPLY OF GOODS IN VIETNAM

[14.] Q. Mr. President, sir, I wonder what you are going to do about the oversupply of goods in Vietnam. I understand we have enough telephone poles over there for 125 years and acres of trucks and other communications equipment.

Will that be brought back, and where will it be put?

THE PRESIDENT. At the present time, my main concern is to bring back the men from Vietnam. After that we will think about the goods.

CHINA POLICY

[15.] Q. Mr. President, since April you have been considering policy studies on the China question, easing trade with China, and representation at the United Nations. Can you say where these stand now, please?

THE PRESIDENT. With regard to the United Nations question, a significant change has taken place among the members of the United Nations on the issue of admission of Mainland China. We are now analyzing that situation in consultations with the Republic of China on Taiwan and with third countries.

After we have completed our analysis, which I would imagine would take approximately 6 weeks, we will then decide what position we, the Government of the United States, should take at the next session of the United Nations this fall, and we will have an announcement to make at that time with regard to that particular problem.

A number of various options are open to us.

With regard to trade, the various agencies have now completed their review of the situation and have submitted their recommendations to me. And on June 10, I will make an announcement releasing a wide variety of items which previously had been banned. These are all nonstrategic items in which trade can be conducted with Mainland China.

Let me put all of this in context by saying that there are only two areas where we have moved. They are significant, however, in themselves. In the area of opening the door to travel and opening the door to more trade, we have made significant movement. I think what, however, we should realize is that we still have a long way to go.

As I recall, there is a Chinese proverb to the effect that a journey of a thousand miles begins with a single step. We have taken two steps, but the important thing is that we have started the journey toward a more normal relationship with Mainland China; and eventually—and this is vitally important—ending its isolation and the isolation of 700 million people

from the rest of the people of the world. This we think is a goal well worth pursuing.

DRAFTEES AND VIETNAM

[16.] Q. Mr. President, when do you plan to stop sending draftees to Vietnam?

THE PRESIDENT. The question of whether we could stop sending draftees has been considered, and I find that we are unable to do so at this point. I think, however, the question is going to be a moot one in due time, since as you know, as we stand here at this time, over half of those who were in Vietnam when I came into office have now come home.

By December 1, two-thirds of those who were there when I came into office will have come home. November 15 I will make another announcement with regard to a further withdrawal.

Under those circumstances, it would seem that the number of draftees that will be called into service for Vietnam would be very, very small if not minimal.

PUBLIC OPINION AND THE WAR

[17.] Q. Mr. President, in view of the fact that you are continually reducing the number of troops in Vietnam, bringing more American troops home all the time, how do you account for the fact that two major public opinion polls now show that about two-thirds of the American public don't believe they are being told the truth about what is happening in the war?

THE PRESIDENT. I am not surprised by the polls. I think of the people—and the war has been going on a long time—they are tired of the war. We are an impatient people. We like to get results.

On the other hand, if all the problems that I have in this Government could be as easily solved as this one, I would be very happy. Because the answer to whether or not the American people believe that I am ending the American involvement in war is in the fact we have already brought home half. We will have brought home two-thirds, and we are going to bring all home, and bring them home—and this is what is vitally important—in a way that will not be inconsistent with two other objectives: in a way that will secure the release of our prisoners of war; and, also, in a way that will give the South Vietnamese a chance to avoid a Communist takeover, and thereby contribute to a more lasting peace.

That fact, the very fact that we accomplish that goal, will end the credibility gap on that issue once and for all.

INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION

[18.] Q. Mr. President, may I ask a question on another subject? As you know, there is a considerable uncertainty about the position of the American Government with respect to its affiliation with the International Labor Organization, the ILO. Now, to remove this uncertainty, could you tell us whether the United States seriously intends to continue its membership in the ILO; and second, if it does, will the Administration leadership apply its energies on Capitol Hill to get the appropriations necessary to pay our dues to the ILO?

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Meany talked to me about the ILO, and as you may know, he has very strong feelings and reservations about our membership in the ILO. However, we have decided to continue

our membership. We will attempt to get the dues in arrears paid by the Congress. We will have to have considerable support in order to accomplish that.

But also, we are going to see to it that American labor, and free labor throughout the world, gets a better voice in the ILO than it has had previously.

The reason that Mr. Meany, a top free world trade union leader, opposes the ILO is because free trade unions have received a very bad deal in ILO meetings, and we are going to have to have better treatment in that way or American support for the ILO is going to go right down the drain.

REPORTER. Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: President Nixon's seventeenth news conference was held at 8:30 p.m. in the East Room at the White House on Tuesday, June 1, 1971. The news conference was broadcast live on radio and television.

190 Statement About Summer Job and Recreation Opportunities for Youth. *June 2, 1971*

THE SUMMER of 1971 will be a summer of expanded opportunity for the disadvantaged youth of our country—due in no small measure to a large number of summer jobs which are being made available to them.

I am pleased to report that more than 824,000 job opportunities will be available this summer: 674,000 through Federal Government programs and 150,000 through the efforts of the National Alliance of Businessmen which works with the Government but does not receive public monies. Altogether, job opportunities this summer are 30 percent greater than a year ago and are at the highest level in the 7-year history of this program.

The Federal Government will invest over $303 million in its summer job programs in 1971. Of the 674,000 federally provided jobs, the Neighborhood Youth Corps will provide more than 609,000. An additional 63,000 of the jobs are in the Federal Summer Employment Program for Youth and 2,000 are in the newly established Youth Conservation Corps.

I am also pleased to report the expansion of Federal summer recreation programs for even younger Americans. We expect that some 2 million young people will participate in programs designed to build physical fitness, improve health, and provide educational and cultural opportunities.

I believe this expanded program represents a positive and promising approach to the problems of disadvantaged youth in every part of our country. It provides them with a chance to do useful work and learn useful skills. Surely this is one of the wisest investments a nation can make—an investment in the lives of its young.

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing on summer opportunities for youth by James D. Hodgson, Secretary, and Malcolm R. Lovell, Jr., Assistant Secretary for Manpower, Department of Labor.

191 Remarks on Presenting the Presidential Medal of Freedom to William J. Hopkins. *June 2, 1971*

Ladies and gentlemen:

This is a very special ceremony which can come only once in 40 years. I think the way to introduce this ceremony is to tell what I think is one of the most amusing stories in the long history of the White House.

One day Calvin Coolidge was walking with a friend through Lafayette Park and the friend pointed to the White House and jokingly said, "Who lives there?"

President Coolidge responded, "No one lives there. They just come and go."

The one man who, in 40 years, has always been in the White House, who has not just come and gone, is Bill Hopkins. He has served seven Presidents, four Democrats, three Republicans, with devotion. In that period of time, he has become, I would say, the indispensable man in the White House.

I do not know how we can replace him, but the time has come when we must find another one who can become that indispensable man.

Also, it should be pointed out that he proves that coming into Government service at the very first level does not mean that you cannot go to the top. He came in as a GS–1, 40 years ago, and he leaves as GS–17, with the highest rank that we can give in the executive staff of the White House.

Now, the problem that I have is: What kind of recognition can we give him? I looked over the record. He has been honored by several Presidents. He was honored by President Eisenhower. Five years ago this month a special recognition was given to him by President Johnson. He has received the highest award as far as the Civil Service is concerned, the Federal Civil Service Award.

So virtually every goodie that a President has to give, Bill, to somebody like you has already been given out, except one. Now we have for him a surprise, and I think all of you will join me in saying that it is well that we give him the highest recognition that can be given to anyone who is a civilian by the Nation and the President, speaking in behalf of the Nation.

I at this time am going to present to Bill Hopkins the Medal of Freedom. The citation has been eloquently written, and I think I should read it for you, because it is one that sums up everything that all of us want to say to Bill Hopkins on this special day:

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AWARDS THIS PRESIDENTIAL MEDAL OF FREEDOM TO

WILLIAM J. HOPKINS

During his forty years in the White House, under seven Presidents, William J. Hopkins has written a record of skilled and devoted service unique in the annals of the Presidency. Not only has he borne heavy responsibilities with great efficiency and uncommon good sense, but each new President in turn has learned to rely on him as a fount of wisdom, a reservoir of experience and a rock of loyalty.

Guiding each new administration through its initial steps, standing as a staunch friend to all, he has been, in the best sense, a selfless partisan of the Presidency, and of the Nation that these seven Presidents have been able to serve better because of the help that he gave.

And true to his long tradition of anonymous service but selfless service, Bill Hopkins has requested that he not break the

silence of talking publicly today, but we are going to give you the opportunity to at least hear from him and from Mrs. Hopkins, because we have set up at the back of the lawn there some refreshments. We would like for all of you to join the Hopkins family there. Come up and congratulate him. And maybe he will tell you how he did it, because some place in this crowd is somebody who, maybe 40 years from now, is going to get a Medal of Freedom just as he has, if you can do as well as he did over 40 years.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:12 p.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House at a reception honoring Mr. Hopkins, who had retired as Executive Assistant to the President on May 28, 1971.

On June 2, the White House released biographical data on Mr. Hopkins and a fact sheet on the Presidential Medal of Freedom.

192 Message to the Senate Transmitting the International Wheat Agreement, 1971. *June 2, 1971*

To the Senate of the United States:

With a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, I transmit herewith a copy of the International Wheat Agreement, 1971, which was open for signature in Washington from March 29 through May 3, 1971. The Agreement was formulated at the United Nations Wheat Conference, 1971, held in Geneva.

I transmit also, for the information of the Senate, the report of the Secretary of State and the memorandum enclosed therewith concerning this Agreement.

The Agreement is in two parts, the Wheat Trade Convention and the Food Aid Convention, covered by a common preamble. Both Conventions were signed in behalf of the Government of the United States of America. The Wheat Trade Convention was signed also for the European Economic Community and its six member States and for the governments of 26 other countries. The Food Aid Convention was signed also for the European Economic Community and its six member States and for the governments of six other countries.

The International Wheat Agreement, 1971, is intended to succeed the International Grains Arrangement, 1967, which will terminate by its own terms on June 30, 1971.

The new Wheat Trade Convention continues international cooperation in wheat trade, maintaining the International Wheat Council and most of its functions and establishing a new Advisory Sub-Committee on Market Conditions charged with the task of continuously reviewing current market conditions and making prompt reports to the Executive Committee of the Council concerning the existence or threat of market instability. On the basis of such reports, the Executive Committee is to meet, review the situation, and consider the possibility of mutually acceptable solutions. The Council may also be convened to review such situations.

In contrast to previous wheat agreements, the 1971 Convention does not contain price provisions and purchase and supply obligations, principally because the exporting countries were unable to agree on the reference wheat or wheats to be

used for setting minimum and maximum prices. Major changes in the Canadian grading system made uncertain the trading relationships among the several top quality wheats that were being considered as reference wheats. The negotiating conference decided that progress on establishing minimum and maximum prices and the related supply and purchase provisions must await the establishment and the testing in trade of the new Canadian grading system.

The Food Aid Convention continues the commitment initiated under the 1967 Food Aid Convention whereby parties contribute specified amounts of wheat, coarse grains, or products derived therefrom, or the cash equivalent, to developing countries. The principal changes in the new Convention are a reduction in the number of donors from 12 to 9, a slight reduction in the total minimum annual contribution, and a broadening of the terms under which contributions can be made.

Both Conventions provide that instruments of ratification shall be deposited no later than June 17, 1971. The Wheat Council may, however, grant an extension of time to any signatory government that had not deposited an instrument of ratification by that date.

It is my hope that the Senate will give early and favorable consideration to the two Conventions of the 1971 Agreement so that ratification by the United States can be effected and an instrument of ratification can be deposited without undue delay.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
June 2, 1971

NOTE: The text of the agreement is printed in United States Treaties and Other International Agreements (22 UST 820).

193 Remarks to Delegates Attending the National Explorer Presidents' Congress. *June 2, 1971*

I WANT to express my appreciation to you, Bill Stephany,[1] and to all of the Explorers that are here, for this plaque that you have presented to me, and to tell you that I really envy you being in Washington at this time, being Explorers, and also envy you for all the years that you have ahead.

Now having said that, I realize that isn't the usual thing you may sometimes hear these days. I know that for people in the younger generation, you naturally think, as you should think, of all the problems we confront in the world today, the problems America has abroad, the problems America has at home, and you wonder whether this is really a good time to be young, whether this is a good time to be an explorer, an explorer with a capital "E" or a small "e"; whether this is a good time to be an American, to live in this country.

Well, I just want to tell you that I have a great deal of faith in not only this country but in you. And one of the reasons I have faith in this country is because of my faith in you and in your generation.

Let me put it in this context: At the present time, I think that your generation,

[1] William Stephany, chairman of the Youth Steering Committee for the Congress.

the generation from 14 to 21, has the best chance of any generation in this century to enjoy what we have not had in this century in America—a full generation of peace.

That may seem far away, but we are ending the American involvement in the war in Vietnam in a way that will contribute to a lasting peace, and you are going to be the beneficiaries of that.

More than that, we find very significant new developments in the field of foreign policy. You have been hearing about them; you have been reading about them. The kind of a world that you will grow up in, that you will take positions in, in your professions and your lives, can be a very different world.

Oh, it isn't going to be a world without challenges; it isn't going to be a world without dangers. But it could be a world of peace, and it could be—and I trust that this may be the case—a world where explorers, capital "E" or small "e," can go any place in the world.

What we are trying to do through our new initiatives in foreign policy is not only to bring peace to America and to the world but to open up the world, to open up the world so that your generation can not only know America and Europe and South America and Africa, but you can know Asia and the great legion of people who now live in Mainland China.

I believe this is going to come. And I believe for that reason, the world here is going to be a more exciting one, a more interesting one, a more peaceful one for all of you.

Now, having painted that prospect for the future, let me just say one word with regard to what we need and what we know and what I am sure we will get from you:

You are going to be required, as a younger generation, to help America maintain this strong national defense that is needed so that we can play a peaceful role. Some of you are going to be required, in addition to that, to make a contribution to America's economic strength. As a matter of fact, all of you, in one way or another, are going to contribute to that, and all of you—and this I consider more important than either of the first two, either our military or economic strength—all of you are going to be needed to contribute to the character of this country.

In a few minutes you are going to take a tour of this house. For 180 years, Presidents of the United States have lived in this house. It isn't really called officially the White House; it is the President's House. John Adams first lived there, and all the Presidents since have lived in the White House.

As you look at that house, and as you go through it, you will think of the history, of the great trials this country has gone through, of the men who lived there, the challenges this Nation faced, and how we got where we are.

What you will be reminded of is that when America was very young, as you were very young, America was weak economically, it was also weak militarily; but it was the hope of the world because we had a moral and a spiritual strength and an idealism that caught the imagination of the world.

America stood for something, stood for something among peoples far away that were never to know this land. That was true 180 years ago. I can tell you that it is still true today; that there are millions of people in the 70 countries I have visited all over this world who look at America

71-234—72——48

as the hope of the world, despite all of our problems, despite the ones that we hear and see night after night on television, read about in the newspapers.

It is your challenge not only to help keep America strong, and not only to help keep it prosperous, but to keep the character of this Nation, its idealism: to make it a nation where there is true opportunity for every American; to make it a nation where character really does count; to make it a nation, too, where, in spite of all of the temptations to turn to those particular activities that would weaken our national strength, you maintain those great traditions that you have learned in scouting and that you are continuing in your role in this great organization, the Explorers.

I would simply conclude with this final thought: Sometimes, I know, you may get the impression from what you may hear or see on television or read in the newspapers, or perhaps what you hear in the classrooms, that this is rather a bad time to be alive. You tend to be a bit pessimistic about it.

Here we are: We have a war. We have problems of strife within the country, and wouldn't it have been better to live at another time or maybe in another nation?

Don't you believe it. If I had my life to live over again, and if I had at this time to pick a nation, of all the nations in the world, in which I wanted to live, and a time in which to live, I would pick the United States of America.

This is a great country, and you can be proud of the fact that your country will play and is playing a role for real peace in the world. We don't threaten any other country's peace or freedom. You can be proud of the fact that the challenge you face is that what America does—not just our military and economic strength, but more, the strength of our character—will determine whether the billions of people on this earth are going to enjoy peace, and more of them are going to have an opportunity for freedom in the years ahead.

I simply want to say to you: Don't lose faith in your country. I know that you have it; otherwise, you would not be in this great organization. Keep your faith in America. There are things wrong with it, but in changing what is wrong, let's not destroy what is right. What we want to do is to build America, to build it up rather than tear it down; to stand up for America, to stand up for it when it is under attack; to correct those things that are wrong; and to make it the good and great country that we know it is.

So with that, let me say I hope you enjoy every minute of your stay in Washington. I am glad that the rain that was predicted this afternoon did not come, and I hope that all of you enjoy your tour through the White House.

Incidentally, you will find a lot of things lying around. Usually I say to guests, "You can pick up anything that isn't nailed down." As far as you are concerned, I know that you will enjoy this visit, and as you go through those rooms, think of the history of the country, think of the heritage which is yours, and I hope all of you will come out with just a little more pride in being an American and having the opportunity to lead America.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:22 p.m. on the South Lawn at the White House where he greeted some 2,000 young men and women attending the Congress sponsored by the Exploring Division of the Boy Scouts of America. Participants included presidents or officers of Explorer posts in nearly every State.

194 Remarks About a Special Message to the Congress on Energy Resources. *June 4, 1971*

Ladies and gentlemen:

I am sending to the Congress today a message on energy. This is the first time that a message on energy of a comprehensive nature has been sent to the Congress by a President of the United States.

The reason it is essential, and I consider the program urgent, is that in all great industrial societies we face two challenges: one, to find new sources of energy to fuel the economy; and two, to find sources of energy that will not pollute the environment.

We have learned in our own country, and in countries abroad as well—they have the same experience—that usually these two goals come in conflict; that while new sources of energy may provide what the needs of the economy are, that inevitably there is the polluting of the environment.

This message points the way for America—at considerable cost in money, but an investment that is urgent and, therefore, justified—points the way for finding new sources of energy and, at the same time, clean energy that will not pollute the air, will not pollute the environment.

For that reason, we have a briefing team that covers the various departments that will be implementing this program, the Secretary of the Interior, the Chairman of AEC, and the President's Science Adviser, Dr. David, who will brief you on the elements of the message.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:10 a.m. in the Briefing Room at the White House.

On the same day, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing on the proposed energy resources program by Rogers C. B. Morton, Secretary, and William T. Pecora, Under Secretary, Department of the Interior; Edward E. David, Jr., Director, Office of Science and Technology; and Glenn T. Seaborg, Chairman, Atomic Energy Commission.

195 Special Message to the Congress on Energy Resources. *June 4, 1971*

To the Congress of the United States:

For most of our history, a plentiful supply of energy is something the American people have taken very much for granted. In the past twenty years alone, we have been able to double our consumption of energy without exhausting the supply. But the assumption that sufficient energy will always be readily available has been brought sharply into question within the last year. The brownouts that have affected some areas of our country, the possible shortages of fuel that were threatened last fall, the sharp increases in certain fuel prices and our growing awareness of the environmental consequences of energy production have all demonstrated that we cannot take our energy supply for granted any longer.

A sufficient supply of clean energy is essential if we are to sustain healthy economic growth and improve the quality of our national life. I am therefore announcing today a broad range of actions to ensure an adequate supply of clean energy for the years ahead. Private industry, of course, will still play the major role in providing our energy, but government can

do a great deal to help in meeting this challenge.

My program includes the following elements:

To Facilitate Research and Development for Clean Energy:

—A commitment to complete the successful demonstration of the liquid metal fast breeder reactor by 1980.

—More than twice as much Federal support for sulfur oxide control demonstration projects in Fiscal Year 1972.

—An expanded program to convert coal into a clean gaseous fuel.

—Support for a variety of other energy research projects in fields such as fusion power, magnetohydrodynamic power cycles, and underground electric transmission.

To Make Available the Energy Resources on Federal Lands:

—Acceleration of oil and gas lease sales on the Outer Continental Shelf, along with stringent controls to protect the environment.

—A leasing program to develop our vast oil shale resources, provided that environmental questions can be satisfactorily resolved.

—Development of a geothermal leasing program beginning this fall.

To Assure a Timely Supply of Nuclear Fuels:

—Begin work to modernize and expand our uranium enrichment capacity.

To Use Our Energy More Wisely:

—A New Federal Housing Administration standard requiring additional insulation in new federally insured homes.

—Development and publication of additional information on how consumers can use energy more efficiently.

—Other efforts to encourage energy conservation.

To Balance Environmental and Energy Needs:

—A system of long-range open planning of electric power plant sites and transmission line routes with approval by a State or regional agency before construction.

—An incentive charge to reduce sulfur oxide emissions and to support further research.

To Organize Federal Efforts More Effectively:

—A single structure within the Department of Natural Resources uniting all important energy resource development programs.

The Nature of the Current Problem

A major cause of our recent energy problems has been the sharp increase in demand that began about 1967. For decades, energy consumption had generally grown at a slower rate than the national output of goods and services. But in the last four years it has been growing at a faster pace and forecasts of energy demand a decade from now have been undergoing significant upward revisions.

This accelerated growth in demand results partly from the fact that energy has been relatively inexpensive in this country. During the last decade, the prices of oil, coal, natural gas and electricity have increased at a much slower rate than con-

sumer prices as a whole. Energy has been an attractive bargain in this country—and demand has responded accordingly.

In the years ahead, the needs of a growing economy will further stimulate this demand. And the new emphasis on environmental protection means that the demand for cleaner fuels will be especially acute. The primary cause of air pollution, for example, is the burning of fossil fuels in homes, in cars, in factories and in power plants. If we are to meet our new national air quality standards, it will be essential for us to use stack gas cleaning systems in our large power and other industrial plants and to use cleaner fuels in virtually all of our new residential, commercial and industrial facilities, and in some of our older facilities as well.

Together, these two factors—growing demand for energy and growing emphasis on cleaner fuels—will create an extraordinary pressure on our fuel supplies.

The task of providing sufficient clean energy is made especially difficult by the long lead times required to increase energy supply. To move from geological exploration to oil and gas well production now takes from 3 to 7 years. New coal mines typically require 3 to 5 years to reach the production stage and it takes 5 to 7 years to complete a large steam power plant. The development of the new technology required to minimize environmental damage can further delay the provision of additional energy. If we are to take full advantage of our enormous coal resources, for example, we will need mining systems that do not impair the health and safety of miners or degrade the landscape and combustion systems that do not emit harmful quantities of sulfur oxides, other noxious gases, and particulates into the atmosphere. But such systems may take several years to reach satisfactory performance. That is why our efforts to expand the supply of clean energy in America must immediately be stepped up.

1. RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT GOALS FOR CLEAN ENERGY

Our past research in this critical field has produced many promising leads. Now we must move quickly to demonstrate the best of these new concepts on a commercial scale. Industry should play the major role in this area, but government can help by providing technical leadership and by sharing a portion of the risk for costly demonstration plants. The time has now come for government and industry to commit themselves to a joint effort to achieve commercial scale demonstrations in the most crucial and most promising clean energy development areas—the fast breeder reactor, sulfur oxide control technology and coal gasification.

a. Sulfur Oxide Control Technology

A major bottleneck in our clean energy program is the fact that we cannot now burn coal or oil without discharging its sulfur content into the air. We need new technology which will make it possible to remove the sulfur before it is emitted to the air.

Working together, industry and government have developed a variety of approaches to this problem. However, the new air quality standards promulgated under the Clean Air Amendments of 1970 require an even more rapid development of a suitable range of stack gas cleaning techniques for removing sulfur oxides. I have therefore requested funds in my

1972 budget to permit the Environmental Protection Agency to devote an additional $15 million to this area, more than doubling the level of our previous efforts. This expansion means that a total of six different techniques can be demonstrated in partnership with industry during the next three or four years.

b. Nuclear Breeder Reactor

Our best hope today for meeting the Nation's growing demand for economical clean energy lies with the fast breeder reactor. Because of its highly efficient use of nuclear fuel, the breeder reactor could extend the life of our natural uranium fuel supply from decades to centuries, with far less impact on the environment than the power plants which are operating today.

For several years, the Atomic Energy Commission has placed the highest priority on developing the liquid metal fast breeder. Now this project is ready to move out of the laboratory and into the demonstration phase with a commercial size plant. But there still are major technical and financial obstacles to the construction of a demonstration plant of some 300 to 500 megawatts. I am therefore requesting an additional $27 million in Fiscal Year 1972 for the Atomic Energy Commission's liquid metal fast breeder reactor program—and for related technological and safety programs—so that the necessary engineering groundwork for demonstration plants can soon be laid.

What about the environmental impact of such plants? It is reassuring to know that the releases of radioactivity from current nuclear reactors are well within the national safety standards. Nevertheless, we will make every effort to see that these new breeder reactors emit even less radioactivity to the environment than the commercial light water reactors which are now in use.

I am therefore directing the Atomic Energy Commission to ensure that the new breeder plants be designed in a way which inherently prevents discharge to the environment from the plant's radioactive effluent systems. The Atomic Energy Commission should also take advantage of the increased efficiency of these breeder plants, designing them to minimize waste heat discharges. Thermal pollution from nuclear power plants can be materially reduced in the more efficient breeder reactors.

We have very high hopes that the breeder reactor will soon become a key element in the national fight against air and water pollution. In order further to inform the interested agencies and the public about the opportunities in this area, I have requested the early preparation and review by all appropriate agencies of a draft environmental impact statement for the breeder demonstration plant in accordance with Section 102 of the National Environmental Policy Act. This procedure will ensure compliance with all environmental quality standards before plant construction begins.

In a related area, it is also pertinent to observe that the safety record of civilian power reactors in this country is extraordinary in the history of technological advances. For more than a quarter century—since the first nuclear chain reaction took place—no member of the public has been injured by the failure of a reactor or by an accidental release of radioactivity. I am confident that this record can be maintained. The Atomic Energy Commission is giving top priority to safety considerations in the basic design of the breeder reactor and this design will also

be subject to a thorough review by the independent Advisory Committee on Reactor Safeguards, which will publish the results of its investigation.

I believe it important to the Nation that the commercial demonstration of a breeder reactor be completed by 1980. To help achieve that goal, I am requesting an additional $50 million in Federal funds for the demonstration plant. We expect industry—the utilities and manufacturers—to contribute the major share of the plant's total cost, since they have a large and obvious stake in this new technology. But we also recognize that only if government and industry work closely together can we maximize our progress in this vital field and thus introduce a new era in the production of energy for the people of our land.

c. Coal Gasification

As we carry on our search for cleaner fuels, we think immediately of the cleanest fossil fuel—natural gas. But our reserves of natural gas are quite limited in comparison with our reserves of coal.

Fortunately, however, it is technically feasible to convert coal into a clean gas which can be transported through pipelines. The Department of the Interior has been working with the natural gas and coal industries on research to advance our coal gasification efforts and a number of possible methods for accomplishing this conversion are under development. A few, in fact, are now in the pilot plant stage.

We are determined to bring greater focus and urgency to this effort. We have therefore initiated a cooperative program with industry to expand the number of pilot plants, making it possible to test new methods more expeditiously so that the appropriate technology can soon be selected for a large-scale demonstration plant.

The Federal expenditure for this cooperative program will be expanded to $20 million a year. Industry has agreed to provide $10 million a year for this effort. In general, we expect that the Government will continue to finance the larger share of pilot plants and that industry will finance the larger share of the demonstration plants. But again, the important point is that both the Government and industry are now strongly committed to move ahead together as promptly as possible to make coal gasification a commercial reality.

d. Other Research and Development Efforts

The fast breeder reactor, sulfur oxide controls and coal gasification represent our highest priority research and development projects in the clean energy field. But they are not our only efforts. Other ongoing projects include:

—*Coal Mine Health and Safety Research.* In response to a growing concern for the health and safety of the men who mine the Nation's coal and in accordance with the Federal Coal Mine Health and Safety Act of 1969, the Bureau of Mines research effort has been increased from a level of $2 million in Fiscal Year 1969 to $30 million in Fiscal Year 1972.

—*Controlled Thermonuclear Fusion Research.* For nearly two decades the Government has been funding a sizeable research effort designed to harness the almost limitless energy of nuclear fusion for peaceful purposes. Recent progress suggests that the scientific feasibility of such projects may be demonstrated in the 1970s and we have therefore requested an additional $2 million to supplement the

budget in this field for Fiscal Year 1972. We hope that work in this promising area will continue to be expanded as scientific progress justifies larger scale programs.

—*Coal Liquefaction.* In addition to its coal gasification work, the Department of the Interior has underway a major pilot plant program directed toward converting coal into cleaner liquid fuels.

—*Magnetohydrodynamic Power Cycles.* MHD is a new and more efficient method of converting coal and other fossil fuels into electric energy by burning the fuel and passing the combustion products through a magnetic field at very high temperatures. In partnership with the electric power industry, we have been working to develop this new system of electric power generation.

—*Underground Electric Transmission.* Objections have been growing to the overhead placement of high voltage power lines, especially in areas of scenic beauty or near centers of population. Again in cooperation with industry, the Government is funding a research program to develop new and less expensive techniques for burying high voltage electric transmission lines.

—*Nuclear Reactor Safety and Supporting Technology.* The general research and development work for today's commercial nuclear reactors was completed several years ago, but we must continue to fund safety-related efforts in order to ensure the continuance of the excellent safety record in this field. An additional $3 million has recently been requested for this purpose to supplement the budget in Fiscal Year 1972.

—*Advanced Reactor Concepts.* The liquid metal fast breeder is the priority breeder reactor concept under development, but the Atomic Energy Commission is also supporting limited alternate reactor programs involving gas cooled reactors, molten salt reactors and light water breeders.

—*Solar Energy.* The sun offers an almost unlimited supply of energy if we can learn to use it economically. The National Aeronautics and Space Administration and the National Science Foundation are currently re-examining their efforts in this area and we expect to give greater attention to solar energy in the future.

The key to meeting our twin goals of supplying adequate energy and protecting the environment in the decades ahead will be a balanced and imaginative research and development program. I have therefore asked my Science Adviser, with the cooperation of the Council on Environmental Quality and the interested agencies, to make a detailed assessment of all of the technological opportunities in this area and to recommend additional projects which should receive priority attention.

2. MAKING AVAILABLE THE ENERGY RESOURCES OF FEDERAL LANDS

Over half of our Nation's remaining oil and gas resources, about 40 percent of our coal and uranium, 80 percent of our oil shale, and some 60 percent of our geothermal energy sources are now located on Federal lands. Programs to make these resources available to meet the growing energy requirements of the Nation are therefore essential if shortages are to be averted. Through appropriate leasing programs, the Government should be able to recover the fair market value of these resources, while requiring developers to comply with requirements that will adequately protect the environment.

To supplement the efforts already un-

derway to develop the fuel resources of the lower 48 States and Alaska, I am announcing today the following new programs:

a. Leasing on the Outer Continental Shelf—An Accelerated Program

The Outer Continental Shelf has proved to be a prolific source of oil and gas, but it has also been the source of troublesome oil spills in recent years. Our ability to tap the great potential of offshore areas has been seriously hampered by these environmental problems.

The Department of the Interior has significantly strengthened the environmental protection requirements controlling offshore drilling and we will continue to enforce these requirements very strictly. As a prerequisite to Federal lease sales, environmental assessments will be made in accordance with Section 102 of the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969.

Within these clear limits, we will accelerate our efforts to utilize this rich source of fuel. In order to expand productive possibilities as rapidly as possible, the accelerated program should include the sale of new leases not only in the highly productive Gulf of Mexico, but also some other promising areas. I am therefore directing the Secretary of the Interior to increase the offerings of oil and gas leases and to publish a schedule for lease offerings on the Outer Continental Shelf during the next five years, beginning with a general lease sale and a drainage sale this year.

b. Oil Shale—A Program for Orderly Development

At a time when we are facing possible energy shortages, it is reassuring to know that there exists in the United States an untapped shale oil resource containing some 600 billion barrels in high grade deposits. At current consumption rates, this resource represents 150 years supply. About 80 billion barrels of this shale oil are particularly rich and well situated for early development. This huge resource of very low sulfur oil is located in the Rocky Mountain area, primarily on Federal land.

At present there is no commercial production of shale oil. A mixture of problems—environmental, technical and economic—have combined to thwart past efforts at development.

I believe the time has come to begin the orderly formulation of a shale oil policy—not by any head-long rush toward development but rather by a well considered program in which both environmental protection and the recovery of a fair return to the Government are cardinal principles under which any leasing takes place. I am therefore requesting the Secretary of the Interior to expedite the development of an oil shale leasing program including the preparation of an environmental impact statement. If after reviewing this statement and comments he finds that environmental concerns can be satisfied, he shall then proceed with the detailed planning. This work would also involve the States of Wyoming, Colorado and Utah and the first test lease would be scheduled for next year.

c. Geothermal Energy

There is a vast quantity of heat stored in the earth itself. Where this energy source is close to the surface, as it is in the Western States, it can readily be tapped to generate electricity, to heat homes, and to meet other energy requirements. Again, this resource is located primarily on Federal lands.

Legislation enacted in recent months permits the Federal government, for the first time, to prepare for a leasing program in the field of geothermal energy. Classification of the lands involved is already underway in the Department of the Interior. I am requesting the Secretary of the Interior to expedite a final decision on whether the first competitive lease sale should be scheduled for this fall—taking into account, of course, his evaluation of the environmental impact statement.

3. NATURAL GAS SUPPLY

For the past 25 years, natural gas has supplied much of the increase in the energy supply of the United States. Now this relatively clean form of energy is in even greater demand to help satisfy air quality standards. Our present supply of natural gas is limited, however, and we are beginning to face shortages which could intensify as we move to implement the air quality standards. Additional supplies of gas will therefore be one of our most urgent energy needs in the next few years.

Federal efforts to augment the available supplies of natural gas include:

—Accelerated leasing on Federal lands to speed discovery and development of new natural gas fields.

—Moving ahead with a demonstration project to gasify coal.

—Recent actions by the Federal Power Commission providing greater incentives for industry to increase its search for new sources of natural gas and to commit its discoveries to the interstate market.

—Facilitating imports of both natural and liquefied gas from Canada and from other nations.

—Progress in nuclear stimulation experiments which seek to produce natural gas from tight geologic formations which cannot presently be utilized in ways which are economically and environmentally acceptable.

This administration is keenly aware of the need to take every reasonable action to enlarge the supply of clean gaseous fuels. We intend to take such action and we expect to get good results.

4. IMPORTS FROM CANADA

Over the years, the United States and Canada have steadily increased their trade in energy. The United States exports some coal to Canada, but the major items of trade are oil and gas which are surplus to Canadian needs but which find a ready market in the United States.

The time has come to develop further this mutually advantageous trading relationship. The United States is therefore prepared to move promptly to permit Canadian crude oil to enter this country, free of any quantitative restraints, upon agreement as to measures needed to prevent citizens of both our countries from being subjected to oil shortages, or threats of shortages. We are ready to proceed with negotiations and we look to an early conclusion.

5. TIMELY SUPPLIES OF NUCLEAR FUELS

The Nation's nuclear fuel supply is in a state of transition. Military needs are now relatively small but civilian needs are growing rapidly and will be our dominant need for nuclear fuel in the future. With the exception of uranium enrichment, the nuclear energy industry is now in private hands.

I expect that private enterprise will eventually assume the responsibility for uranium enrichment as well, but in the meantime the Government must carry

out its responsibility to ensure that our enrichment capacity expands at a rate consistent with expected demands.

There is currently no shortage of enriched uranium or enriching capacity. In fact, the Atomic Energy Commission has substantial stocks of enriched uranium which have already been produced for later use. However, plant expansions are required so that we can meet the growing demands for nuclear fuel in the late 1970s—both in the United States and in other nations for which this country is now the principal supplier.

The most economical means presently available for expanding our capacity in this field appears to be the modernization of existing gaseous diffusion plants at Oak Ridge, Tennessee; Portsmouth, Ohio; and Paducah, Kentucky—through a Cascade Improvement Program. This program will take a number of years to complete and we therefore believe that it is prudent to initiate the program at this time rather than run the risk of shortages at a later date. I am therefore releasing $16 million to start the Cascade Improvement Program in Fiscal Year 1972. The pace of the improvement program will be tailored to fit the demands for enriched uranium in the United States and in other countries.

6. USING OUR ENERGY MORE WISELY

We need new sources of energy in this country, but we also need to use existing energy as efficiently as possible. I believe we can achieve the ends we desire—homes warm in winter and cool in summer, rapid transportation, plentiful energy for industrial production and home appliances—and still place less of a strain on our overtaxed resources.

Historically, we have converted fuels into electricity and have used other sources of energy with ever increasing efficiency. Recent data suggest, however, that this trend may be reversing—thus adding to the drain on available resources. We must get back on the road of increasing efficiency—both at the point of production and at the point of consumption, where the consumer himself can do a great deal to achieve considerable savings in his energy bills.

We believe that part of the answer lies in pricing energy on the basis of its full costs to society. One reason we use energy so lavishly today is that the price of energy does not include all of the social costs of producing it. The costs incurred in protecting the environment and the health and safety of workers, for example, are part of the real cost of producing energy—but they are not now all included in the price of the product. If they were added to that price, we could expect that some of the waste in the use of energy would be eliminated. At the same time, by expanding clean fuel supplies, we will be working to keep the overall cost of energy as low as possible.

It is also important that the individual consumer be fully aware of what his energy will cost if he buys a particular home or appliance. The efficiency of home heating or cooling systems and of other energy intensive equipment are determined by builders and manufacturers who may be concerned more with the initial cost of the equipment than with the operating costs which will come afterward. For example, better thermal insulation in a home or office building may save the consumer large sums in the long run—and conserve energy as well—but for the builder it merely represents an added expense.

To help meet one manifestation of this problem, I am directing the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development to issue revised standards for insulation applied in new federally insured homes. The new Federal Housing Administration standards will require sufficient insulation to reduce the maximum permissible heat loss by about one-third for a typical 1200 square foot home—and by even more for larger homes. It is estimated that the fuel savings which will result each year from the application of these new standards will, in an average climate, equal the cost of the additional insulation required.

While the Federal Government can take some actions to conserve energy through such regulations, the consumer who seeks the most for his energy dollar in the marketplace is the one who can have the most profound influence. I am therefore asking my Special Assistant for Consumer Affairs—in cooperation with industry and appropriate Government agencies—to gather and publish additional information in this field to help consumers focus on the operating costs as well as the initial cost of energy intensive equipment.

In addition, I would note that the Joint Board on Fuel Supply and Fuel Transport chaired by the Director of the Office of Emergency Preparedness is developing energy conservation measures for industry, government, and the general public to help reduce energy use in times of particular shortage and during pollution crises.

7. POWER PLANT SITING

If we are to meet growing demands for electricity in the years ahead, we cannot ignore the need for many new power plants. These plants and their associated transmission lines must be located and built so as to avoid major damage to the environment, but they must also be completed on time so as to avoid power shortages. These demands are difficult to reconcile—and often they are not reconciled well. In my judgment the lesson of the recent power shortages and of the continuing disputes over power plant siting and transmission line routes is that the existing institutions for making decisions in this area are not adequate for the job. In my Special Message to the Congress on the Environment last February, I proposed legislation which would help to alleviate these problems through longer range planning by the utilities and through the establishment of State or regional agencies to license new bulk power facilities prior to their construction.

Hearings are now being held by the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee of the House of Representatives concerning these proposals and other measures which would provide an open planning and decision-making capacity for dealing with these matters. Under the administration bill, long-range expansion plans would be presented by the utilities ten years before construction was scheduled to begin, individual alternative power plant sites would be identified five years ahead, and detailed design and location of specific plants and transmission lines would be considered two years in advance of construction. Public hearings would be held far enough ahead of construction so that they could influence the siting decision, helping to avoid environmental problems without causing undue construction delays. I urge the Congress to take prompt and favorable action on this important legislative proposal. At the same time steps will be taken to ensure

that Federal licenses and permits are handled as expeditiously as possible.

8. THE ROLE OF THE SULFUR OXIDES EMISSIONS CHARGE

In my environmental message last February I also proposed the establishment of a sulfur oxides emissions charge. The emissions charge would have the effect of building the cost of sulfur oxide pollution into the price of energy. It would also provide a strong economic incentive for achieving the necessary performance to meet sulfur oxide standards.

The funds generated by the emissions charge would be used by the Federal Government to expand its programs to improve environmental quality, with special emphasis on the development of adequate supplies of clean energy.

9. GOVERNMENT REORGANIZATION—AN ENERGY ADMINISTRATION

But new programs alone will not be enough. We must also consider how we can make these programs do what we intend them to do. One important way of fostering effective performance is to place responsibility for energy questions in a single agency which can execute and modify policies in a comprehensive and unified manner.

The Nation has been without an integrated energy policy in the past. One reason for this situation is that energy responsibilities are fragmented among several agencies. Often authority is divided according to types and uses of energy. Coal, for example, is handled in one place, nuclear energy in another—but responsibility for considering the impact of one on the other is not assigned to any single authority. Nor is there any single agency responsible for developing new energy sources such as solar energy or new conversion systems such as the fuel cell. New concerns—such as conserving our fossil fuels for non-fuel uses—cannot receive the thorough and thoughtful attention they deserve under present arrangements.

The reason for all these deficiencies is that each existing program was set up to meet a specific problem of the past. As a result, our present structure is not equipped to handle the relationships between these problems and the emergence of new concerns.

The need to remedy these problems becomes more pressing every day. For example, the energy industries presently account for some 20 percent of our investment in new plant and equipment. This means that inefficiencies resulting from uncoordinated government programs can be very costly to our economy. It is also true that energy sources are becoming increasingly interchangeable. Coal can be converted to gas, for example, and even to synthetic crude oil. If the Government is to perform adequately in the energy field, then it must act through an agency which has sufficient strength and breadth of responsibility.

Accordingly, I have proposed that all of our important Federal energy resource development programs be consolidated within the new Department of Natural Resources.

The single energy authority which would thus be created would be better able to clarify, express, and execute Federal energy policy than any unit in our present structure. The establishment of this new entity would provide a focal point where energy policy in the executive branch could be harmonized and rationalized.

One of the major advantages of consolidating energy responsibilities would be the broader scope and greater balance this would give to research and development work in the energy field. The Atomic Energy Commission, for instance, has been successful in its mission of advancing civilian nuclear power, but this field is now intimately interrelated with coal, oil and gas, and Federal electric power programs with which the Atomic Energy Commission now has very little to do. We believe that the planning and funding of civilian nuclear energy activities should now be consolidated with other energy efforts in an agency charged with the mission of insuring that the total energy resources of the nation are effectively utilized. The Atomic Energy Commission would still remain intact, in order to execute the nuclear programs and any related energy research which may be appropriate as part of the overall energy program of the Department of Natural Resources.

Until such time as this new Department comes into being, I will continue to look to the Energy Subcommittee of the Domestic Council for leadership in analyzing and coordinating overall energy policy questions for the executive branch.

CONCLUSION

The program I have set forth today provides the basic ingredients for a new effort to meet our clean energy needs in the years ahead.

The success of this effort will require the cooperation of the Congress and of the State and local governments. It will also depend on the willingness of industry to meet its responsibilities in serving customers and in making necessary capital investments to meet anticipated growth. Consumers, too, will have a key role to play as they learn to conserve energy and as they come to understand that the cost of environmental protection must, to a major extent, be reflected in consumer prices.

I am confident that the various elements of our society will be able to work together to meet our clean energy needs. And I am confident that we can therefore continue to know the blessings of both a high-energy civilization and a beautiful and healthy environment.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House

June 4, 1971

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released a fact sheet on the message.

196 Remarks at the Dedication of the McClellan-Kerr Arkansas River Navigation System. *June 5, 1971*

Mr. Speaker, Governor Hall, Governor Bumpers, Members of the United States Senate, Members of the Congress, all of the distinguished guests who are here on this platform, and all of the distinguished members of this great audience:

May I express first my appreciation for your wonderfully warm welcome. I am not speaking of the weather; I am speaking of the way you applauded a moment ago. And may I pass on a message to you that I bring directly from the White House. Mrs. Nixon said that of her many travels around this country, she has never

had a warmer welcome than she had in Tulsa a few weeks ago. And she would like to have come today, but, as you know, she is working on a White House wedding. I think she and Tricia will get through it, but I don't know whether I will make it.

I can assure you, too, that on this occasion, I only wish I could have been present for the earlier parts of the program. I read the scenario, and I saw some of the wonderful numbers that were planned. I want to express appreciation to all of them, and I know that all of you will want to join in a round of applause for that television; for everybody that has performed up to this point.

I particularly want to pay my respects to the Tulsa University Choir, and also to Mr. "Sugar Bowl" Al Hirt; and to the one that all of us who know her great work for all patriotic causes is really Miss America, Anita Bryant.[1]

While you can well understand that on such an occasion like this it is a pleasure for me to be here on the Oklahoma seacoast. [*Laughter*] I remember, when I visited Oklahoma in the campaign of 1968, being lobbied a bit on this project. I flew over all of this area. And I remember that on that occasion Dewey Bartlett, Senator Bellmon, Bud Wilkinson, Page Belcher[2] talked to me about the enormous promise and, of course, the fact that this project was to be completed—and that I must return to participate in its dedication. Well, I promised to be back on the day when the Gulf of Mexico came up to Catoosa. I am delighted to make good on that promise. Here I am.

The friendliness of the people here, which you have demonstrated so eloquently today, the beauty of the land that I have seen around us as we flew in on the helicopter, always makes me glad to return to what is Will Rogers country. But this is the first time I have had a chance to go one up on that great cowboy philosopher. You know, with him—and all of us will remember reading him, out in Los Angeles he had a little column, as he did all over the country, and it was "must" reading for everybody, even in those days—the joke was usually, for Will Rogers, on the Government. One time in 1923 he was spoofing the Congress about its public works spending, and he made his point by saying that with all that money being passed out he could probably even get himself a harbor built on the Verdigris River at Oologah. I think that is the way you pronounce it. I practiced it on the way out on the airplane.

Well, this magnificent new port is still a few miles downstream from Oologah, but it is close enough that this time the Corps of Engineers and the people of the supposedly landlocked Sooner State can have the last laugh. For years there were many who dismissed the idea of an Arkansas River waterway as a foolish dream. But there were others, men like Senator Bob Kerr and John McClellan,[3] who held it as a bold and achievable vision. The completed project that we dedicate today has proved that they were right.

With the opening of this great navigation system, the new "maritime States" of Oklahoma and Arkansas can look for-

[1] Al Hirt, jazz musician, and Anita Bryant, popular singer.

[2] Dewey F. Bartlett, Governor of Oklahoma 1969–71; Senator Henry L. Bellmon of Oklahoma; Charles B. Wilkinson, head coach of the University of Oklahoma football team 1947–64, and Special Consultant to the President; and Representative Page Belcher of Oklahoma.

[3] The late Robert S. Kerr, United States Senator from Oklahoma 1949–63; and Senator John L. McClellan of Arkansas.

ward to a whole new era of growth and development. And so, too, can Kansas, which may one day have ports of its own on the Arkansas, and Colorado, and all of the other States of this heartland region that will be sharing in the benefits of this waterway.

At the same time, speaking as, and representing all of the people of the United States as President of the United States, I can say that all the American people join you in celebrating this achievement, because it belongs to all of us and helps all the Nation. Because, you see, in a very real sense, the progress and prosperity it will bring you mean added progress and prosperity to all of America.

We think, for instance, of the two-way savings water transportation is already beginning to bring the farm industry in this region. Lower shipping costs coming in mean that the farmer pays less for his fertilizer, machinery, and other supplies, and lower shipping costs going out mean that the farmer can pocket more of the market price of his crops and livestock. In that way, farm income is boosted twice, and the benefits extend across America and around the world to everyone who depends on the beef and the wheat, the cotton, the soybeans, all the other products of mid-America's agriculture.

I believe that what is good for the farmer is good for his customers and good for America, and this project proves it. That is one big reason we are grateful to see this waterway go into operation.

As we assess the significance, we think, too, about the tremendously important oil and natural gas resources that have meant so much to the growth of Oklahoma and the industrial development of this country. We think about the major coal fields that will now become much more accessible along the Arkansas River in these two States. I realize there is legitimate concern about some of the serious environmental and pollution problems surrounding the production and use of coal and oil. But we must also remember that the energy they produce is indispensable to the economic strength of the United States and to the good life which the American people enjoy.

As this new waterway encourages growth and development, regional energy needs will increase even faster than the rapidly growing national needs. This will mean new opportunities and new challenges for petroleum and for coal, which are produced in this region. I can assure you, as I indicated in the special message on energy policy which I sent to the Congress yesterday, that the Federal Government will continue to recognize and support the vital role which these industries play.

But beyond agriculture, beyond oil, we are already seeing the first stages of a broad-based economic boom in the Arkansas River Basin. All sorts of new industries are on the way, bringing with them new jobs, new income, new vitality for communities throughout this region. Private investment planned along the waterway has passed the $800 million mark and should soon exceed the $1.2 billion in public funds spent in construction of the project.

Here again the beneficial impact will be felt not just in Tulsa, not just in the States, Oklahoma, Arkansas, others in the area, but it will be felt across America. For this great region, so ready for development, can provide part of the answer to the increasingly acute growth of congestion and uncontrolled growth in America's largest metropolitan areas. Let's look

at America over the next 30 years, down to the year 2000, when some of the younger people here, in the year 2000, will be celebrating that millennium, a new year that comes once in a thousand years. What is America going to be like? Well, one of the things that we know is that it is going to be a lot larger in terms of its people. There are likely to be 70 million more people in America 30 years from now than there are today.

Now, how are we going to provide for them? How will we assure to them and the rest of us the abundance and the quality of life which we all deserve? And even more essential, where are they going to live? Are they going to pour into the cities of America? Are they going to add to the crime and the congestion and the pollution that are choking our cities to death?

Did you know that two-thirds of all the counties in this part of the country—and I do not refer to individual counties, but looking at them as a group—two-thirds of them have lost population over the past 10 years, and so they poured into the cities? And now the question is what is the future of growth of America? Well, I think there is an answer.

I was talking to a young couple on a trip to North Dakota a few months ago. I had found that they had left North Dakota to go to a major city in the East and then they had returned. I asked them why. They said, "The reason we left was that there wasn't adequate opportunity here, not good jobs, not adequate opportunity in business, and so we went East. But then some opportunities opened and we came back because we really wanted to live here. We like this country. It is a beautiful country. It is a country where we want to raise our children. And that is why we came back."

So I say, let people who want to live in the heartland of America have the opportunities, have the jobs that will let them stay here and not be drawn away. That is what this project means to America and to the world.

Let me tell you what it is going to look like here. You realize that over this next 30 years this region in which we are now standing could absorb as much as 10 percent of that growth. In other words, 7 million more people. This region can become a new magnet for people seeking the good life, so that we can begin to see a reversal of the decades-long migration trend from rural America to urban America—a trend which has too often acted to deplete the countryside and overburden the cities, to weaken the heart of America and to add to the fat which saps our strength.

There is virtually unlimited promise in the future of the Arkansas Basin provided we take charge of the development process and guide it wisely. We know all too well that heedless and unplanned growth can become a bane rather than a blessing. That is why there is so much interest, particularly among younger people, about the environment. "What's going to happen to our rivers? What's going to happen to our countryside, if we simply have growth without planning?" Questions are even being raised going to an extreme. They say, "Why should we have growth at all?" I understand the feelings that raise those questions. And yet, I think that they come sometimes, and perhaps most often, from people in regions that already have had their share, or more than their share, of American prosperity.

In this region, where you are really starting to come into your own, we cannot simply shrug off the benefits of economic

growth and expanded prosperity. We need them; we are going to continue to have to have them. And yet it is still legitimate, and it is essential, to insist that quality keep pace with quantity as the Nation grows.

Looking at this project from an environmental standpoint, we can be grateful and proud that this river system today remains largely unpolluted when we look at it in comparison to others. Right now, as we dedicate this project, with industrial development along the waterway really beginning to take off, let us determine to hold the line on a clean and healthy river, because if we act now, we can make the Arkansas not only a continuing asset to this region but also an example of pollution prevention for the entire United States.

The dedication of this McClellan-Kerr Arkansas River Navigation System is an exceptional monument—a monument in action. It honors many things. It honors the leadership of the two Senators whose names it bears; it honors the leadership of the Congressmen like Page Belcher, Senators like Henry Bellmon, and others who have also worked for this project. It honors the vision of many leaders of this region who are not in the Congress, in the Senate or the House—the constructive partnership of economic development with environmental protection. And this is a monument to American engineering and technological skill.

I think it is particularly fitting that this waterway has been dedicated to the youth of America for it is they who will benefit most from it. The surge of growth and prosperity which this region is certain to experience in the decades ahead means a brighter future for the young people of the United States. And to the extent you are able to set an example for the Nation in things like environmental planning and balanced growth, you will be doing a service to the next generation, not just regionally but throughout the United States.

But the most important consequence of this great achievement for American youth is, I believe, something that really cannot be measured in material terms. By undertaking a vast project that some called impossible and others called worthless and making it a success, you have demonstrated once again the vitality of the American tradition of daring great things and achieving great things.

I have many memories of France's great leader, General de Gaulle. He was a man with a rare understanding of what it takes to make a nation's spirit live and soar. And I remember that he often used to say that France is never her true self unless she is engaged in a great enterprise. Precisely the same is true of the United States.

The spirit that tamed the Arkansas is the same spirit that forged the Union in 1776, that bought Louisiana in 1803, that bridged the continent with the rails in 1869, that settled the Oklahoma Territory in 1889, that developed the Tennessee Valley in the thirties, and that put men on the moon in 1969.

And in an era when some voices urge Americans not to aim so high, to turn from the pursuit of greatness to the cultivation of comfort only, it is valuable for our young people, our future leaders, to have before them this dramatic example of the young spirit still at work in America. Because without this spirit, all the wealth, all the ease, all the privilege, would be as ashes for Americans, but with this spirit, all the future is ours for what we want to make it.

It was the summer of 1946, 25 years ago, that Congress first authorized this project. I remember that summer well. Another man on this platform remembers it very well, too. That was the year I was lucky enough to win when I ran for Congress. He ran, too. He was elected from Oklahoma, I from California. And when I think of all the events that have taken place in the world in the quarter century since Speaker Albert and I were first elected to that 80th Congress, I realize what a momentous time in history this has been. That doubles my pride in sharing with him and all the others on this platform and all of those in this great audience, the dedication of this magnificent project—a project which was only a bold dream when we came to Congress 25 years ago, but now it is a grand reality, and for generations to come it will be a living monument to what man and nature together can accomplish.

As I conclude today, I would like to conclude on a personal note of appreciation to all of those who have made this for me, personally, and in my capacity as President of the United States, one of the most memorable days of my service in that office. Sometimes those of us who see the Nation only from Washington tend to get a distorted view. The reason is obvious. It is inevitable that bad news will drive out good news, not by deliberation, but simply because bad news seems to make more news than good news.

Consequently, if you sit in Washington without getting out to the country, you get an impression of the country that everything is wrong, that America is an ugly country: ugly physically, ugly morally, ugly spiritually.

I want to thank all of you today, the people of Oklahoma and Arkansas, and all the others from these heartland States, for reminding us of some fundamental truths. America is a beautiful country, and the American people are a good people, they are a strong people, with faith in God and faith in themselves.

And the spirit that built America, the spirit of 1776, still lives. It is a spirit of hope, it is a spirit of idealism, it is a spirit to dare and achieve great things. And as we look at America's role in the world, we see a nation, the strongest and the richest nation in the world, but a nation, I can tell you, that throughout the world is not feared by any who have freedom, because we will never use our strength except to defend freedom; and is not feared by any who love peace, because America will always use its strength to serve the cause of peace and not to break the peace.

And I say to you today, I thank you for reminding all of us on this day where we came from, of all of our great traditions, and of some of the good things about America.

On this day let us all stand just a little taller, let us all stand taller and say we are proud to be Americans.

And now, ladies and gentlemen, you can see by this picture here that where the interests of the United States are really concerned, building a better America, we are not Democrats, we are not Republicans, we put this Nation first. We are all Americans, we really are.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:06 p.m. in the port of Catoosa near Tulsa, Okla.

David Hall was Governor of Oklahoma and Dale Bumpers was Governor of Arkansas.

An advance text of the President's remarks was released on the same day.

On June 4, 1971, the White House released a fact sheet on the navigation project.

197 Statement About the Death of Audie Murphy. *June 7, 1971*

WHEN challenged to defend their freedom, Americans have always stood ready to defend it with courage and daring—and each war in which the Nation has been engaged has produced its own special heroes. As America's most decorated hero of World War II, Audie Murphy not only won the admiration of millions for his own brave exploits; he also came to epitomize the gallantry in action of America's fighting men. The Nation stands in his debt, and mourns at his death.

NOTE: Mr. Murphy, 46, died in an airplane crash near Roanoke, Va., on May 28, 1971.

The President was represented at the burial service at Arlington National Cemetery by George Bush, United States Representative to the United Nations, and Lt. Col. Vernon Coffey, Army Aide to the President.

198 Remarks to Members Attending the 1971 Symposium of the American Committee on Italian Migration. *June 8, 1971*

THANK you very much, Father Cogo.[1]

I wish, first, to say to this very distinguished group that I only hope the warmth of my remarks will equal the warmth of the weather here in the Rose Garden. Congressman Rodino said, "Don't worry about these people, they are all from southern Italy, they won't mind."

I, too, want you to know that the sentiments that were expressed in the State of the Union Address, I think, are very appropriate when referring to your group. President Eisenhower met with you first, and since that time you have met with President Kennedy, and now I have that high privilege and that great honor.

Let me speak to you about why it is so important for us to be the land of the open door, why, not simply from the standpoint of wanting our country to provide a haven for people who are distressed, people who need assistance from other lands, but why America needs those people, why they add to America.

One of the great problems that any society has as it becomes older, as it becomes richer, is that it tends to become more complacent; it tends to lose its drive, its dynamism, its imagination, frankly—its character. That is the history of civilizations over the past.

And one mark of the American civilization has been that we have never fallen into that fault due to the fact that we have always had the infusion of new people, new people who come here with great idealism, with great determination. In a sense, as somebody would put it, they are people that are still trying to make it, that aren't thinking in terms of having it made. And what they contribute are not simply the skills to which Father Cogo has referred—they are there, of course—but even more, they contribute character and strength and drive, and that is what this country needs and that is what particularly our friends of Italian background

[1] The Reverend Joseph A. Cogo, Executive Secretary, American Committee on Italian Migration.

have contributed so greatly to America.

I know, incidentally, that here in our own Cabinet we have John Volpe, and what a wonderful spokesman he is for all of you. And I have on my White House Staff John Scali,[2] and just to show that we look upon this not as a partisan matter, I am always, of course, glad to have our good friend from New Jersey, Pete Rodino, here.

But what I really feel that you should know is this: I know that this organization was set up because of your concern that the laws of this land would become too restrictive and that people of Italian background and of other backgrounds, as well, would not be allowed to come here. Let me say that will not be the case.

It will not be the case because America needs the new people. It needs the new ideas. It needs the new drive, the new enthusiasm, the character that our people from abroad who are still coming here by the thousands can give to us. I hope America will always be the land of the open door, because as long as that door is open, it means that this land will continue to grow and continue to prosper and continue to have that drive which makes a great nation.

I simply want to close by saying that I only wish we could provide an air-conditioned garden for you. I understand you are going to have an air-conditioned tour, however, and we want you all to be welcome.

I think this is the last event we are having in this garden before we have a wedding ceremony on Saturday, and so we are very happy to have such a distinguished group here. I am standing, I think, where the minister usually stands.

But I have preached to you long enough. Let me say, have a wonderful time while you are here, and when you talk to me—believe me when you talk to me about the need to keep the doors of this Nation open for those from abroad who can contribute to it, it is like the preacher talking to the choir. I am with you.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:03 p.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House.

[2] John A. Scali, Special Consultant to the President.

199 Statement About Federal Policies Relative to Equal Housing Opportunity. *June* 11, 1971

OF ALL the services, facilities, and other amenities a community provides, few matter more to the individual and his family than the kind of housing he lives in—and the kind of neighborhood of which that housing is a part. Through the ages, men have fought to defend their homes; they have struggled, and often dared the wilderness, in order to secure better homes.

It is not surpirising, therefore, that public policies affecting the kind and location of homes available should be the subject of intense and widespread interest, and also of intense, far-ranging, and sometimes passionate debate.

One of the achievements of this Administration of which I am most proud has been the dramatic progress we have made in increasing the supply of housing, including particularly low- and moderate-income housing, so as to expand the range of housing opportunities for Americans

in search of a decent home. Housing starts are currently at the highest levels in 20 years. While our primary emphasis is on stimulating private construction, the number of federally assisted low- and moderate-income housing starts planned for fiscal year 1972 will be more than four times what it was as recently as fiscal 1968—an increase from some 150,000 to some 650,000. The remaining needs are still enormous. But this represents a giant step toward fulfilling the goal set forth in the Housing Act of 1949, of "a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family."

The very fact that so much progress is being made, however, has sharpened the focus on what has come to be called "fair housing"—a term employed, but not defined, in the Civil Rights Act of 1968, and to which many persons and groups have ascribed their own often widely varied meanings.

In this statement, I shall set forth the policies, as they have been developed in this Administration, that will guide our efforts to eliminate racial discrimination in housing, to enlarge housing opportunities for all Americans, and to assist in stable and orderly community development. It is important to understand the laws that govern those policies, the limits within which they operate, the complexities they seek to address, and the goals they seek to achieve.

My purpose is not to announce new policies, but to define and explain the policies we have—setting forth what we will do and what we will not. The factors determining patterns of housing and community development are immensely complex and intricately balanced, many are uniquely local in nature, and the Federal Government operates in important but limited ways and under limited authorities. Within those limits, we intend to continue to move vigorously—not to restrict free choice, but to expand and protect it.

Underlying our housing policies—and embodied in our laws and our Constitution—are certain basic principles:

—Denial of equal housing opportunity to a person because of race is wrong, and will not be tolerated.

—Such denial will not be tolerated whether practiced directly and overtly, or under cover of subterfuges, or indirectly through such practices as price and credit discrimination.

—To qualify for Federal assistance, the law requires a local housing or community development project to be part of a plan that expands the supply of low- and moderate-income housing in a racially nondiscriminatory way.

—In terms of site selection for a housing development, the Federal role is one of agreeing or not agreeing to provide Federal subsidies for projects proposed by local authorities or other developers.

—A municipality that does not want federally assisted housing should not have it imposed from Washington by bureaucratic fiat; this is not a proper Federal role.

—Local communities should be encouraged in their own voluntary efforts to make more housing more widely available, and to reduce the extent of racial concentration.

—Putting an end to racial discrimination, and building toward the goal of free and open communities, is a responsibility shared by Federal, State,

and local governments, by business and private institutions, by civic leaders, and by individual people everywhere.

A History of Hardship

The history of racial discrimination in housing in America runs deep; but, to the Nation's credit, so do efforts to correct it.

In earlier years, some local ordinances actually forbade minority group members to purchase property in blocks where they did not constitute a majority. Such ordinances were invalidated by the Supreme Court in 1917.

Covenants running with the land were widely used to restrict minority citizens in their access to housing. The efficacy of these covenants rested on their possible enforcement by courts and the awarding of damages for their breach. Judicial enforcement was invalidated by the Supreme Court in 1948.

Federal policy itself, quite unsurprisingly, in past eras reflected what then were widespread public attitudes. Policies which governed FHA mortgage insurance activities for more than a decade between the middle thirties and the late forties recognized and accepted restrictive covenants designed to maintain the racial homogeneity of neighborhoods.

Compounding the plight of minority Americans, locked as many of them were in deteriorating central cities, was the Federal urban renewal program. It was designed to help clear out blighted areas and rejuvenate urban neighborhoods. All too often, it cleared out but did not replace housing which, although substandard, was the only housing available to minorities. Thus it typically left minorities even more ill-housed and crowded than before.

Historically, then, the Federal Government was not blameless in contributing to housing shortages and to the impairment of equal housing opportunity for minority Americans. Much has been done to remedy past shortcomings of Federal policy, and active opposition to discrimination is now solidly established in Federal law. But despite the efforts and emphasis of recent years, widespread patterns of residential separation by race and of unequal housing opportunity persist.

Racial Concentration Today

In terms of racial concentration, the facts on housing occupancy revealed by the 1970 census are compelling. In our 66 largest metropolitan areas, accounting for more than half the U.S. population—of which 49 are in the North and West—the central city white population declined during the decade of the sixties by about 2 million (5%), while the black population increased almost 3 million (35%). This meant overall black population in central cities increased from 18% in 1960 to 24% in 1970.

In the suburban areas of these cities, however, the story was different. White population increased by 12.5 million (30%) and black population increased by less than 1 million (44%). The result was that the total black proportion of suburban population increased only from 4.2% in 1960 to 4.5% in 1970.

In city after city the figures tell the same story. In New York City the white population declined by 617,000 while the black population rose by 579,000. In St.

Louis whites declined by 169,000; blacks rose by 40,000. Thus the central cities grow ever more black, while the surrounding areas, for the most part, remain overwhelmingly white.

It is important to remember, of course, that simple divisions into "central city" and "suburban" can be misleading in this context. It makes a great deal of difference how large the city is, and what the patterns of distribution within the metropolitan area are in terms not only of housing but of business, industry, recreational facilities, transportation, and all the many factors that enter into its internal dynamics as a functioning community.

One thing this points to is that no single set of rigid criteria can be laid down that will fit a wide variety of local situations. To speak of "opening up the suburbs," for example, may have widely differing implications in different metropolitan areas, just as the term "central city" means something quite different in New York or Chicago than it does in New Haven or Fresno.

To some extent, the persistence of racially separate housing patterns reflects the free choice of individuals and families in both the majority and minority communities. Economic factors have also played a part, since average income levels—even though the disparity is being narrowed—remain lower for minority Americans than for the Caucasian majority.

It also is inescapable, however, that continuing, often covert housing discrimination is thwarting or discouraging the efforts of many minority citizens to find better housing in better neighborhoods. This is wrong, constitutionally indefensible, and pragmatically unwise.

The Cost of Racial Separation

Separation of the races, particularly when it is involuntary, has damaging consequences. One is racial isolation—the social isolation of the races from each other—an estrangement that all too readily engenders unwarranted mistrust, hostility, and fear.

Another consequence of involuntary racial separation is the waste of human resources through the denial of human opportunity. No nation is rich enough and strong enough to afford the price which dehumanizing living environments extract in the form of wasted human potential and stunted human lives—and many of those living environments in which black and other minority Americans are trapped are dehumanizing.

Another price of racial segregation is being paid each day in dollars: in wages lost because minority Americans are unable to find housing near the suburban jobs for which they could qualify. Industry and jobs are leaving central cities for the surrounding areas. Unless minority workers can move along with the jobs, the jobs that go to the suburbs will be denied to the minorities—and more persons who want to work will be added to the cities' unemployment and welfare rolls.

Clearly, both outright racial discrimination and persisting patterns of racial concentration combine to create a serious set of problems that public policy must seek to meet. These problems are human, they are economic, they are social—and they pose a challenge of the first magnitude to the community of the metropolitan area that tries to meet them in a way most nearly fair to all those affected. It is en-

couraging that many communities are meeting this challenge, and meeting it successfully.

The Federal Role

THE LAW

The Federal Government's responsibilities for eliminating racial discrimination in housing derive partly from the Constitution, partly from the Government's own extensive involvement in housing and community development programs, and partly from a number of statutes and Executive orders.

The broad outlines of the law are contained in our Constitution, which in its 5th, 13th, and 14th amendments guarantees basic civil rights, including the right to seek shelter free from any racial discrimination fostered by Federal, State, or local governments.

Executive Order 11063, issued in 1962, expressly states that housing discrimination and segregation prevent the Nation from attaining the housing goals declared by the 1949 Housing Act. It further directs all Federal departments and agencies "to take all action necessary and appropriate to prevent discrimination" as to race, color, religion, or national origin in federally assisted housing and related projects.

Congress followed up this initiative 2 years later with the Civil Rights Act of 1964. A critical provision of that law, Title VI, provides that no person shall, "on the ground of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance." As a penalty for such discrimination, it provides for a cutoff of Federal funds to the program in which the discrimination occurs. The clear intent of the Congress in enacting this legislation was to insure that no program utilizing Federal financial aid should be tainted by racial or ethnic discrimination. A careful review of the legislative history indicates that the Congress intended that the cutoff of Federal funds resulting from a violation should apply only to the particular activity in which the unlawful racial discrimination took place, and not to all activities undertaken by the violator.

In the Civil Rights Act of 1968, the Congress declared that "It is the policy of the United States to provide, within constitutional limitations, for fair housing throughout the United States."

Title VIII of the 1968 act goes beyond the previous statutes (which in terms of housing, had dealt only with that which was federally assisted) to prohibit discrimination on account of race, color, religion, or national origin in most private real estate actions, whether sale or rental and regardless of whether Federal assistance is involved or not. In addition, this title also makes it the responsibility of "all executive departments and agencies" and the specific responsibility of the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development to "administer their programs and activities relating to housing and urban development in a manner affirmatively to further the purposes of this title."

ANTIDISCRIMINATION ENFORCEMENT

The provisions of the law aimed at barring racial discrimination in housing are administered primarily by the Departments of Justice and of Housing and Urban Development.

HUD's role under Title VI in the 1964 act is to guard against racial discrimina-

71-234—72——49

tion in any program or activity to which HUD gives financial assistance. Title VIII of the 1968 Civil Rights Act requires HUD to investigate complaints of housing discrimination and, where appropriate, to attempt to resolve such complaints through persuasion or conciliation. In calendar year 1970, HUD completed processing of 169 complaints; in 89 of these cases conciliation was successful. In the same year, HUD referred 19 of these cases where conciliation failed to the Department of Justice.

Under the terms of Title VIII of the 1968 Civil Rights Act, the Attorney General is empowered to bring suits in Federal court where he finds that racial discrimination in housing constitutes a "pattern or practice," or where housing discrimination cases raise issues of general public importance. Since January 1969, the Attorney General has brought or participated in 85 such suits against more than 250 defendants in 22 States and the District of Columbia. In addition, the Justice Department has negotiated out of court with several hundred other persons and companies and brought them into voluntary compliance.

These cases have involved not only outright racial discrimination in the sale or rental of homes but also such practices as discriminatory real estate advertising and exclusion of minorities from multiple listing services. Several of the suits have been against municipal authorities. Several others have been against major companies controlling tens of thousands of dwelling units, and have resulted in orders that they take dramatic remedial efforts to attract minority families into buildings from which they have previously been barred or discouraged.

Not only have these suits directly opened to nonwhites a great deal of housing previously available only to whites; they also have had a significant, wider impact in stimulating others to come into voluntary compliance with the antidiscrimination laws. This vigorous enforcement as required by law will continue.

Unlawful racial discrimination in housing extends beyond the barring of individuals from particular buildings or neighborhoods because of race. The courts have also held that, when its reasons for doing so are racial, a community may not rezone in order to exclude a federally assisted housing development. In such cases, where changes in land use regulations are made for what turns out to be a racially discriminatory purpose, the Attorney General, in appropriate circumstances, will also bring legal proceedings.

HOW FEDERAL PROGRAMS OPERATE

In order to understand the way in which the broad "fair housing" mandates translate into specific actions, it is important to understand what some of the Federal housing programs are and how they operate.

HUD provides direct financial assistance in three broad areas:

—Housing for low- and moderate-income families. This includes the Home Ownership and Rental Housing Assistance subsidy programs ("Section 235" and "Section 236" housing, respectively), the rent supplement program enacted in 1965, and assistance to low-rent public housing.

—Grants for State, areawide, and local planning.

—Aid for community development activities, such as urban renewal and water and sewer grants.

In addition, of course, HUD plays a major role in providing mortgage insurance and in facilitating the overall flow of mortgage funds.

In each of these areas, the Federal program role—as the governing statutes make clear—is essentially one of responding to local or private initiatives, rather than one of imposing its programs on State and local governments.

In none of HUD's grant programs does the Department act directly. The Department builds no housing, develops no land use plans, clears no slums, and constructs no sewers. Instead, HUD provides, within its statutory and regulatory framework, financial assistance to local developers and agencies, both public and private, who build and manage housing, and engage in planning and community development activities.

The extent to which HUD program activity is dependent on local initiative and execution is frequently overlooked, but is an important element in considering policy issues. Sites for HUD assisted housing must be selected and acquired by local sponsors—public or private—and housing developed on those sites must conform to local zoning and local building codes. Planning performed with HUD assistance is done by State and local governmental bodies. Community development activities—urban renewal, water and sewer, or open space projects, for example—are initiated and executed by local government.

In short, HUD's role in the location of assisted housing is one not of site *selection,* but of ultimate site *approval.* It does not initiate local housing projects. With more applications than it can fund, it must select those for funding which it determines most fully satisfy the purposes of the enabling legislation—and in doing so it says "yes" or "no" to local requests for financial assistance for projects that have been locally planned and will be locally executed.

In responding to local and private initiatives, of course, the Department must follow the statutory mandates. For example:

—As noted earlier, HUD may not make a grant under any of its programs if the recipient will discriminate or otherwise deny the benefits of the assisted activity or project to persons on account of race.

—Where the "workable program" requirement—imposed on local communities by the Housing Act of 1949, as amended in 1954, in connection with urban renewal and related programs—is a condition of eligibility, HUD may not make a grant in the absence of a HUD-certified workable program for community improvement. The program must make reasonable provision for low- and moderate-income housing, which must of course be available on a nondiscriminatory basis.

—Where comprehensive planning is supported by a Federal grant under the 1954 Housing Act, as amended in 1968, the plan must include a "housing element" to insure that "the housing needs of both the region and the local communities studied in the planning will be adequately covered in terms of existing and prospective in-migrant population growth." This provision has broad application, since such planning grants are often used to prepare the areawide plans which are a prerequisite for Federal financial assistance under the water and

sewer, open space, and new communities programs.

Similarly, the statutory requirement of "fair housing" applies in the area of private housing construction, where the Federal role is substantial. The Federal Government provides billions of dollars in assistance and guarantees of mortgage credit for housing financing. The Federal Government sets standards widely used by industry, such as minimum property standards, credit standards, appraisal standards, and construction standards. The Federal Government makes market analyses which materially influence the private sector. The Federal Government approves mortgagees, builders, developers, and brokers with respect to their doing business with HUD. Local government and private initiative and Federal standards work together to produce new housing. And under the law, that new housing—like all the Nation's housing stock—must be open equally to all Americans regardless of race, religion, or national origin.

In approaching questions of "fair housing" for low- and moderate-income persons, it is important to remember that we are dealing with a rather imprecise term and with two separate matters.

One is the elimination of racial discrimination in housing. On this, the Constitution and the laws are clear and unequivocal: Racial discrimination in housing will not be tolerated.

In public discussions of "fair housing" or "open housing," however, another issue has often become confused with that of racial discrimination. This is sometimes referred to as "economic integration." Frequently it arises in debates over whether subsidized low-rent public housing should be placed in the suburbs as a means of moving poor people out of the inner city and, if so, where, to what extent, and by what means.

One of the arguments frequently advanced is that poor people are often disadvantaged by living in low-income neighborhoods; that poverty thus perpetuates itself; and that the remedy therefore is to scatter the poor among the more affluent. Another argument often heard is that blacks and other minorities tend to be disproportionately poor, and that "economic segregation" is therefore equivalent to racial segregation.

It is important to remember, however, that the terms "poor" and "black" are not interchangeable. A higher percentage of blacks than of whites lives below the poverty line—but there are far more poor whites in America than there are poor blacks. Much of the Nation's most dismally inadequate housing is occupied by blacks; much of it is occupied by whites. Many of the worst slums are black; many are white. And by the same token, the skilled trades, the businesses, and professions increasingly are populated by affluent blacks whose children go to the best schools and colleges and who themselves have taken their deserved place in the leadership, not simply of inner-city neighborhoods but of urban, suburban, and rural communities all across America.

To cite only one statistic, a recent special census study showed that in the North and West, black husband-wife families headed by persons under 25 had a median income equal to that of their white contemporaries. Although the income disparities among other ages and categories is still far too wide, this is one measure of how far we have come; also, because these young families represent the future, it is an indication of where we are heading. To

equate "poor" with "black" does a disservice to the truth, and it blinks the fact—fundamental to anything so intensely personal as housing—that we are dealing with the needs not of an undifferentiated mass, but of millions of individual human beings, each separate and unique.

In many cases—when dealing with poor people who happen to be members of a racial minority—questions of where to locate housing for poor people and where to locate housing for members of the minority are related. But the issues involved are separate, and those who would treat effectively with race and poverty must take care to maintain the distinction. What is true of blacks in this regard is also true of Mexican-Americans, Indians, and members of other minorities.

When predominantly poor members of a racial minority are concentrated heavily in one particular area of a central city, the question of where to build housing designed to accommodate some but not all of them is often not easily answered. On the one hand, for example, concentrating the subsidized housing in the predominantly black area could have the effect of reinforcing the racial separation that already exists. On the other hand, failure to build at least a portion of it there could be unfair to the people who choose to live there, as well as reinforcing the housing blight that often prevails in such areas. Quite apart from racial considerations, residents of outlying areas may and often do object to the building in their communities of subsidized housing which they fear may have the effect of lowering property values and bringing in large numbers of persons who will contribute less in taxes than they consume in services. Beyond this, and whether rightly or wrongly, as they view the social conditions of urban slum life many residents of the outlying areas are fearful that moving large numbers of persons—of whatever race—from the slums to their communities would bring a contagion of crime, violence, drugs, and the other conditions from which so many of those who are trapped in the slums themselves want to escape.

In many other respects, the balances to be struck are often close and the considerations complex: For example, how are the interests of one part of a metropolitan area to be weighed against those of the area as a whole? What other housing opportunities are available? How do transportation patterns, job patterns, school locations, enter into the choice? What related efforts are being made to expand opportunity and end racial discrimination? And how and by whom are the determinations to be made?

By establishing "fair housing" as a policy but leaving the term undefined, Title VIII of the 1968 act added a complexity of its own: a lively debate about just what it means, and especially about the meaning of its requirement that Federal officials take "affirmative action" to promote it.

This and the other laws make abundantly clear that the Federal Government has an active, affirmative role to play in eliminating racial discrimination in either the sale or rental of housing. They also make it clear that those communities which seek Federal assistance for most housing and community development programs must work honestly and constructively to meet the housing needs of their low- and moderate-income families. The debate has arisen over the extent to which Federal agencies are either required or

authorized to go beyond antidiscrimination efforts, and to use their program money leverage as a means of requiring local communities to subordinate their land use policies to the goal either of breaking up racial concentrations or of promoting "economic integration."

Policies of This Administration

It will be the firm purpose of this Administration to carry out all the requirements of the law fully and fairly.

Racial discrimination in housing is illegal, and will not be tolerated. In order to fulfill their responsibility for eliminating this discrimination, the Department of Housing and Urban Development and the Justice Department have been developing and elaborating a wide-ranging program aimed at creating equal housing opportunity.

By "equal housing opportunity," I mean the achievement of a condition in which individuals of similar income levels in the same housing market area have a like range of housing choices available to them regardless of their race, color, religion, or national origin.

At the outset, we set three basic requirements for our program to achieve equal housing opportunity: It must be aimed at correcting the effects of past discrimination; it must contain safeguards to ensure against future discrimination; and it must be results-oriented so its progress toward the overall goal of increasing housing opportunities can be evaluated.

The Administration is embarked upon this course. It must and will press forward firmly.

The chief components of such a program include the firm enforcement of laws relating to equal housing opportunity, the development of appropriate equal housing opportunity criteria for participation in programs affecting housing, the development of information programs, and the development of policies relating to housing marketing practices.

It is obvious that not all individuals will exercise the full range of choices made available to them. Those are matters for individual decision.

What *is* essential is that all citizens be able to choose among reasonable locational alternatives within their economic means, and that racial nondiscrimination be scrupulously and rigorously enforced.

We will not seek to impose economic integration upon an existing local jurisdiction; at the same time, we will not countenance any use of economic measures as a subterfuge for racial discrimination.

When such an action is called into question, we will study its effect. If the effect of the action is to exclude Americans from equal housing opportunity on the basis of their race, religion, or ethnic background, we will vigorously oppose it by whatever means are most appropriate—regardless of the rationale which may have cloaked the discriminatory act.

Access to federally assisted housing, like access to all housing, must be nondiscriminatory as to race. But simply to apply this principle will not answer all the practical problems raised by our national commitment to expanded and equal housing opportunity.

Pressures for the construction of new housing and the rehabilitation of existing housing are growing all across the Nation—in central cities, in suburbs, in small towns, in rural America. Demand for housing at all income levels is increasing dramatically.

As a major part of our national effort

to meet these housings needs—an effort which is both private and governmental—federally assisted housing is being built at a rate approaching ¾ of a million units a year. These units are needed. They are being built. And they must be built someplace. The question is where.

If all the federally assisted units are packed together in one type of community or one kind of location, we will only exacerbate the social and, in all probability, the racial isolation of our people from each other.

If we build federally assisted instant ghettos, we fail both our communities and the people we are trying to help.

If we impact or tip the balance of an established community with a flood of low-income families, we do a disservice to all concerned.

The answers to these practical considerations are not simple—but they are of great importance.

Based on a careful review of the legislative history of the 1964 and 1968 Civil Rights Acts, and also of the program context within which the law has developed, I interpret the "affirmative action" mandate of the 1968 act to mean that the administrator of a housing program should include, among the various criteria by which applications for assistance are judged, the extent to which a proposed project, or the overall development plan of which it is a part, will in fact open up new, nonsegregated housing opportunities that will contribute to decreasing the effects of past housing discrimination. This does not mean that no federally assisted low- and moderate-income housing may be built within areas of minority concentration. It does not mean that housing officials in Federal agencies should dictate local land use policies. It does mean that in choosing among the various applications for Federal aid, consideration should be given to their impact on patterns of racial concentration.

In furtherance of this policy, not only the Department of Housing and Urban Development but also the other departments and agencies administering housing programs—the Veterans Administration, the Farmers Home Administration, and the Department of Defense—will administer their programs in a way which will advance equal housing opportunity for people of all income levels on a metropolitan areawide basis.

This Administration will not attempt to impose federally assisted housing upon any community.

We will encourage communities to discharge their responsibility for helping to provide decent housing opportunities to the Americans of low- and moderate-income who live or work within their boundaries.

We will encourage communities to seek and accept well-conceived, well-designed, well-managed housing developments—always within the community's capacity to assimilate the families who will live in them.

We will carry out our programs in a way that will be as helpful as possible to communities which are receptive to the expansion of housing opportunities for all of our people.

In these efforts we will be aided by a change that already is taking place in the way subsidized low- and moderate-income housing is planned, built, and managed: In terms of new construction, the old-style, massively concentrated high-rise public housing project is largely a thing of the past; the trend now is strongly toward low-rise dwellings, many of them

one-, two-, three- or four-family, on scattered sites, so that they can blend in with the community without detracting from nearby properties. Under the newer Federal programs of financial assistance to low- and moderate-income housing of other sorts, the pattern has been one of variety, enabling the community to fit the development to its own needs.

By approaching local questions of land-use planning in a creative and sophisticated manner, local authorities should in most cases be able to work out site-selection problems in ways that provide adequate housing opportunities for those who need them without disrupting the community.

In other ways as well, we are and will be working to promote better and more open housing opportunities. For example:

—By Executive Order 11512, issued in February 1970, I ordered that in the selection of sites for Federal facilities consideration should be given to the availability of adequate low- and moderate-income housing—and I have ordered that all agencies take specifically into account whether this housing is in fact available on a nondiscriminatory basis.

—Guidelines have recently been issued by the Office of Management and Budget under the provisions of the Uniform Relocation Assistance Act of 1970, to assure that adequate housing is provided on a nondiscriminatory basis and within the financial means of persons displaced by federally financed projects.

—The Department of Housing and Urban Development has been actively pressing the major Federal agencies regulating lending institutions to establish effective, affirmative measures against racial discrimination in home mortgage financing. The Federal Home Loan Bank Board, which regulates savings and loan institutions, has been the first to undertake the development of new rules and procedural safeguards. The Board is also working closely with industry leaders to improve financial services offered to members of minority groups.

—HUD also engages in a number of other Title VIII activities intended to eliminate racial discrimination in housing. It publishes advisory guidelines to aid those subject to the jurisdiction of the law in understanding their responsibilities; it undertakes studies of housing practices and collects racial data on all of its housing programs in order to determine areas of noncompliance; it conducts continuing community education programs to inform individuals of their rights under law; it encourages national, State, and local private organizations in undertaking programs designed to expand housing options for minority group and low-income individuals; it works closely with State and local agencies having fair housing laws substantially equivalent to Title VIII and refers complaints to these agencies.

A Free and Open Society

On March 24, 1970, I issued a statement setting forth in detail the Administration's policies on school desegregation. In a portion of that statement that applies equally to housing, I said the goal of this Administration is "a free and open society"—and I added:

In saying this, I use the words "free" and "open" quite precisely.

Freedom has two essential elements: the *right* to choose, and the *ability* to choose. The right to move out of a mid-city slum, for example, means little without the means of doing so. The right to apply for a good job means little without access to the skills that make it attainable. By the same token, those skills are of little use if arbitrary policies exclude the person who has them because of race or other distinction.

Similarly, an "open" society is one of open choices—and one in which the individual has the mobility to take advantage of those choices.

In speaking of "desegregation" or "integration," we often lose sight of what these mean within the context of a free, open, pluralistic society. We cannot be free, and at the same time be required to fit our lives into prescribed places on a racial grid—whether segregated or integrated, and whether by some mathematical formula or by automatic assignment. Neither can we be free, and at the same time be denied—because of race—the right to associate with our fellow citizens on a basis of human equality.

An open society does not have to be homogeneous, or even fully integrated. There is room within it for many communities. Especially in a nation like America, it is natural that people with a common heritage retain special ties; it is natural and right that we have Italian or Irish or Negro or Norwegian neighborhoods; it is natural and right that members of those communities feel a sense of group identity and group pride. In terms of an open society, what matters is mobility: the right and the ability of each person to decide for himself where and how he wants to live, whether as part of the ethnic enclave or as part of the larger society—or, as many do, share the life of both.

We are richer for our cultural diversity; mobility is what allows us to enjoy it.

Economic, educational, social mobility—all these, too, are essential elements of the open society. When we speak of equal opportunity we mean just that: that each person should have an equal chance at the starting line, and an equal chance to go just as high and as far as his talents and energies will take him.

The Federal Government bears an important share of responsibility for achieving fair housing for all Americans. But fair housing is not the responsibility of the Federal Government alone, and not of government alone. Its achievement depends on all of us—on the States and localities, on business and industry, on civic and professional leadership, and on each of us in his daily life.

For its part, the Federal Government will discharge fully its own particular responsibilities and offer example and leadership for others in the discharge of their responsibilities. We will be vigorous in enforcing both the constitutional mandate and the statutory requirements that there not be housing discrimination on grounds of race. In the more complex and difficult area of providing subsidized housing in areas where it is needed, we will encourage communities and local developers to take into account the broad needs of the various groups within the community and of the metropolitan area.

But we all must recognize that the kinds of land-use questions involved in housing

71-234—72——50

site selection are essentially local in nature: They represent the kind of basic choices about the future shape of a community, or of a metropolitan area, that should be chiefly for the people of that community or that area to determine. The challenge of how to provide fair, open and adequate housing is one that they must meet; and they must live with their success or failure.

To local officials are entrusted the initial, and often the final, determinations as to how much low- and moderate-income housing is to be built, how well it is to be built, and where it is to be built. They operate under the same anti-discrimination strictures that apply to Federal officials. And in terms of site selection and residential zoning—both sensitive and complex matters, and yet both central to the goal of truly open housing in truly open communities—they operate in an area little charted by the Supreme Court but increasingly being navigated by the lower courts, as land-use restrictions come under mounting challenge on constitutional grounds.

Two recent court cases suggest the boundaries within which other courts will be wrestling with these questions in the months and years just ahead. In one of these cases (*James* v. *Valtierra*), the U.S. Supreme Court decided that, absent any evidence of racially discriminatory intent, a State law requiring prior approval of low-rent housing projects by community referendum does not, on its face, violate the Constitution. Noting California's long tradition of using referenda on a wide range of issues of public policy and the factual finding in the lower courts that legitimate economic considerations were involved in the referendum in question, the court concluded that there was no factual basis for a claim that the California law was "aimed at a racial minority." On the other hand, in another case presenting sharply contrasting circumstances (*Kennedy Park Homes Association* v. *City of Lackawanna, N.Y.*), a Circuit Court of Appeals recently held illegal certain zoning and other municipal restrictions used to block a subsidized low-income housing development in an all-white neighborhood. In that case the municipal practices were determined to be subterfuges and part of a pattern of racially motivated discrimination by municipal officials; the Supreme Court denied certiorari. In short, the one case did not present evidence of racially discriminatory intent; the other did.

If these cases define the outer limits, they also indicate the broad range within which cases will be pressed in the courts by those who would seek the mandate of judicial decree in setting aside local restrictions to achieve social purposes: For example, the right of a community to impose large-lot zoning, even in the absence of any racial discrimination, has lately been under court challenge.

If the infinitely varied individual questions that arise as our thousands of local governments hammer out their individual local land-use policies are not appropriate for Federal determination—and they are not—neither would it be wise to allow a situation to develop in which they have to be hammered out in the courts. But they no doubt will end up in the courts if they are not satisfactorily dealt with outside the courts through timely and enlightened local action.

This Administration will offer leadership in encouraging local and State governments and housing authorities to address this question creatively and

imaginatively, and to address it with a keen understanding of the needs of those persons for whom the housing is being provided as well as the needs of the community at large.

Local and State authorities, for their part, should continue to respond constructively, pressing forward with innovative and positive approaches of their own. For it is they—and beyond them, it is millions of Americans individually—with whom the challenge primarily rests. We are dealing here in a realm in which Federal authority, while substantial in terms of enforcement, is very limited in terms of the many choices that must be made in each community.

There are some who assume that the Federal Government has the power to do anything it wants—or that they want. But we have maintained our freedom for nearly two centuries by insisting that the Federal Government's exercise of power not exceed its authority.

I believe in that principle. And because the authority of the Federal agencies is limited—quite properly, I believe—with respect to the essentially local and individual choices involved in local community planning, their power will be used in only limited ways.

This does not reduce the challenge to the States, the localities, and the people; it heightens it. For the task of making our communities livable, not for some but for all—of achieving our goals of decent homes and of open communities in a free and open society—this task summons the best that is in each and every one of us, in a cause that touches our soul as a Nation. We cannot afford to fail. I believe that together we can succeed.

200 Letter to the Secretary of Labor on Employment Opportunities for Returning Vietnam-Era Veterans. *June* 13, 1971

Dear Mr. Secretary:

We have recently had occasion to discuss the serious need for increasing employment opportunities for our returning veterans. As you know, I am greatly concerned at any denial of civilian job opportunities to these young men who have borne the burden of fighting. I am also deeply concerned at the evidence that the most serious problem is experienced by those with educational deficiencies or other disabilities.

I am directing you to assume leadership of an intensive effort to place unemployed Vietnam-era veterans in jobs or training and to establish procedures which will provide employment for veterans as we continue phasing down the war in Vietnam. This will require effective mobilization of Federal resources. You have my personal mandate to undertake this task in coordination with Chairman James Oates of the Jobs for Veterans Committee, and you will have the full support of other Federal agencies.

This is an effort which I consider to be of the highest priority in Federal manpower and training programs, and of such importance that every available program should be used to the maximum toward achieving its goals. To speed action, I call upon all Government agencies to draw fully upon resources and authority already at hand.

In fulfilling this important charge, I ask that you include the following actions among those which you get under way immediately:

1. *Draw upon the resources of the National Alliance of Businessmen.* The Jobs for Veterans Program already has done much to attract the attention and support of communities throughout the Nation. In collaboration with Chairman Oates, you should develop, with Mr. John Harper, chairman of the board of the National Alliance of Businessmen, a specific program to increase the participation of American business in providing additional employment opportunities for Vietnam-era veterans. The National Alliance of Businessmen, through its promotion of the Job Opportunities in the Business Sector (JOBS) Program, has displayed a remarkable capability to mobilize the American business community in response to a national problem. I am therefore confident that the Alliance has much to contribute in this important area.

2. *Work with the Secretary of Defense to expand substantially the Transition Program for separating servicemen in order to increase the opportunities for improving job counselling, job training, and placement.* This should provide increasing numbers of those separating from military service, including those returning from overseas, with a counselling and testing service, and for those in need, a chance to receive any necessary job skill training, and job or school placement. For this purpose, U.S. employment offices and designated Defense Training Centers will be used, with Labor, VA, and HEW support.

3. *Immediately augment the number of training opportunities for returning veterans and encourage veteran and employer participation.* This will include such measures as increasing veteran participation in special manpower assistance programs, on-the-job training, additional public service careers opportunities, and veterans job earmarking in new apprenticeship program approvals. Veteran training participation and completion should be encouraged through maximizing the opportunities for veterans to draw dual GI Bill and MDTA [Manpower Development and Training Act] benefits, as recently authorized by the Congress. Any necessary priority modifications to assure adequate enrollment of returning veterans in MDTA programs should be made without delay.

4. *Require listing of all job openings with the U.S. Employment Service by all agencies and contractors funded by the Federal Government.* This will be accomplished soon through issuance of an Executive order [11598]. While the order will stipulate that there is no requirement to hire through the public employment services, existing policies on veterans preference will greatly expand the number of job openings available to veterans.

5. *Greatly increase the effectiveness of the U.S. Training and Employment Service in finding and opening jobs and job-training opportunities for returning veterans.* This effort should seek prompt results and cover the full range of USES services—including personal contact and registration of veterans, counselling, job development and registration with employers, and job placement. I expect definite goals of reducing veteran unemployment by specified target dates, together with regular reports of accomplishment. Each returning veteran must be reached and served by this effort. You should take full advantage of other federally financed field staffs which could be

used for these purposes. Special measures will be adopted to assure that black veterans and other minority veterans get help in proportion to their great need.

6. *Provide special Labor/VA services for Vietnam-era veterans who have been drawing unemployment compensation for three months or longer.* These men should be referred immediately to the U.S. Employment Service, to the Veterans Administration, and, where serious employment handicaps are indicated, to State vocational rehabilitation agencies for special counselling and placement in jobs or training.

Because of the importance of this entire effort, I ask that you make bi-weekly progress reports to me. The arrangements for these reports and any other necessary assistance should be made with the Office of Management and Budget. I know that I can count on your full energies and the support of all Government agencies in this vital national effort to provide the returning veteran what he has earned—a smooth transition to civilian life and meaningful work.

Sincerely,

RICHARD NIXON

[Honorable James D. Hodgson, Secretary of Labor, Washington, D.C. 20210]

NOTE: The letter was dated June 11, 1971, and released June 13.

On June 13, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing, held June 11, on proposals to increase employment opportunities for Vietnam-era veterans by Secretary Hodgson, Malcolm R. Lovell, Jr., Assistant Secretary of Labor for Manpower, and Roger T. Kelley, Assistant Secretary of Defense for Manpower and Reserve Affairs.

On June 23, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing on further actions implementing the proposals by Secretary Hodgson, John D. Harper, Chairman, National Alliance of Businessmen, and James F. Oates, Jr., Chairman, Jobs for Veterans Program.

201 Statement on Occasion of Signing of Agreement Between the United States and Japan About the Reversion of Okinawa to Japan. *June 17, 1971*

WHEN Prime Minister Sato visited Washington in November 1969, he and I agreed that our Governments would consult together on arrangements leading to the reversion of Okinawa to Japan in 1972. The Agreement signed today marks the conclusion of those negotiations. Because of the importance of this Agreement, it will be submitted to the Senate for its advice and consent. I will urge the Senate to give its advice and consent.

The friendship and mutual respect which enabled our negotiators to resolve the many difficult issues will, I am sure, enable us to work together in peace for the continued progress of our own two countries, and for that of the entire world.

My best wishes to the people of Japan, and to their leaders. We both have much to be proud of this day.

NOTE: Secretary of State William P. Rogers read the statement at the signing ceremony in the Thomas Jefferson Room at the Department of State.

202 Remarks About an Intensified Program for Drug Abuse Prevention and Control. *June 17, 1971*

Ladies and gentlemen:

I would like to summarize for you the meeting that I have just had with the bipartisan leaders which began at 8 o'clock and was completed 2 hours later.

I began the meeting by making this statement, which I think needs to be made to the Nation:

America's public enemy number one in the United States is drug abuse. In order to fight and defeat this enemy, it is necessary to wage a new, all-out offensive.

I have asked the Congress to provide the legislative authority and the funds to fuel this kind of an offensive. This will be a worldwide offensive dealing with the problems of sources of supply, as well as Americans who may be stationed abroad, wherever they are in the world. It will be governmentwide, pulling together the nine different fragmented areas within the government in which this problem is now being handled, and it will be nationwide in terms of a new educational program that we trust will result from the discussions that we have had.

With regard to this offensive, it is necessary first to have a new organization, and the new organization will be within the White House. Dr. Jaffe, who will be one of the briefers here today, will be the man directly responsible. He will report directly to me, and he will have the responsibility to take all of the Government agencies, nine, that deal with the problems of rehabilitation, in which his primary responsibilities will be research and education, and see that they work not at cross-purposes, but work together in dealing with the problem.

If we are going to have a successful offensive, we need more money. Consequently, I am asking the Congress for $155 million in new funds, which will bring the total amount this year in the budget for drug abuse, both in enforcement and treatment, to over $350 million.

As far as the new money is concerned, incidentally, I have made it clear to the leaders that if this is not enough, if more can be used, if Dr. Jaffe, after studying this problem, finds that we can use more, more will be provided. In order to defeat this enemy which is causing such great concern, and correctly so, to so many American families, money will be provided to the extent that it is necessary and to the extent that it will be useful.

Finally, in order for this program to be effective, it is necessary that it be conducted on a basis in which the American people all join in it. That is why the meeting was bipartisan; bipartisan because we needed the support of the Congress, but bipartisan because we needed the leadership of the Members of the Congress in this field.

Fundamentally, it is essential for the American people to be alerted to this danger, to recognize that it is a danger that will not pass with the passing of the war in Vietnam which has brought to our attention the fact that a number of young Americans have become addicts as they serve abroad, whether in Vietnam, or Europe, or other places. Because the problem existed before we became involved in Vietnam; it will continue to exist afterwards. That is why this offensive deals with the problem there, in Europe, but

will then go on to deal with the problem throughout America.

One final word with regard to Presidential responsibility in this respect. I very much hesitate always to bring some new responsibility into the White House, because there are so many here, and I believe in delegating those responsibilities to the departments. But I consider this problem so urgent—I also found that it was scattered so much throughout the Government, with so much conflict, without coordination—that it had to be brought into the White House.

Consequently, I have brought Dr. Jaffe into the White House, directly reporting to me, so that we have not only the responsibility but the authority to see that we wage this offensive effectively and in a coordinated way.

The briefing team will now be ready to answer any questions on the technical details of the program.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:05 a.m. in the Briefing Room at the White House.

A White House announcement of the appointment of Dr. Jerome H. Jaffe as Special Consultant to the President for Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs was released June 17, 1971, and is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 7, p. 941).

On the same day, the White House also released the transcript of a news briefing on the program by John D. Ehrlichman, Assistant to the President for Domestic Affairs, Egil Krogh, Jr., Deputy Assistant to the President for Domestic Affairs, and Dr. Jaffe.

203 Special Message to the Congress on Drug Abuse Prevention and Control. *June 17, 1971*

To the Congress of the United States:

In New York City more people between the ages of fifteen and thirty-five years die as a result of narcotics than from any other single cause.

In 1960, less than 200 narcotic deaths were recorded in New York City. In 1970, the figure had risen to over 1,000. These statistics do not reflect a problem indigenous to New York City. Although New York is the one major city in the Nation which has kept good statistics on drug addiction, the problem is national and international. We are moving to deal with it on both levels.

As part of this administration's ongoing efforts to stem the tide of drug abuse which has swept America in the last decade, we submitted legislation in July of 1969 for a comprehensive reform of Federal drug enforcement laws. Fifteen months later, in October, 1970, the Congress passed this vitally-needed legislation, and it is now producing excellent results. Nevertheless, in the fifteen months between the submission of that legislation and its passage, much valuable time was lost.

We must now candidly recognize that the deliberate procedures embodied in present efforts to control drug abuse are not sufficient in themselves. The problem has assumed the dimensions of a national emergency. I intend to take every step necessary to deal with this emergency, including asking the Congress for an amendment to my 1972 budget to provide an additional $155 million to carry out these

steps. This will provide a total of $371 million for programs to control drug abuse in America.

A New Approach to Rehabilitation

While experience thus far indicates that the enforcement provisions of the Comprehensive Drug Abuse Prevention and Control Act of 1970 are effective, they are not sufficient in themselves to eliminate drug abuse. Enforcement must be coupled with a rational approach to the reclamation of the drug user himself. The laws of supply and demand function in the illegal drug business as in any other. We are taking steps under the Comprehensive Drug Act to deal with the supply side of the equation and I am recommending additional steps to be taken now. But we must also deal with demand. We must rehabilitate the drug user if we are to eliminate drug abuse and all the antisocial activities that flow from drug abuse.

Narcotic addiction is a major contributor to crime. The cost of supplying a narcotic habit can run from $30 a day to $100 a day. This is $210 to $700 a week, or $10,000 a year to over $36,000 a year. Untreated narcotic addicts do not ordinarily hold jobs. Instead, they often turn to shoplifting, mugging, burglary, armed robbery, and so on. They also support themselves by starting other people—young people—on drugs. The financial costs of addiction are more than $2 billion every year, but these costs can at least be measured. The human costs cannot. American society should not be required to bear either cost.

Despite the fact that drug addiction destroys lives, destroys families, and destroys communities, we are still not moving fast enough to meet the problem in an effective way. Our efforts are strained through the Federal bureaucracy. Of those we can reach at all under the present Federal system—and the number is relatively small—of those we try to help and who want help, we cure only a tragically small percentage.

Despite the magnitude of the problem, despite our very limited success in meeting it, and despite the common recognition of both circumstances, we nevertheless have thus far failed to develop a concerted effort to find a better solution to this increasingly grave threat. At present, there are nine Federal agencies involved in one fashion or another with the problem of drug addiction. There are anti-drug abuse efforts in Federal programs ranging from vocational rehabilitation to highway safety. In this manner our efforts have been fragmented through competing priorities, lack of communication, multiple authority, and limited and dispersed resources. The magnitude and the severity of the present threat will no longer permit this piecemeal and bureaucratically-dispersed effort at drug control. If we cannot destroy the drug menace in America, then it will surely in time destroy us. I am not prepared to accept this alternative.

Therefore, I am transmitting legislation to the Congress to consolidate at the highest level a full-scale attack on the problem of drug abuse in America. I am proposing the appropriation of additional funds to meet the cost of rehabilitating drug users, and I will ask for additional funds to increase our enforcement efforts to further tighten the noose around the necks of drug peddlers, and thereby loosen the noose around the necks of drug users.

At the same time I am proposing additional steps to strike at the "supply" side

of the drug equation—to halt the drug traffic by striking at the illegal producers of drugs, the growing of those plants from which drugs are derived, and trafficking in these drugs beyond our borders.

America has the largest number of heroin addicts of any nation in the world. And yet, America does not grow opium—of which heroin is a derivative—nor does it manufacture heroin, which is a laboratory process carried out abroad. This deadly poison in the American lifestream is, in other words, a foreign import. In the last year, heroin seizures by Federal agencies surpassed the total seized in the previous ten years. Nevertheless, it is estimated that we are stopping less than 20 percent of the drugs aimed at this Nation. No serious attack on our national drug problem can ignore the international implications of such an effort, nor can the domestic effort succeed without attacking the problem on an international plane. I intend to do that.

A Coordinated Federal Response

Not very long ago, it was possible for Americans to persuade themselves, with some justification, that narcotic addiction was a class problem. Whether or not this was an accurate picture is irrelevant today, because now the problem is universal. But despite the increasing dimensions of the problem, and despite increasing consciousness of the problem, we have made little headway in understanding what is involved in drug abuse or how to deal with it.

The very nature of the drug abuse problem has meant that its extent and seriousness have been shrouded in secrecy, not only by the criminal elements who profit from drug use, but by the drug users themselves—the people whom society is attempting to reach and help. This fact has added immeasurably to the difficulties of medical assistance, rehabilitation, and government action to counter drug abuse, and to find basic and permanent methods to stop it. Even now, there are no precise national statistics as to the number of drug-dependent citizens in the United States, the rate at which drug abuse is increasing, or where and how this increase is taking place. Most of what we think we know is extrapolated from those few States and cities where the dimensions of the problem have forced closer attention, including the maintenance of statistics.

A large number of Federal Government agencies are involved in efforts to fight the drug problem either with new programs or by expanding existing programs. Many of these programs are still experimental in nature. This is appropriate. The problems of drug abuse must be faced on many fronts at the same time, and we do not yet know which efforts will be most successful. But we must recognize that piecemeal efforts, even where individually successful, cannot have a major impact on the drug abuse problem unless and until they are forged together into a broader and more integrated program involving all levels of government and private effort. We need a coordinated effort if we are to move effectively against drug abuse.

The magnitude of the problem, the national and international implications of the problem, and the limited capacities of States and cities to deal with the problem all reinforce the conclusion that coordination of this effort must take place at the highest levels of the Federal Government.

Therefore, I propose the establishment of a central authority with overall responsibility for all major Federal drug abuse

prevention, education, treatment, rehabilitation, training, and research programs in all Federal agencies. This authority would be known as the Special Action Office of Drug Abuse Prevention. It would be located within the Executive Office of the President and would be headed by a Director accountable to the President. Because this is an emergency response to a national problem which we intend to bring under control, the Office would be established to operate only for a period of three years from its date of enactment, and the President would have the option of extending its life for an additional two years if desirable.

This Office would provide strengthened Federal leadership in finding solutions to drug abuse problems. It would establish priorities and instill a sense of urgency in Federal and federally-supported drug abuse programs, and it would increase coordination between Federal, State, and local rehabilitation efforts.

More specifically, the Special Action Office would develop overall Federal strategy for drug abuse prevention programs, set program goals, objectives and priorities, carry out programs through other Federal agencies, develop guidance and standards for operating agencies, and evaluate performance of all programs to determine where success is being achieved. It would extend its efforts into research, prevention, training, education, treatment, rehabilitation, and the development of necessary reports, statistics, and social indicators for use by all public and private groups. It would not be directly concerned with the problems of reducing drug supply, or with the law enforcement aspects of drug abuse control.

It would concentrate on the "demand" side of the drug equation—the use and the user of drugs.

The program authority of the Director would be exercised through working agreements with other Federal agencies. In this fashion, full advantage would be taken of the skills and resources these agencies can bring to bear on solving drug abuse problems by linking them with a highly goal-oriented authority capable of functioning across departmental lines. By eliminating bureaucratic red tape, and jurisdictional disputes between agencies, the Special Action Office would do what cannot be done presently: it would mount a wholly coordinated national attack on a national problem. It would use all available resources of the Federal Government to identify the problems precisely, and it would allocate resources to attack those problems. In practice, implementing departments and agencies would be bound to meet specific terms and standards for performance. These terms and standards would be set forth under inter-agency agreement through a Program Plan defining objectives, costs, schedule, performance requirements, technical limits, and other factors essential to program success.

With the authority of the Program Plan, the Director of the Special Action Office could demand performance instead of hoping for it. Agencies would receive money based on performance and their retention of funding and program authority would depend upon periodic appraisal of their performance.

In order to meet the need for realistic central program appraisal, the Office would develop special program monitoring and evaluation capabilities so that it could realistically determine which activities and techniques were producing re-

sults. This evaluation would be tied to the planning process so that knowledge about success/failure results could guide the selection of future plans and priorities.

In addition to the inter-agency agreement and Program Plan approach described above, the Office would have direct authority to let grants or make contracts with industrial, commercial, or nonprofit organizations. This authority would be used in specific instances where there is no appropriate Federal agency prepared to undertake a program, or where for some other reason it would be faster, cheaper, or more effective to grant or contract directly.

Within the broad mission of the Special Action Office, the Director would set specific objectives for accomplishment during the first three years of Office activity. These objectives would target such areas as reduction in the overall national rate of drug addiction, reduction in drug-related deaths, reduction of drug use in schools, impact on the number of men rejected for military duty because of drug abuse, and so forth. A primary objective of the Office would be the development of a reliable set of social indicators which accurately show the nature, extent, and trends in the drug abuse problem.

These specific targets for accomplishment would act to focus the efforts of the drug abuse prevention program, not on intermediate achievements such as numbers of treatments given or educational programs conducted, but rather on ultimate "payoff" accomplishments in the reduction of the human and social costs of drug abuse. Our programs cannot be judged on the fulfillment of quotas and other bureaucratic indexes of accomplishment. They must be judged by the number of human beings who are brought out of the hell of addiction, and by the number of human beings who are dissuaded from entering that hell.

I urge the Congress to give this proposal the highest priority, and I trust it will do so. Nevertheless, due to the need for immediate action, I am issuing today, June 17, an Executive Order [11599] establishing within the Executive Office of the President a Special Action Office for Drug Abuse Prevention. Until the Congress passes the legislation giving full authority to this Office, a Special Consultant to the President for Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs will institute to the extent legally possible the functions of the Special Action Office.

REHABILITATION: A NEW PRIORITY

When traffic in narcotics is no longer profitable, then that traffic will cease. Increased enforcement and vigorous application of the fullest penalties provided by law are two of the steps in rendering narcotics trade unprofitable. But as long as there is a demand, there will be those willing to take the risks of meeting the demand. So we must also act to destroy the market for drugs, and this means the prevention of new addicts, and the rehabilitation of those who are addicted.

To do this, I am asking the Congress for a total of $105 million in addition to funds already contained in my 1972 budget to be used solely for the treatment and rehabilitation of drug-addicted individuals.

I will also ask the Congress to provide an additional $10 million in funds to increase and improve education and training in the field of dangerous drugs. This

will increase the money available for education and training to more than $24 million. It has become fashionable to suppose that no drugs are as dangerous as they are commonly thought to be, and that the use of some drugs entails no risk at all. These are misconceptions, and every day we reap the tragic results of these misconceptions when young people are "turned on" to drugs believing that narcotics addiction is something that happens to other people. We need an expanded effort to show that addiction is all too often a one-way street beginning with "innocent" experimentation and ending in death. Between these extremes is the degradation that addiction inflicts on those who believed that it could not happen to them.

While by no means a major part of the American narcotics problem, an especially disheartening aspect of that problem involves those of our men in Vietnam who have used drugs. Peer pressures combine with easy availability to foster drug use. We are taking steps to end the availability of drugs in South Vietnam but, in addition, the nature of drug addiction, and the peculiar aspects of the present problem as it involves veterans, make it imperative that rehabilitation procedures be undertaken immediately. In Vietnam, for example, heroin is cheap and 95 percent pure, and its effects are commonly achieved through smoking or "snorting" the drug. In the United States, the drug is impure, consisting of only about 5 percent heroin, and it must be "mainlined" or injected into the bloodstream to achieve an effect comparable to that which may have been experienced in Vietnam. Further, a habit which costs $5 a day to maintain in Vietnam can cost $100 a day to maintain in the United States, and those who continue to use heroin slip into the twilight world of crime, bad drugs, and all too often a premature death.

In order to expedite the rehabilitation process of Vietnam veterans, I have ordered the immediate establishment of testing procedures and initial rehabilitation efforts to be taken in Vietnam. This procedure is under way and testing will commence in a matter of days. The Department of Defense will provide rehabilitation programs to all servicemen being returned for discharge who want this help, and we will be requesting legislation to permit the military services to retain for treatment any individual due for discharge who is a narcotic addict. All of our servicemen must be accorded the right to rehabilitation.

Rehabilitation procedures, which are required subsequent to discharge, will be effected under the aegis of the Director of the Special Action Office who will have the authority to refer patients to private hospitals as well as VA hospitals as circumstances require.

The Veterans Administration medical facilities are a great national resource which can be of immeasurable assistance in the effort against this grave national problem. Restrictive and exclusionary use of these facilities under present statutes means that we are wasting a critically needed national resource. We are commonly closing the doors to those who need help the most. This is a luxury we cannot afford. Authority will be sought by the new Office to make the facilities of the Veterans Administration available to all former servicemen in need of drug rehabilitation, regardless of the nature of their discharge from the service.

I am asking the Congress to increase the present budget of the Veterans Ad-

ministration by $14 million to permit the immediate initiation of this program. This money would be used to assist in the immediate development and emplacement of VA rehabilitation centers which will permit both inpatient and outpatient care of addicts in a community setting.

I am also asking that the Congress amend the Narcotic Addict Rehabilitation Act of 1966 to broaden the authority under this Act for the use of methadone maintenance programs. These programs would be carried out under the most rigid standards and would be subjected to constant and painstaking reevaluation of their effectiveness. At this time, the evidence indicates that methadone is a useful tool in the work of rehabilitating heroin addicts, and that tool ought to be available to those who must do this work.

Finally, I will instruct the Special Consultant for Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs to review immediately all Federal laws pertaining to rehabilitation and I will submit any legislation needed to expedite the Federal rehabilitative role, and to correct overlapping authorities and other shortcomings.

ADDITIONAL ENFORCEMENT NEEDS

The Comprehensive Drug Abuse Prevention and Control Act of 1970 provides a sound base for the attack on the problem of the availability of narcotics in America. In addition to tighter and more enforceable regulatory controls, the measure provides law enforcement with stronger and better tools. Equally important, the Act contains credible and proper penalties against violators of the drug law. Severe punishments are invoked against the drug pushers and peddlers while more lenient and flexible sanctions are provided for the users. A seller can receive fifteen years for a first offense involving hard narcotics, thirty years if the sale is to a minor, and up to life in prison if the transaction is part of a continuing criminal enterprise.

These new penalties allow judges more discretion, which we feel will restore credibility to the drug control laws and eliminate some of the difficulties prosecutors and judges have had in the past arising out of minimum mandatory penalties for all violators.

The penalty structure in the 1970 Drug Act became effective on May 1 of this year. While it is too soon to assess its effect, I expect it to help enable us to deter or remove from our midst those who traffic in narcotics and other dangerous drugs.

To complement the new Federal drug law, a uniform State drug control law has been drafted and recommended to the States. Nineteen States have already adopted it and others have it under active consideration. Adoption of this uniform law will facilitate joint and effective action by all levels of government.

Although I do not presently anticipate a necessity for alteration of the purposes or principles of existing enforcement statutes, there is a clear need for some additional enforcement legislation.

To help expedite the prosecution of narcotic trafficking cases, we are asking the Congress to provide legislation which would permit the United States Government to utilize information obtained by foreign police, provided that such information was obtained in compliance with the laws of that country.

We are also asking that the Congress provide legislation which would permit a

chemist to submit written findings of his analysis in drug cases. This would speed the process of criminal justice.

The problems of addict identification are equalled and surpassed by the problem of drug identification. To expedite work in this area of narcotics enforcement, I am asking the Congress to provide $2 million to be allotted to the research and development of equipment and techniques for the detection of illegal drugs and drug traffic.

I am asking the Congress to provide $2 million to the Department of Agriculture for research and development of herbicides which can be used to destroy growths of narcotics-producing plants without adverse ecological effects.

I am asking the Congress to authorize and fund 325 additional positions within the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs to increase their capacity for apprehending those engaged in narcotics trafficking here and abroad and to investigate domestic industrial producers of drugs.

Finally, I am asking the Congress to provide a supplemental appropriation of $25.6 million for the Treasury Department. This will increase funds available to this Department for drug abuse control to nearly $45 million. Of this sum, $18.1 million would be used to enable the Bureau of Customs to develop the technical capacity to deal with smuggling by air and sea, to increase the investigative staff charged with pursuit and apprehension of smugglers, and to increase inspection personnel who search persons, baggage, and cargo entering the country. The remaining $7.5 million would permit the Internal Revenue Service to intensify investigation of persons involved in large-scale narcotics trafficking.

These steps would strengthen our efforts to root out the cancerous growth of narcotics addiction in America. It is impossible to say that the enforcement legislation I have asked for here will be conclusive—that we will not need further legislation. We cannot fully know at this time what further steps will be necessary. As those steps define themselves, we will be prepared to seek further legislation to take any action and every action necessary to wipe out the menace of drug addiction in America. But domestic enforcement alone cannot do the job. If we are to stop the flow of narcotics into the lifeblood of this country, I believe we must stop it at the source.

International

There are several broad categories of drugs: those of the cannabis family—such as marihuana and hashish; those which are used as sedatives, such as the barbiturates and certain tranquilizers; those which elevate mood and suppress appetite, such as the amphetamines; and, drugs such as LSD and mescaline, which are commonly called hallucinogens. Finally, there are the narcotic analgesics, including opium and its derivatives—morphine and codeine. Heroin is made from morphine.

Heroin addiction is the most difficult to control and the most socially destructive form of addiction in America today. Heroin is a fact of life and a cause of death among an increasing number of citizens in America, and it is heroin addiction that must command priority in the struggle against drugs.

To wage an effective war against heroin addiction, we must have international cooperation. In order to secure such coop-

eration, I am initiating a worldwide escalation in our existing programs for the control of narcotics traffic, and I am proposing a number of new steps for this purpose.

First, on Monday, June 14, I recalled the United States Ambassadors to Turkey, France, Mexico, Luxembourg, Thailand, the Republic of Vietnam, and the United Nations for consultations on how we can better cooperate with other nations in the effort to regulate the present substantial world opium output and narcotics trafficking. I sought to make it equally clear that I consider the heroin addiction of American citizens an international problem of grave concern to this Nation, and I instructed our Ambassadors to make this clear to their host governments. We want good relations with other countries, but we cannot buy good relations at the expense of temporizing on this problem.

Second, United States Ambassadors to all East Asian governments will meet in Bangkok, Thailand, tomorrow, June 18, to review the increasing problem in that area, with particular concern for the effects of this problem on American servicemen in Southeast Asia.

Third, it is clear that the only really effective way to end heroin production is to end opium production and the growing of poppies. I will propose that as an international goal. It is essential to recognize that opium is, at present, a legitimate source of income to many of those nations which produce it. Morphine and codeine both have legitimate medical applications.

It is the production of morphine and codeine for medical purposes which justifies the maintenance of opium production, and it is this production which in turn contributes to the world's heroin supply. The development of effective substitutes for these derivatives would eliminate any valid reason for opium production. While modern medicine has developed effective and broadly-used substitutes for morphine, it has yet to provide a fully acceptable substitute for codeine. Therefore, I am directing that Federal research efforts in the United States be intensified with the aim of developing at the earliest possible date synthetic substitutes for all opium derivatives. At the same time I am requesting the Director General of the World Health Organization to appoint a study panel of experts to make periodic technical assessments of any synthetics which might replace opiates with the aim of effecting substitutions as soon as possible.

Fourth, I am requesting $1 million to be used by the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs for training of foreign narcotics enforcement officers. Additional personnel within the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs would permit the strengthening of the investigative capacities of BNDD offices in the U.S., as well as their ability to assist host governments in the hiring, training, and deployment of personnel and the procurement of necessary equipment for drug abuse control.

Fifth, I am asking the Congress to amend and approve the International Security Assistance Act of 1971 and the International Development and Humanitarian Assistance Act of 1971 to permit assistance to presently proscribed nations in their efforts to end drug trafficking. The drug problem crosses ideological boundaries and surmounts national differences. If we are barred in any way in our effort to deal with this matter, our efforts will be crippled, and our will subject

to question. I intend to leave no room for other nations to question our commitment to this matter.

Sixth, we must recognize that cooperation in control of dangerous drugs works both ways. While the sources of our chief narcotics problem are foreign, the United States is a source of illegal psychotropic drugs which afflict other nations. If we expect other governments to help stop the flow of heroin to our shores, we must act with equal vigor to prevent equally dangerous substances from going into their nations from our own. Accordingly, I am submitting to the Senate for its advice and consent the Convention on Psychotropic Substances which was recently signed by the United States and 22 other nations. In addition, I will submit to the Congress any legislation made necessary by the Convention including the complete licensing, inspection, and control of the manufacture, distribution, and trade in dangerous synthetic drugs.

Seventh, the United States has already pledged $2 million to a Special Fund created on April 1 of this year by the Secretary General of the United Nations and aimed at planning and executing a concerted UN effort against the world drug problem. We will continue our strong backing of UN drug-control efforts by encouraging other countries to contribute and by requesting the Congress to make additional contributions to this fund as their need is demonstrated.

Finally, we have proposed, and we are strongly urging multilateral support for, amendments to the Single Convention on Narcotics which would enable the International Narcotics Control Board to:

—require from signatories details about opium poppy cultivation and opium production—thus permitting the Board access to essential information about narcotics raw materials from which illicit diversion occurs;

—base its decisions about the various nations' activities with narcotic drugs not only as at present on information officially submitted by the governments, but also on information which the Board obtains through public or private sources—thus enhancing data available to the Board in regard to illicit traffic;

—carry out, with the consent of the nation concerned, on-the-spot inquiries on drug related activities;

—modify signatories' annual estimates of intended poppy acreage and opium production with a view to reducing acreage or production; and

—in extreme cases, require signatories to embargo the export and/or import of drugs to or from a particular country that has failed to meet its obligations under the Convention.

I believe the foregoing proposals establish a new and needed dimension in the international effort to halt drug production, drug traffic, and drug abuse. These proposals put the problems and the search for solutions in proper perspective, and will give this Nation its best opportunity to end the flow of drugs, and most particularly heroin, into America, by literally cutting it off root and branch at the source.

Conclusion

Narcotics addiction is a problem which afflicts both the body and the soul of America. It is a problem which baffles many Americans. In our history we have faced great difficulties again and again, wars and depressions and divisions among our people have tested our will as a people—and we have prevailed.

We have fought together in war, we have worked together in hard times, and we have reached out to each other in division—to close the gaps between our people and keep America whole.

The threat of narcotics among our people is one which properly frightens many Americans. It comes quietly into homes and destroys children, it moves into neighborhoods and breaks the fiber of community which makes neighbors. It is a problem which demands compassion, and not simply condemnation, for those who become the victims of narcotics and dangerous drugs. We must try to better understand the confusion and disillusion and despair that bring people, particularly young people, to the use of narcotics and dangerous drugs.

We are not without some understanding in this matter, however. And we are not without the will to deal with this matter. We have the moral resources to do the job. Now we need the authority and the funds to match our moral resources. I am confident that we will prevail in this struggle as we have in many others. But time is critical. Every day we lose compounds the tragedy which drugs inflict on individual Americans. The final issue is not whether we will conquer drug abuse, but how soon. Part of this answer lies with the Congress now and the speed with which it moves to support the struggle against drug abuse.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
June 17, 1971

NOTE: The proposed drug abuse control legislation was S. 2097.

On the same day, the White House released a summary of highlights of Administration actions in the fields of drug abuse prevention and control and a fact sheet on the message.

204 Remarks to Eastern Media Executives Attending a Briefing on Domestic Policy in Rochester, New York. *June* 18, 1971

Ladies and gentlemen:

I am very happy to participate in this media briefing. I was reminded by the elevator operator, who, incidentally, is the manager of the hotel—I don't think they can afford elevator operators at the present time—that the last time I came to Rochester we brought a blizzard. This time we did not bring a blizzard but I imagine after what you have been exposed to, you think you have been exposed to a blizzard of words.

I am not going to try to burden you too much with what I am sure has been covered better by the briefing team up to this point. What I would like to try to do, however, is to put in perspective some of these domestic problems and briefly to point out how I believe they affect also our situation with regard to foreign policy. To do that, I think it might be well to start with a comment that was made after a press conference I had on June 1, just a couple of weeks ago, by a listener, a viewer, to the effect that the viewer was extremely interested in a number of domestic questions, and why was it that of the questions in the press conference, that out of 25 or so that were answered, 22 were on foreign policy or related to foreign policy.

So I went back over the press confer-

ences of this year, except for one that I had in San Clemente where I limited it to domestic policy, and I found, of course, that that was exactly the case. Eighty-five percent of all questions asked at Presidential press conferences since I have become President, and also 85 percent of all the questions asked when I have appeared before editors' groups, as I did before the ASNE [American Society of Newspaper Editors] in Washington, have been on foreign policy or national security-related issues.

Consequently, we thought that in these media briefings it might be important to bring to the attention of the opinion leaders in this part of the country, as we have tried to do and will be trying to do in other parts of the country as well, the very important domestic issues, issues which, because foreign policy at the moment seems to be so important that it obscures the others—we cannot have an effective foreign policy unless we are able effectively to deal with our problems at home.

I will return to that theme in my conclusion, but let me begin by touching on several of the issues that you have already heard discussed and give you, if I may, some predictions about what is going to happen in the Congress.

I will predict flatly that in this session of the Congress revenue sharing in some form will pass. I will predict flatly that in this session of the Congress welfare reform in some form will pass.

As far as the second is concerned, it may be that the problem in the Senate will become so difficult that it may slop over into the next session. But in this Congress both revenue sharing and welfare reform will pass.

And also, I will predict flatly that Government reorganization—and here Governor Connally is the real expert in this field because he was on the committee that recommended it—Government reorganization will begin; at least one of the reorganization plans will be passed.

Let me say in that respect that I have been very pleased, and I think Governor Connally has been pleased, by the bipartisan approach that the chairmen of the committees have taken to this. Chairman Holifield, for example, who very bluntly is opposed to the reorganization plans at first blush, and Chairman McClellan in the Senate, have both said that they wanted to have hearings and give the Congress an opportunity to decide.

If the Congress gets an opportunity to decide on Government reorganization, on welfare reform, on revenue sharing, the majority of the Congress will reflect the majority of the country.

The reason why I am confident that welfare reform and revenue sharing will pass is because a majority of the country want changes made. I use the term "in some form" deliberately. This Administration is working with a Congress of the other party. Even if we had one of our own party, the Congress always needs to and must work its will on administration proposals. Sometimes the Congress improves them. Sometimes we think the action of the Congress does not improve them.

But be that as it may, it must be a joint enterprise, particularly when the Congress is in the hands of one party and the Presidency in the hands of another. But we believe that we have the cooperative framework worked out for these three areas.

Now let me go precisely, if I could, to the first: revenue sharing.

On revenue sharing, great emphasis has

been placed on the crisis of the cities, the crisis of county government, the crisis of State government in finance. And at first blush, that appears to be the major reason for it. It is a major reason. It is, however, in my opinion, not the most compelling reason as far as people are concerned. In my view, the most compelling argument for revenue sharing, one that goes directly to people, is what will happen to property taxes.

I have found that the property tax at the present time in the United States is the most unpopular tax. It is the fastest rising tax, and it is the most unfair tax of all. It is the most unpopular because it is the one that people have to pay twice a year. It doesn't come out painlessly as does the income tax—more or less painlessly as far as the average wage earner is concerned. The property tax bill comes in and the individual has to get up the money in order to pay the tax bill. It is the fastest rising. You probably had some statistics already given to you. Over the past 10 years it has gone up two and a half times across the Nation. In the State of New York I think it has tripled. In the past 4 years, the property taxes in the States represented at this regional briefing have gone up 45 percent. And as a result, we are having a taxpayers' revolt, a taxpayers' revolt not directed so much to sales taxes or income tax or Federal tax—all of which have moved some but not nearly at this escalating pace—but a taxpayers' revolt with regard to bonds, the various activities that are essential in order to build schools and other institutions which, of course, are the responsibility of local government.

Unless we find a way to stop the rise in property taxes, local government and State government in this country are going to have a financial crisis of enormous proportions. Revenue sharing is the only hope of stopping the rise of property taxes.

Oh, there is another hope, and that is, cut the cost of government at the State level, cut it at the city level. The State of New York, of course, is trying to do both. But once the people get used to certain levels of services it is very difficult to cut. Run the country or the State or the unit of government more economically? Yes, some cuts can be made. But as demands go up, inevitably the cost of government will go up, and the taxes must come from some area.

So as far as the hope for reduction of property tax is concerned, revenue sharing provides the only hope. If revenue sharing is passed, it could stop the rise in property taxes by giving the States, local governments, and county governments a new source of income.

If revenue sharing, on the other hand, is passed, looking ahead it has been estimated by our experts in the various departments, particularly the Treasury Department, that it could result in a reduction of property taxes across the country, of course varying, depending upon the situation in each State and local government unit, a reduction of approximately 30 percent.[1]

So it is this issue that I think particularly should be hammered home by those who believe that revenue sharing is an idea whose time has come, because to the average person around the country he is concerned about the crisis of his Gov-

[1] The reference was to an estimated possible 30 percent offset of annual local property tax increases. (I.e., revenue sharing proceeds to all communities were estimated to equal 30 percent of total projected property tax increases in an average year.)

ernor or his mayor or his county official. He is more concerned about the crisis of his own budget rather than the budget of the Federal Government or the State government or the city government. And property tax is the one that gets to him.

Consequently, we emphasize that as one of the major reasons for moving in this particular area.

I pointed out, too, that the property tax not only is the most unpopular; it is the fastest rising. It is the most unfair. It is the most unfair because it hits the people in the lower income brackets the hardest. We all know that if an individual is moving up in the income area, his ability to deduct property taxes from his gross income means that the burden of property tax, while still significant, is not all that important.

On the other hand, for the lower income taxpayer, the individual who perhaps takes the standard deduction, as those property taxes escalate, the burden is much, much greater upon him. And also, all surveys show that the lower a family's income, the larger a proportion of his income goes to housing and, particularly if he is a homeowner, to his property tax.

One personal anecdote that brings this home: I met the other day with a group of leaders of older or what we call senior citizens from around the country. They were competing groups. Some were for one idea, some were for others. The one thing that they were unanimous on was this: They pointed out that 75 percent of all senior citizens in this country own their apartments or their houses, and they said the one greatest interest they have is in getting some method of stopping the rise in property taxes which was proving to be confiscatory and a burden which they would not continue to be able to bear.

So in terms of revenue sharing, then, I believe that we could put it this way: The chairman of the Ways and Means Committee in the House opposes it. The ranking Republican in the House [Committee] also opposes it.

On the other hand, we find that a majority of Governors favor revenue sharing. A majority of county officials favor it. A majority of city officials favor it. A majority of the people favor it. And our polls indicate—and we have made some polls of Members of Congress and the Senate—that while the Members differ as to the form, if the bill were to come to the floor, the House and the Senate Members would reflect the country and a majority will vote for it.

When you have that much for a particular proposal, you can be confident that it will be acted upon, and that the committee chairmen, those who have, of course, the responsibility in this area, will move in response to what is obviously an overwhelming public mandate.

I turn now to welfare reform. It makes no sense to have revenue sharing unless we reform the institutions of government, because otherwise all we are doing is to put more money into obsolete institutions, costly, inefficient institutions that are wasting, in many cases, the taxpayers' money.

Now, how does revenue sharing, and, therefore, welfare reform—how do the two come together? They are closely related because when we look at the reasons for escalating costs of local and State government, increasing welfare costs is one of the major. Consequently, we must do something about the welfare program, not only in human terms, a point that we have emphasized in our family assistance

program, but also in terms of this problem of getting at the cost of government. As I have often pointed out, and I will not go into the details here—all of you are aware of our program—it is one that provides for all of those who are in need. It provides also for the working poor, a bridge for those who are on welfare to move to part-time jobs or poorly paying jobs, and not to have an incentive to stay on welfare.

But the important point to make from a political standpoint is this: Why did welfare reform fail last year? Just let me recount what happened. It passed very substantially in the House. It bogged down in the Senate. It bogged down in the Senate because Senators felt, particularly those in the committee—and perhaps even a majority of the Senate might have reflected this view, although I think a majority would have voted for it if they had gotten the chance—but it bogged down in the Senate because many Senators felt that instead of reforming welfare we were simply adding millions more to the welfare rolls. Putting it more bluntly, many of them said that what we were asking the country to provide was a guaranteed annual income for people whether they worked or were willing to work or not.

Consequently, we have reformed our welfare reform proposal. We have reformed it by strengthening the work requirements and the work incentives. It is not fair to have a neighborhood in which one individual works to support his own children and then pays taxes out of his income to support the children of his neighbor who is able to work but refuses to work and refuses to support them.

Consequently, while we do provide assistance for families, while we do provide for the working poor, there is a very strict requirement that if an individual has job training, if he is able to work and he refuses to work, he is off of welfare.

This, I believe, is the key to opening the Senate door for the passage of welfare reform. It is already out of the House committee. The House, in my opinion, will vote it. When it goes to the Senate we will again have the battle. But, I believe, there is the fact that we have strengthened the work requirements, and we have made it absolutely clear that this is not a guaranteed annual income.

A guaranteed annual income means in effect we will guarantee an individual an income whether he works or is willing to work or not. I don't believe in that, the country doesn't believe in it, an overwhelming majority are against it.

What we provide is an income for all of those who need it, but no income and no incentives for those who are able to work and refuse to work. That is the key to the passage of welfare reform. And because we have found that key I believe we are going to pass it.

Government reorganization I will touch upon just briefly. It is a very complicated matter. I simply would summarize the attitude of most people toward government in this way: Most people are pretty fed up with it. They are fed up with it at all levels. They are fed up with it because they think it costs too much, they think it doesn't work, and also they think they don't have anything to say about it.

Government reorganization, combined with revenue sharing, answers that fundamental concern of the American people. It will reduce the cost of government by making it more efficient. It will make it work better. And, through revenue sharing's proposals for local and State deci-

sions, it will give people a chance to have something to say, more to say, about their government—what is done with their tax money, what programs they want, rather than what programs some bureaucrats in Washington may want.

Now we come to the problem of drugs, which I know has probably already been fairly well covered and it has been more recently covered in your newspapers and television and radio programs last night and this morning since I presented it to the bipartisan leaders and then to the press yesterday.

I would like to summarize briefly the attitude with regard to the traffic in illegal drugs by knocking down some misconceptions.

First, that drug addiction is a ghetto problem.

It used to be. However, the fastest rising use of drugs now is not in the ghettos, but in the suburban, higher income neighborhoods, and among groups in many of the so-called better families, and particularly those families with children in high school and some of the better colleges and universities, if we are able to select between better and not better.

Second, it has been assumed that the drug problem was primarily a nonwhite problem.

It used to be. However, the fastest rise in drug addiction is not at the present time among blacks. It is among whites. And whites have now substantially passed blacks in terms of the use of drugs—still it is a very serious problem among blacks.

As Congressman Rangel, who is the Congressman, as you know, from New York, very eloquently said when I met with the Black Caucus, this, he thought, was the major problem in his particular district that we could deal with.

Nevertheless, we must not sit here and believe that it is simply a primarily nonwhite problem.

And, finally, the idea that, as far as the drug problem is concerned, it is one that has simply arisen because of the involvement in Vietnam.

It is true that young men who go to Vietnam are able to purchase heroin at lower prices than they could in their environments at home. But a recent study indicated—and these statistics, of course, are not as complete as they might be—it is estimated that 50 percent, approximately, of the young men who go into the armed services and go to Vietnam, or Europe for that matter, before they go into the service have tried drugs of one kind or another. Of course, what this indicates is that the problem is national in scope. It is one that crosses all lines of the economy, the poor as well as those that are not poor, black and white, primarily young, and, therefore, it is one, since it works primarily on the young, that can be so destructive to the character of the country.

As you know, we have a four-point program. One that will deal with the supply. And I have instructed the Ambassadors that they should have, of course, great concern about foreign policy; but that we can have the most successful foreign policy in the world, good relations with any country in the world, and if we destroy the character of our young people in this country it isn't going to make any difference. Therefore, we have got to put stopping the drug traffic, stopping the source of supply, first in the various countries where it is a problem, and we are doing that.

Second, in the field of enforcement, here the Secretary of the Treasury has a

major responsibility and some really very significant gains have been made. We have been pulling it together; it is much better coordinated. But, on the other hand, there is a lot that remains to be done due to the fact that the problem has become more and more serious.

And third, and this was the major announcement that was made yesterday, in the treatment of drug addicts we finally are pulling it together in one program.

I hope that Dr. Jaffe, the man that we have appointed to head this up, can come up to appear before—and I am sure he would be able to and would be glad to if you invite him, some of you—to meet with some of your editorial boards collectively or otherwise and tell you what he did in Illinois and what I have told him to do nationally.

In the field of drug addiction, what we have found is that there are nine Government agencies, Federal Government agencies, working in this field. What often happens is that these Government agencies are more interested in knowing who is going to get the biggest appropriation, who is going to get the most slots, than in doing the job.

Dr. Jaffe is controversial. He is blunt. He is abrasive. He is going to knock heads together, and I have told him to, because we need a controversial, blunt, abrasive man to take this problem. And one thing we are going to accomplish: We are going to see to it that the nine Government agencies that are presently operating in this field quit fighting each other and start fighting the drug problem.

This is going to take leadership from the very top because when you have these interagency fights, as the Secretary of the Treasury knows, and the Under Secretary will tell you, they are all equals. But usually they will pay attention if the White House tells them. Sometimes, at least, they do.

In any event, we are backing up Dr. Jaffe in this. He will have the total backing of the White House and our total interest.

I mentioned abrasiveness, toughness, and the rest. I am also impressed by him because he is a very compassionate man. He understands this problem. We must be compassionate with regard to the problem of drug addiction. He is one who understands it, but one who also realizes that we must solve it.

The other point that I make involves you: that is that the fourth part of any program is education. Dr. Jaffe points up that we can cut off the source of supply. We can prosecute the pushers; we can treat the addicts. But in the final analysis, unless we establish a new attitude among our people—and here you have got to start with young people at high school, even grammar school, age—it means that the traffic will continue to grow. So education—education by the media, by the newspapers and the television and the radio, by the teachers, by all leaders of opinion—is an absolute essential or our program will fail.

So we ask for your help in this. We are going to be sending a lot of materials out. Please don't treat it as boiler plate. It is, in my view, as I have indicated, drug traffic is public enemy number one domestically in the United States today, and we must wage a total offensive, worldwide, nationwide, governmentwide, and if, I might say so, mediawide.

Let me touch briefly on one other area that I think it is appropriate to mention in Rochester, because in this city I recall 4 or 5 years ago there were some difficult

problems in the field of race relations.

Here I think it is important for us to realize that those of us in positions of leadership, of opinion, you, particularly, the opinionmakers, have a very great responsibility. We can point to some progress. I, of course, have a rather diverse background in that respect. I went to school in the West, grew up in the West; I have lived in the North, in New York City; and I also went to school for 3 years in the South at Duke University in Durham, North Carolina. I think I know the Nation.

It is interesting and ironic to note that the section of the country that has the most difficult problem has made the most progress in the field of race relations over the past 3 years. For example, 38 percent of all black students in the South go to majority white schools. Twenty-eight percent of all black students in the North go to majority white schools. There has been a doubling—I mean a tripling—of the number in the South in the past year. There has been no change whatever in the North in this number over these past 3 years.

We could go on by dissecting the problem and pointing out how far we still have to go in the South, how far we have to go in the North. We could talk about other areas: job opportunity, housing, and so forth.

I would simply like to leave this thought with you with regard to this: It is the responsibility of the national Administration to enforce the law. We will, and we are.

In the field of school desegregation, in the field of fair housing and all the rest, we shall enforce the law. But I recall in my first year in law school, the first day, the professor in contracts started the course before we opened the case books, and he said, "Gentlemen, before you study all these cases I want to say one thing. A contract is only as good as the will of the parties to keep it."

To paraphrase that, we must recognize that a law is only as good as the will of people to obey it. That will must come, and it will only come, through leadership, again from the media and the rest, all of us who have this responsibility, who will, one, not create among the minds of people that they must like a law in order to obey it; but to create at least among those who have the problem, whatever it may be in this difficult area, to create among them this attitude that once the courts have spoken, once the law has been laid down, then it is their responsibility to carry it out.

That is why when we worked on the problem of Southern school desegregation we could have gone the other way. We could have demagogued it a year ago, when the Supreme Court handed down its decision, and we would have had massive resistance. But we called in the white leaders and the black leaders—and we met with them hour after hour after hour—from all of the major States. I personally met with them at the White House. They left; and many of the white leaders particularly—even some of the blacks—but most of the white leaders said, "We don't agree with the law, we don't like the law, but we do not want our part of the country to be a non-law-abiding area."

It is that type of an attitude that we need, of course, to inculcate all across this country.

Now if I could move finally to putting this in the perspective of our foreign policy, without going into great detail in that

field, because that would take me another 25 minutes, and you, I know, are on a rather tight schedule.

At the present time, the eyes of the Nation primarily in the field of foreign policy are riveted on Vietnam. I understand that. My eyes are on Vietnam, and I have a responsibility to end the American involvement there in a way that will contribute to a lasting peace.

I will simply say to get that subject in perspective, if all of the great issues in foreign policy which come across my desk were as certain of solution as Vietnam, I would feel very sure about the future of peace in the world for the last third of this century. Because in Vietnam, either through negotiation or through our process of withdrawal and the replacement of American forces by the South Vietnamese for their own defense, the American involvement is ending. American casualties are going down.

It is on that record that we expect to be judged. We are going to succeed. So what we have to do, then, since we have here a problem which, of course, blanks out virtually everything else in the field of foreign policy, is put it aside for the moment, recognizing that further down the road there are other problems that will be with us after Vietnam leaves, as it will most certainly leave.

Some of these problems you have, of course, covered very, very well in the media. I will touch upon them only briefly.

So that we don't have any false sense of euphoria—and in this area I think I would be the last to accept the charge of being euphoric about our relations with countries that have very different interests from ours—but so that we don't have any false sense of euphoria, let me set forth our relations first with the Soviet Union, then with Mainland China, and, finally, in terms of our foreign policy generally.

With the Soviet Union, the leaders of the two major countries are committed to work toward an offensive-defensive limitation of nuclear arms this year. That doesn't mean we have got it. It doesn't mean we can be sure. It does mean that the chances are good that we will have some kind of an agreement, because the leaders at the top having made this public commitment, we have an interest in seeing that it be done.

This can, therefore, provide, and I believe will provide, a step toward moving in other directions because if the two super powers are able to agree in an area that affects their vital interests—as, of course, this whole matter of nuclear arms does—so greatly, then the two super powers should be able to move in other areas that are primarily peripheral. I do not want to suggest, for example, that the Caribbean is peripheral as far as we are concerned. It may be as far as the Soviet Union is concerned.

I do not want to suggest, for example, that the Mideast is peripheral as far as the Soviet Union is concerned. It may be.

But whatever the case may be, whether it is the Mideast, whether it is the Caribbean, or where we get down to an area that affects more directly the vital interests of both major powers—and I mean Western Europe and Eastern Europe—a movement toward some kind of an agreement wtih regard to nuclear arms give us some hope of progress in the other areas.

What I am saying to you today is not that I predict a Mideastern settlement. I do say that it is in the interests of both major powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, not to allow that very explosive part of the world to drive them

71-234—72——51

into a confrontation that neither of them wants, although our interests are very diametrically opposed in that part of the world—except our common interests in not becoming involved in a war.

I do suggest that in Europe, for example, that whether we talk about the Berlin Settlement or the MBFR [mutual and balanced force reductions] settlement, whatever the case might be, there is a long, hard road of negotiation ahead. But what is important to note is that both nations, looking to their own interests as we have in the SALT talks to date, and as we both should, recognizing that our interests are different, recognizing that we are not going necessarily to like each other in terms of our foreign policy interests, both nations, because they know the danger of not agreeing, are moving at least through an era of negotiation.

Turning briefly to China, we should not overestimate what has happened. I do not refer, of course, to the visit of the table tennis team, but I am referring to the more significant fact: What has happened is that we have opened the door as far as trade and travel are concerned to Mainland China. That door now being open, we shall see what comes through the door. The question, of course, which we must consider is: Why, what does it mean?

Let me put it in perspective this way: As far as Mainland China is concerned, it is at present not a major nuclear power. It at present is not a major economic power. Japan, with one-fifth of the population of Mainland China, has one and a half times as much GNP as Mainland China.

But looking down to the end of this century, to the kind of a world that we leave for our children, we will have a billion Chinese who, because they are Chinese—not because they have a Communist government—are among the most creative and dynamic people in the world, a billion Chinese.

If we have those billion Chinese people outside the world community, living in isolation—isolated, of course, by the Soviet Union, as is the present case, and isolated from the other major power, the United States, with Japan in the middle—you can see what the prospects for peace in the Pacific might be, how dim they might be. And you can also see what the dangers might be, regardless of what agreements the Soviet Union and the United States might make out to reduce tensions that we have, regardless of what might happen in other parts of the world. Therefore, anyone in a position of responsibility at this time in the United States must look to that future and in a careful, measured way, as we are, move toward a normalization of relations—and it will not come quickly—and toward a time when Mainland China will not be isolated from the world community.

We are making progress. I think that the prospects are that more will be made, and I would suggest that it might well be—I do not know how history ever judges an administration; no man knows while he is in the job—but it might well be that the most significant thing that happened during this Administration has been that we took the first step of a journey that takes a thousand miles.

Now finally, if I could say a word about our foreign policy as it relates to our domestic policy and express a conviction which may not be widely supported among many of you who are, to your credit, honest critics of our foreign policy. Let me simply summarize in this way: The United States, needless to say, has done many things in the field of foreign policy

in its long history that are subject to criticism. We all realize how controversial our role in the war in Southeast Asia has been. The United States, on the other hand, not because we asked for it, but because of the accidents of history and the great traumatic results of World War II—the United States is the only nation in the free world that can play the role in this next 25 years that will make the difference between war and peace.

In that respect, I believe the world is fortunate that the United States is in that position. We have our faults. Look at our record: We have been in four wars in this century. We didn't start any of them. The United States in each instance believed then, and we believe now, that we were fighting for freedom rather than to destroy it; that we were fighting for the forces that would bring peace rather than to destroy it.

That is something which I think reassures the world to an extent, and I can say that in the conversations that I have with foreign leaders—including the conversation I had before coming up here today with a very eloquent spokesman for the new Africa, the President of Senegal—the United States with all of its faults is not feared by any of the smaller nations of the world, that we would use our power to destroy their freedom.

The United States, on the other hand, has the responsibility to use its power and its economic strength, use it effectively in the cause of peace in this last third of a century. I think we will.

On the other hand, we cannot do it unless we have the strength at home—the strength at home economically and the strength at home militarily, of course, to carry out our commitments; and another kind of strength which comes from something other than wealth and military power.

I often refer to the fact that I marvel, and I think all historians marvel, at the young America of 190 years ago. It was weak in arms and poor in goods but rich in spirit, and caught the imagination of the world.

Today, America is strong in arms and rich in goods, and many think poor in spirit—doubts about our role in the world, doubts about what is going to happen at home.

I simply want to say in conclusion that the other day I was sitting by an ambassador from a major European country at dinner. He had just returned from a month's trip around the United States. He had been to Portland and Seattle and Denver. He had been also to Cincinnati and Kentucky, to Louisville. He came back. He said, "I saw a very different America abroad in this land than I see in Washington." He said, "Here I get the impression"—and he was not being critical of his Washington colleagues or the Washington press or the Congressmen or the Senators, it is just the fact that in Washington we are obsessed with the problems. He said, "Out there in this country there is a vibrancy, there is a spirit." He said—even in the Seattle area where there is much unemployment because of the airframe problem—he said, "There is a spirit, a vibrancy, an idealism which is very heartening to a visitor from abroad."

In my view, I believe that we have the best chance since World War II to look forward to a generation of peace. We will succeed, however, in the world in having that generation of peace only if the United States plays a role, plays it with its military strength, using it with restraint to preserve the peace, never to break it; plays it with its economic strength, and that

means vitality; but plays it also with the spirit, a spirit of idealism which was ours in the beginning and which I believe deep down in the American character is still here.

There are many forces that would erode that strength, forces like drugs, forces like division between the races and the generations, forces like national defeatism, negativism. All that I would suggest to the media leaders in this room is that we need your criticism, and we will try to react responsibly to it.

We need your constructive suggestions. But the Nation needs, at times, to be reassured that with all of our faults we have played a useful role in the world and will continue to, and must continue to, and that with all of our faults this Nation, to billions in the world, is the land where there is more opportunity, more wealth more reasonably shared, than any nation of the world. The lacking ingredient could be whether America, as it has become rich and strong, has become poor in spirit. It is the American spirit that you and I really have in the palm of our hands, and it is that area that we must constantly, of course, nurture, because we will be responsible if that spirit should fail.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1 p.m. in the Tudor Room at the Flagship Hotel.

Later the same day, the President met with a committee of New York State citizens interested in revenue sharing. Lists of participants at both the briefing and the meeting were released by the White House.

205 Remarks on Arrival in Atlantic City, New Jersey. *June* 22, 1971

WE WANT to express our very great appreciation for your warm welcome. I understood the meeting was inside, but I am glad it is out here. I think, too, that you know Mrs. Nixon and I celebrated our 31st wedding anniversary yesterday. We consider this a celebration. You should come to Atlantic City.

And we have a lot of distinguished guests with us who will be with us on Air Force One: your two Senators, Senator Case, Senator Harrison Williams—we will let you all take a bow so they can see you—Senator Case and Senator Williams; Governor Cahill; Congressman Sandman; Congressman "Doc" [Durward G.] Hall, from Missouri, one of the few doctors in the United States Congress; and then, of course, I mentioned the other Senators, but *the* senator here is "Hap" Farley.[1] Do you know what he said to me? Hap said a very nice thing when we came in. He said, "You know, Dick, you are in home territory in Atlantic City." We are glad to be here.

I would just like to say this one word before we go into the meeting: I realize that in this great crowd here many of you are vacationing—I hope you are, and I hope the water is good, and I hope you enjoy the sun as I did in Florida a few days ago—but also I want you to know that for one who has the responsibility to serve as the President of this country, there is nothing that is more heartwarming than to come into the country to see a great crowd like this, people who are Republicans and Democrats, young peo-

[1] State Senator Frank S. Farley.

ple, older people, people in all walks of life; people who respect the office of the Presidency; people, also, who love this country and believe in America. It is good to be here.

I particularly want to say a word—I noticed a few signs along about young people and their future. If there is anything, one thing we all think about, it, of course, is about the lives that we are living.

I am going to talk to the doctors about many of the problems, as to how they can keep America physically healthy. But let me say that the greatest responsibility that those of us in public life have is to see to it that the young people that we see here—and we see so many, I see the Boy Scouts, the Girl Scouts, and the others—to see that they can grow up in a world and in a land that is at peace with the world. We are going to do that. We are going to accomplish that so that they can have what we have not had in our generation.

And most important, I can tell you, and I am sure that whether we are Democrats or Republicans on this platform, or whatever you are in the audience, as I speak to the doctors about physical health, there is another kind of health that is even more important. You can have a strong physical body and an empty shell with no spirit, no morality, no character, and you don't have an individual who really can contribute to his country.

Let America be strong—strong physically—and rich, but, above everything else, let's have the moral and spiritual strength that America has had from the time of its beginning.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at approximately 11:15 a.m. in front of the Chalfonte-Haddon Hall Hotel.

206 Remarks to the American Medical Association's House of Delegates Meeting in Atlantic City, New Jersey. *June* 22, 1971

Dr. Bornemeier, all of the distinguished guests on the platform, and all of the distinguished delegates to this convention:

I very much appreciated that reference by Dr. Bornemeier to the year 1966. Let me say he had a lot more confidence in my future then than I had, I can assure you. I recall, too, the pleasure that I have had in addressing the AMA on another occasion in Atlantic City, in 1951. Some of you will be old enough to remember that. I was then just a Senator. So this makes the third time that I have had the privilege to address this organization in this session.

In doing a little checking with regard to when Presidents—at least that means Presidents of the United States; I understand all of these front rows are either presidents or past presidents of AMA—but in checking the record I find that as far as Presidents of the United States are concerned, in the 120 years of this organization only four have had the privilege of addressing you. The last time was President Eisenhower in 1959. I am honored to be here as President, after having had the opportunity to address you as a Senator, as a former Vice President, and now as the Chief Executive of the Nation.

It is very important that a President of the United States speak to this organization. The Presidents of the United States should, it seems to me, find more opportunities, perhaps, than four in 120 years to come before this organization for reasons that I will cover in my remarks today, because this is a very important organization.

I am referring to matters going far beyond the special competence, the technical competence, represented in such degree in this room. For example, just yesterday, as some of you may have noted in the press, my wife and I celebrated our 31st wedding anniversary. It was a very inexpensive celebration. Normally we go out on such occasions. In this case we stayed in and watched television and watched a rerun of our daughter's wedding at the White House.

On that occasion, as I was thinking of that 31st wedding anniversary and pulling together my remarks today, I was reminded of a story which is probably very old to an organization of doctors, about a doctor who is celebrating one of his wedding anniversaries. He was trying to get out of the house for his weekly bridge game. And he told his wife that he just had a call from a patient and he would have to leave. She said, "But, dear, is it serious? Is it important?" And he said, "Oh, it is very serious and very important. There are three doctors there already." [*Laughter*]

What that, of course, brings home to us is, when you have any gathering of doctors, it is a very serious occasion and a very important occasion. So this gathering of far more than four, of thousands of doctors from all over America, is important. It is important for reasons that I think, perhaps, we can find as we study the history of America and go even further back than that.

Disraeli once said that "the health of the people is really the foundation upon which all their happiness and all their powers as a state depend."

That profound statement is one that we should consider today, and we should think of health in a much broader context than simply the physical health to which you have devoted your lives. I am happy for this opportunity to salute this profession which has contributed so much to the health of the American people and to the strength of this Nation.

America is a strong country. It is a good country. And one of the reasons it is a strong and a good country is because it is a healthy country, and we appreciate what you have done to make it a healthy country.

You should take pride in those accomplishments—all Americans should. For we can never hope to repair any weaknesses that may exist in American medicine unless we fully appreciate its towering strengths.

One of the strengths of American medicine has always been that it has had a restless and inquiring spirit. All of you are aware of this. This spirit was summed up in a statement which the distinguished physician Charles Mayo made years ago about his equally distinguished brother, Will. He was "filled," said Charles, "with the genius of finding opportunities." The same point was made more recently by Dr. Jonas Salk when he said, "The greatest reward for doing is the opportunity to do more."

As we look at the current picture of health care in this country, we see many

opportunities "for doing more." Those opportunities have been recognized by this organization. You have spoken to them in your resolutions. You will be considering them in your meetings at this convention. Among them—the opportunities for doing more, problems to provide opportunities and their solutions—are these: There are too few doctors in some areas as you know, too many in others. We see a growing need for more health personnel, more efficient training. We have too many doctors spending too much time on routine tasks that others could help them with. We recognize the growing menace of malpractice suits which force every doctor to look upon his patients as potential plaintiffs.

As we look at American medicine we also see a need to place more emphasis on primary care, on preventive medicine, on outpatient treatment. And we see that despite our considerable progress in this area, in the field of voluntary health insurance, financial considerations still deny quality care to many Americans while the dark threat of catastrophic costs still imperils most of our people.

These are challenges. We can be grateful that our country now has entered into a period of productive discussion about the best ways of meeting them.

I say to this organization that I am sure many of you are concerned about what may come in the future in the reform of health care systems. But I say: Welcome this debate. You should join it. We need you to join it. We need your assistance in it. It will be a great debate. It will be a strong one. It will be one that will command the attention of the country in the weeks and months and, perhaps, for years ahead.

I noted with interest that your new president, Dr. Hall,[1] for several years has been the boxing and wrestling commissioner of the State of Nevada. Well, you need a boxing and wrestling commissioner in this debate that is coming in, I can assure you. For out of this time of discussion and decision will surely come a whole new era in the history of American health care.

Last February, I offered my own contributions to this discussion, a wide range of proposals that I have discussed with some of your leaders. And these proposals are designed to balance growing demand for care with a growing supply of services. They are founded on the principle that we cannot simply buy our way to better medicine.

It is very easy sometimes to think that the plan that costs the most will help the most, but often the situation is just the opposite. In fact, I believe that the most expensive plan that has been offered in the current discussion on health care in America—a plan for nationalized compulsory health insurance—is the plan that would actually do the most to hurt American health care in this Nation.

This is not a new position for me. I made the same general statement in my speech in 1951 to this organization and in 1966. Let me give you the reasons why I have reached this conviction. The conviction is strongly held, as I am sure is the conviction held by those who advocate this plan.

First of all, if this plan went into operation, by fiscal year 1974 it would cost the Federal Government over $77 billion.

---

[1] Dr. Wesley W. Hall, president-elect of the American Medical Association.

Let's bring it down to matters that all of us can better understand. It would drive the health share of the Federal budget to nearly 25 percent. In other words, 25 percent of the total Federal budget would be going for health care. And that would mean that we would limit our ability for handling other social problems.

Our present Federal health programs, if continued, would cost the average family in America an estimated $405 per year by 1974. My plan would increase that cost, but increase it only to $466 per year. Under the nationalized compulsory health insurance program, the average household's, the average family's, American Federal tax bill for health programs alone would be tripled to $1,271 a year.

Nationalized health insurance would exact a very high price from our people in terms of dollars and cents. These figures demonstrate that point. But, in my opinion, it would exact an even higher price, a price in terms of the quality of American medicine. On that score, let me just speak as a layman. When I am sick, I want to be able to get a doctor. But above everything else, I want a doctor who is a good doctor. I am interested in quality as well as the ability to provide for a doctor.

When the Government pays all the bills for health care, then the Government becomes the only party with a strong interest in restraining costs. This inevitably means that Government officials would have to approve hospital budgets. They would have to set fee schedules. They would have to take other steps that would eventually lead to the complete Federal domination of our medical system. Now that is the road that some advocate. I think it is the wrong road.

Rather than freeing the doctor so that he can do more to help his patients, nationalized health insurance would burden him with the dead weight of more bureaucracy, more forms, more redtape. I know what kind of forms and redtape that many of you have to fill out now.

Just let me again speak as a layman. When I go to a doctor, when I am sick, I want him to worry about me and not to be worrying about some form he has to fill out for the Government.

Rather than expanding the range of choice—and we all believe that that is certainly something we want in our society—for doctors and patients, it would severely narrow that range. Rather than encouraging more responsibility at the local level, it would concentrate more responsibility in Washington. Rather than stimulating competition and diversity, it would dull the incentive to experiment and innovate.

The Administration's Health Insurance Partnership would build on the strengths of the present health care system. Nationalized health insurance would tear that system apart.

America's health care system needs reform. You have recognized that. But we can never improve our country's medical system by working against our country's medical profession. Other nations that have gone down this road have found this out. No system of health care will ever work unless the doctors of the Nation make it work. We need your help to make it work and in developing a system. So let us work together for a system—a system that will continue to provide for choice, that will continue to provide for quality, and one that at the same time will deal with the pressing problems of

costs in an effective way that will not destroy quality, a problem which all of us are deeply aware of.

I would like to talk to you today about another subject, a challenge in the health care field related to it very directly, a problem which I note again that you are taking up in your general sessions, in fact, this afternoon.

I refer to the problem of drug abuse. Drug abuse, I have said recently, is America's public enemy number one. It is the greatest of all present threats to our social future. Oh, we used to be able to brush it off. We used to say it is a ghetto problem, or it is a black problem, or it is a problem of the poor and the depressed and the rest.

But today it is no longer just a ghetto problem. It is no longer just a problem that primarily affects those that are nonwhite, or the poor, because its impact cuts across all social and economic lines in our country.

It has moved from the ghetto to the suburbs, from the poor to the upper middle class and the upper class in terms of economic income. It afflicts the rich and the poor, the blacks and the whites, the servicemen and the civilians, and the ghettos and the suburbs. It spreads like a plague throughout our society. It erodes our Nation's strength. It destroys our Nation's spirit. And, worst of all, it undermines our Nation's future.

I had a letter recently from a man who said that we are in danger of losing "a whole generation of Americans to drugs."

Two years ago I recommended a series of new laws to crack down on drug abuse, particularly in the enforcement field. Those laws passed the Congress last fall; they are beginning to prove their value. But more is needed, particularly in the field of rehabilitation.

That is why I have launched a totally new program for a total offensive—worldwide, nationwide, and through all segments of society—against drug abuse.

The program I announced includes strong efforts to cut off the supply of dangerous narcotics at their source in other countries. It more than doubles our budget for rehabilitation. It moves against drug abuse in the military. It sets up a new command post on drugs in the Executive Office of the President.

The President has many responsibilities. There are probably too many responsibilities that come to his desk. But this problem is so serious that I feel that the President must take personal command and personal responsibility. And that is what I have done.

That is why I have named as head of this new office in the White House one of the great experts in this field, a man, Dr. Jerome Jaffe, of great experience in Illinois. I think he represents the best of America's medical profession. He is tough. He is no nonsense. But he is also a man who is compassionate. He understands the problem. There is one assignment I have given, among many others. Believe it or not, there are nine Federal agencies that work in the field of drugs in the United States in drug abuse, and too often I have found, over the past 2 years, that those agencies are competing with each other for personnel, competing with each other for attention, competing with each other before Congressional committees for funds.

And I have given one instruction to Dr. Jaffe that I have ordered him to carry out without any question, and that

71-234—72——52

is this: The Government agencies, the nine of them in this field, are going to quit fighting each other and start fighting the problem a little more.

Now, the offensive that I have mentioned in drug abuse places new emphasis on education because that, of course, is the most important of all. We can stop the source of supply in one country; it moves to another. We can have stronger enforcement and people will go around it if the demand is great enough and if people are willing to pay. We can have rehabilitation but then that is probably too late if the problem goes that far.

So we need education—education as to the dangers of drug abuse. And this is an area where human resources are going to make the difference. But the effectiveness of education depends ultimately on communication, on the trust that grows up between one human being and another. What is a good educator? Well, he must combine compassion with firmness, a sense of authority with a sense of sympathy, a capacity for discipline, a capacity for involvement.

I just described you. That is what doctors are. These are virtues you possess. They are values that you and your profession prize. And that is why I look to the medical profession, and all America looks to the medical profession, for leadership in this field of education in drug abuse.

Let me treat two aspects of the problem, one that is somewhat in your field. And if I step over the bounds of my own competence, I, of course, will expect you to correct me in any resolutions that you adopt.

First of all, let me point out the link, and I believe there is a link, which exists between the inappropriate use of drugs within the medical context and the abuse of drugs outside that context. Consider these facts for a moment: In the last 4 years alone, the production and distribution of tranquilizers in our country has doubled. During 1970, 5 billion doses of tranquilizers, 3 billion doses of amphetamines, 5 billion doses of barbiturates were produced in this country. Listen to this: The estimate is that 50 percent of the amphetamines and barbiturates were diverted into illegal sales. So there is the problem in terms of education as well as enforcement.

Tranquilizers, amphetamines, and barbiturates, as you know, are known as psychotropic or mind-altering drugs. It is estimated that one-third of all Americans between the ages of 18 and 74 used a psychotropic drug of some type last year. And little wonder—for there were enough drugs of this type available last year to medicate every adult in the United States at very high dosage rates for more than 11 days.

Now, what does all this mean? What it means is that we have created in America a culture of drugs. We have produced an environment in which people come naturally to expect that they can take a pill for every problem—that they can find satisfaction and health and happiness in a handful of tablets or a few grains of powder.

We have got to face up to the fact that within this climate it is altogether too easy for the abuse of drugs—not the prescription, now, and the use, but the abuse of drugs will flourish in that kind of a climate, in a climate where individuals believe, because of inadequate education, that they can take a pill for every problem.

The medical profession was among the first to recognize this problem, to identify—as one of its causes—the fact that

many physicians are prescribing drugs too often, too easily.

A number of voices from your community have suggested recently that certain drugs may have become a crutch for some doctors as well as their patients, masking but not correcting more basic physical and emotional problems.

I noted with interest that your own Council on Drugs spoke to this subject only a few weeks ago. And I have noticed, too, that many doctors are now moving to strictly limit their prescriptions of such substances. And I will hope—and I say this respectfully in an area where you are the experts and I am not—but I hope you will continue to give careful consideration to this matter, for your role in shaping this country's basic attitude toward drugs will be decisive.

Let me turn now to a second way in which doctors can help. I want to ask your help, I ask the help of the doctors of this Nation, in a program of education, educating our people in the proper role of drugs and drug information, drug counseling, in drug treatment.

Years ago, you will remember that when most Americans lived in small towns we looked to the family doctor for guidance not just with regard to our physical health but in many other aspects of life. It may have been somewhat easier for many doctors to utilize their enormous potential as effective teachers in our society because of that situation that existed then.

I remember my own doctor, a family doctor, Dr. Thompson, of Whittier, California. He was a fine doctor, but he was a community leader, and when he spoke on issues, we listened. When he came out to our school to speak on the problems of health and other related problems, we listened, we paid attention, we followed his advice. Some doctors still play this role today. You do it voluntarily. You contribute enormously of your time without compensation in educating America in these and other fields. But more doctors need to be playing it. We need you, especially in the field of drug education.

I have met recently in this field with the leaders of the Advertising Council, with the leaders of the television and radio industries, with the leaders of opinion-makers, editors, publishers, and so forth throughout this country, and they have enlisted in this battle.

But no one, believe me, no one can have more effect when he or she speaks out than a doctor on this issue of drug abuse. You speak with greater authority, because you speak about the power of drugs to save life—and we must look to that, the tremendous progress that we have made in that field—but also the power to destroy it.

Rather than preaching moralistically about the sinfulness of drugs, you can teach realistically about their physical and psychological impact, and you can bring tremendous credibility to this undertaking. Many doctors have been moving in that direction.

I noted, for example, that in Arizona, the Maricopa [County] Medical Society has pulled together an impressive drug control program for Phoenix, and I am happy to see that this Association has been actively encouraging such efforts. It has developed education materials to help local physicians as they go out to wage war against drugs in the schools and churches and neighborhoods of America.

We ask for a part of your time every day in this field if it can be effectively used.

The time has come for a greater effort,

and that is why I ask for your help and the help of this organization. I realize that you have engaged in many enterprises of this type for which the Nation is in your debt. I know that one outstanding voluntary effort, the AMA Volunteer Physicians for Vietnam—and I have met several of your members who have gone to Vietnam, given of their time and their effort—for the purpose of carrying out what is called a project—Project Vietnam—and its purpose is to improve medical care in that country for the people of that country. It has had very great success.

Now, as our attention begins to center again on domestic challenges, the AMA can once again render outstanding service at a point of critical need by helping to develop what I would like to call Project USA, a project which would marshal the tremendous energy, the brains, the dynamism, the leadership—the leadership—of the doctors of this country in an all-out battle against drug abuse; and against it in terms of educating particularly the young people of this country about it.

The best way to end drug abuse is to prevent it, and America's doctors are the indispensable frontline soldiers for success in this all-important battle.

I began these remarks today by saying that the doctors of America have done a great deal for their country. But I also noted that the greatest reward for doing is the opportunity for doing more. There is much to be done in this Nation—in the fight against drugs, which I have covered, and in other areas.

And once again, Americans are looking to the doctors of their land for leadership. We are looking to the doctors of this land for leadership beyond the reform of our health care system in which you will provide leadership—and you should, because it affects you directly—beyond drug abuse, which is so closely related to your profession, where I am sure you will provide leadership.

America at this time needs leadership from those in the medical profession, and your wives, the AMA Auxiliary that I know is meeting here in Atlantic City with you—all across this country, not simply in the areas that affect you directly but in the area of national problems.

I know that many of you are sorely concerned whenever anybody suggests that you get into politics, and I do not speak in any partisan sense. I am not concerned about whether you are in politics in one party or the other. The main thing is to be in. Oh, I have heard a doctor say on occasion, "I am only interested in my profession; I am not interested in politics."

Let me tell you something: He had better get interested in politics or he won't have any profession to be interested in.

And I am not referring just to politics to defend your profession. You should do that. Defend what is best in it. Correct what needs to be corrected. But I am referring to politics in the broader sense of leadership.

Let me put it in historical perspective. One hundred and ninety years ago America was one of the weakest countries in the world, militarily, and one of the poorest countries in the world, economically. But it was a country that was rich in spirit, and thereby caught the imagination of the world and has held it ever since. Today America is the strongest nation in the world, militarily, and the richest nation by far, economically. The major problem we have to ask ourselves as Americans is: At a time when we are rich in goods and strong in arms, are we poor in spirit?

I don't think so. As I go across this land I am always reassured as I see so many Americans that have a deep conviction about the goodness of this country, who give of their time and their efforts to make it a better country, who are proud of what this Nation has done for its own people and what it has done in its leadership abroad. And yet, of course, there are other voices that are heard throughout the land: those that run America down, those that say our system is rotten, those that say that America is an ugly country, those who say wouldn't it be well if some other nation were in a position of leadership and therefore follow with the proposition that America withdraw into itself and get away from the position of world leadership in which it presently finds itself, with that leadership thrust upon it—not sought, but thrust upon it—because of the accidents of history, the fact that in the free world there is no other nation rich enough or strong enough to assume that position of leadership.

What does all this have to do with doctors? Very simply this: In a community, a doctor is listened to. He is listened to about the health, of course, of his patients. But an individual can be physically healthy and he can be without any health in a moral, in a spiritual sense, without character. A nation can be physically strong and unless it has moral character and stamina and faith in itself, and confidence, that nation is weak in a way that it cannot compensate with all the physical strength in the world.

So we go back to the early days of this Republic 190 years ago—weak, poor, but strong in spirit. And here is America—rich, strong. Question: Are we weak in spirit?

And the answer, of course, will be found not simply in what a President says or a Senator—and we have some distinguished Senators here—or a Congressman or a Governor. But it comes from leaders throughout the country like yourselves. That is why when I speak of politics, I do not speak in a partisan sense. I do not speak in the special sense in which you are concerned about what government is going to do to the medical profession. But I speak in this sense: You know what a good country this is. You know what a great education you have. You know that when somebody is really ill, that the best medical care in the world is here and not in some other country, generally speaking.

You know that as far as this system that has been run down so much around the world—that when you go around the world to all the other countries, they look to America, and the traffic, where there is traffic, is usually all one way. They are coming this way, they are not going the other way, when people have a choice.

You know that this system of government that we have talked about and this economic system has its faults. There are too many poor people in America. There is too much discrimination and prejudice and all these other problems. But look at America's strengths. Look at the fact that there is more freedom, more opportunity, there is more income, even for the poor, because of the wealth of our country, than there is in 85 percent of the rest of the world.

So here we stand, looking at America. Let us examine its faults. Let us correct them. We need your help in your special field. But let us also recognize that in this particular period of this Nation's history—and this was not true 190 years ago—the health of America in this broader sense,

not just physical but moral and spiritual and mental—that health will determine whether peace and freedom survives in the world.

We have no choice in the matter. And if you ask yourself the question: If America does not have the role of world leadership, what other nation do you want to have it?

I should say the world can be fortunate that America, with its faults—and we have made many in foreign policy through our history—with its faults, let's look at the strengths. We have been in four wars in this century—World War I, World War II, Korea, and now Vietnam. We have made our mistakes, but, to the great credit of America—and this can be said proudly and should be said by any American—Americans have fought and died not for an acre of territory, not to get domination over any other people, but for the right of other people to enjoy the freedom and the peace that we want, and this is something we must demand.

And so to the American Medical Association, representing brains, representing tremendous competence, representing also leadership, the best educations that America can provide, I ask you today to join, to give a little more of your time than you have, not only in working for your profession—that must come first—but also in serving your country, providing the leadership that this country craves for in every community of the Nation.

The health of America is in your hands, and by its health, I speak not just of its physical health—its mental health, its moral health, its character. Meet that challenge.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:30 a.m. in the Pennsylvania Room at the Chalfonte-Haddon Hall Hotel.

Dr. Walter C. Bornemeier was president of the American Medical Association.

On the same day, the White House released an advance text of the President's remarks and a list of the general officers and board of trustees of the Association.

207 Statement About House Approval of the Welfare Reform and Social Security Bill. *June* 22, 1971

TODAY marks a major legislative milestone in the history of welfare reform. Not only has the House of Representatives affirmed the principles of reform put forward by the Administration almost 2 years ago; in its constructive deliberations on this subject, it has strengthened and extended these principles. The Members of the House who supported H.R. 1, and in particular those on the Ways and Means Committee, have my personal and sincere thanks for their careful and responsible action.

H.R. 1 offers the Nation, at last, a way out of the present welfare morass. It establishes strong work requirements and work incentives. It provides coverage for the first time for workers whose earnings are inadequate to support their families, thus ending an unconscionable discrimination against millions of hard-working citizens throughout the Nation. Strong linkages are forged at every point under the new system between benefits and jobs for all employable recipients.

By establishing a national income standard for families with children, H.R. 1 represents a heartening step forward in

building up levels of opportunity for our most valued asset—our children.

H.R. 1 also heralds a new day for older Americans. Reforming both social security and welfare programs, it strikes a blow against poverty for the elderly. Social security benefits will rise automatically in the future to protect against inflation, and recipients will be entitled to make and keep greater earnings without loss of benefits. Income assistance to the needy aged will be increased to $150 per month over a 3-year period and will be administered by the Social Security Administration on an efficient and equitable basis throughout the Nation.

It is my deeply felt hope that the Senate will move with dispatch now that welfare reform has passed the House. We cannot afford to delay any longer in our efforts to remedy the failures of the Nation's welfare programs and establish in their place an equitable and uniform system designed to build people up, rather than pull them down.

208 Remarks at the Dedication of a Plaque Commemorating the Birthplace of the President's Mother, Hannah Milhous Nixon. *June 24, 1971*

Governor Whitcomb, Secretary Hardin, Mr. Hurley, all of the distinguished guests who are here today, and this wonderful audience that has welcomed me to this part of Indiana, which has so many memories:

I want all of you to know that this day does mean a great deal to me. I have traveled to much larger cities in America and in the world, but none where I felt that I was more welcome than right here in Indiana.

Winston Churchill came to the United States as Prime Minister for the first time to address the United States Congress in the early days of World War II. Those who were present on that occasion—this was before I came to the Congress—but those that were present on that occasion remembered particularly the way that he opened his speech. He said, "I cannot say that this is my fatherland, but I proudly say that this is my mother's land," because, of course, his mother was an American. And so I say today: I am very proud to be in my mother's land here in the heart of Indiana.

As Janet[1] has already told you, my mother left Indiana when she was 12 years old, but I can tell you, Indiana never left her. From the time that I knew her until she died—and she was 82 years old—my mother always spoke with great affection and love about back home in Indiana.

What she remembered about Indiana, of course, were numbers of things. She loved the farm. She always wanted to go back to a farm. After my mother and father could no longer run the grocery store in which we had grown up, they did buy a farm. She loved, too, the seasons. You know, my native State of California does not really have seasons. I remember that I was not in snow to feel it until I was 15 years old. My mother used to miss the change in the seasons, the fall,

[1] Janet Lee Wissel, president of the Jennings County High School Chapter of the Junior Historical Society of Indiana, introduced the President.

and the snow, and the summer, a warm day like this.

But most of all she remembered the people. She used to tell me what good people they were here in Indiana, the people that she had known in church and in school.

I could tell from what she said that she was very proud of where she came from, and particularly proud—not because of the geographical location or because of the State, all these other things that we are proud of—but proud because these, her people, were good people. I, therefore, am very proud to be part of this people. My roots are here.

I would like to tell you very briefly what my mother brought from Indiana and what she left with me and her other sons. I think perhaps this would be true of most of the children here who are growing up in Jennings County and in the surrounding counties in the State of Indiana.

First of all, she had a very deep religious faith, a faith that she communicated to us in her quiet, Quaker way.

Second, she had, also, a very great interest in politics. After all, anybody from Indiana has got to be interested in politics, as you can be sure.

Third, she had a very great dedication to peace, because coming from this quiet, beautiful Indiana countryside and with her Quaker background, peace was uppermost in her mind.

So one who comes from that background, and one who hears his mother talk about those things all of his life, naturally reflects it in what he does; he tries to, at least, although no one can ever quite do as well as his mother would really want him to do. But I can tell you that coming back here, to be here and feel this place where she walked and where she went to school so many years ago, rededicates me to those propositions to which she was so deeply devoted.

I want you also to know that she always told me that people in Indiana were hospitable. I know that. I asked Janet how long you had been here, and she said, "Hours." When I think of you in this crowd, in this rather warm sun, sitting here being so generous, you are a most hospitable people.

Also, as we came along the road, I noticed the American flags and a lot of signs saying "God bless you," "Good luck," and that sort of thing. But one that really went further than all the rest, that proved hospitality beyond anything else, was a little sign that a boy carried which said, "You dance good, Mr. President." I hope he doesn't try to follow me in dancing, that's all.

Now a word about the future. The Junior Historical Society has reminded us all of the past, my past and yours, the roots that we have in this good ground, in this good land. I think what my mother would want me to say today would be something like this:

First, be very proud of your country. We hear so much these days about what is wrong with America—and there are things wrong. But remember, I have seen most of the countries of the world, and every day I am thankful that we live in the United States of America. This is a good land and it is a great country.

That pride in America, she would say, however, does not mean not doing everything we possibly can to correct the things that are wrong, to give everybody a better chance, an equal chance. She would want me to say that. She would also want me to say to this group: Keep your religious

faith. We have different religions and different backgrounds, but she would say that religious faith had sustained her through some very difficult times: the death of two sons, and a deep depression, and other tragedies. But that faith was there, and it meant more than that, too.

Finally, she would want me to say to you that we in this country should dedicate ourselves to the cause of peace. She would say that because she deeply believed, because of her religious faith, and because of conviction, too, in peace—but because she would know from her own sense of history, as you know from your sense of history, that, at this time, whether we are to have peace in the world, peace not just next year or the year after, but peace for a generation for all of these young people who sit here in this land; if we are going to have it for 25 years, something we have not had in this century, it is going to depend upon the leadership of America.

Many of us would rather that it was not that way. America, as a world power, did not ask for the power. But here we are in this last third of the century, the strongest nation in the world, the richest nation in the world, and the decisions we make, the stamina we have, the character that we display will determine whether we can have peace in the world.

I simply want to say to you, I believe we can. We are ending a war in which we are presently engaged. It will end, and it will end in a way that will build a more lasting peace.

We are attempting to break down the barriers between nations and peoples in the world, nations with different philosophies, peoples of different races, so that these children may not only live in a peaceful world but in an open world where they can go to all the nations of the world and know all the people of the world—and what a wonderful experience that is.

Finally, I think my mother would want to leave another thought with you. It is very simply this: that what really counts is the spirit of a country and the spirit of an individual. I told you what our heritage was. My parents were not rich people; but they were hard workers. We had to work our way through school, but they helped. And while they were certainly not rich in terms of material goods, they were very rich in character and spirit. And that meant a great deal to all of us as we grew up.

Let's look at America today in that same context. We are the richest country in the world and the strongest country in the world. The question is: Does America have the spirit that we need?

Here, may I say to the Junior Historical Society: Go back and look to this country's history; be proud of it. One hundred and ninety years ago, when we were a weak nation and a poor nation, America caught the imagination of the world because, while it was poor in goods, it was rich in spirit. The spirit of a person, the spirit of a nation comes from people like you, from the heartland of America, from your character, from your determination. Keep that spirit. Be proud of your Nation.

Whatever your job is, remember, you can contribute to a better America and to a more peaceful world. Everybody can't be President of the United States, and everybody can't be a Governor or a Congressman or a Secretary of Agriculture, or the principal of a school. But whether we are workers or teachers or farmers, or whatever we are, we, in our own ways, can contribute to a better land.

I conclude simply by saying: This is a

beautiful country. We have the great privilege of making it even more beautiful.

And I conclude also by saying thank you very much for reminding me of why my mother loved this land so much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:45 p.m. at the Jennings County Courthouse, Vernon, Ind. The dedication ceremony was sponsored by the Jennings County High School Chapter of the Junior Historical Society.

Charles Hurley was principal of the Jennings County High School.

209 Remarks at a Dinner Honoring Dr. Frederick L. Hovde on His Retirement as President of Purdue University. *June* 24, 1971

Mr. Toastmaster, Governor Whitcomb, Secretary Hardin, Secretary Richardson, Mayor Lugar, all of the distinguished guests here at the head table, and all of the guests and friends of Purdue and of Fred Hovde:

I was just thinking as I heard that number how nice it would sound in the Rose Bowl some time.[1]

I understand that my remarks are going to delay your dinner, so I will make them brief. But I appreciated the opportunity that was extended to me to attend this dinner to pay my respects, speaking for all of the people of the United States, to a great university and to one of our truly great educational leaders in America. I do speak for all the people of the United States in this capacity, and I do so with great feeling and a certain amount of experience with regard to the role of this university in America, and the role of this man for his country in many capacities, and also with this university.

You know, when you speak about a man, you learn a lot of things about him you didn't know. I knew before that Fred Hovde, back in 1928, played with Bronko Nagurski, and that he was so good that he scored more points even than Nagurski. He was the leading scorer in the Big Ten. Unfortunately, he was playing for Minnesota, rather than Purdue, that year.

Nevertheless, he was an All-American, so that impressed me a great deal, never having made the team myself—at Whittier. [*Laughter*]

I knew, too, that he had been a Rhodes Scholar, and anyone who could be an All-American and then go on and be a Rhodes Scholar has to have a wonderful combination of brains and physical ability.

I knew, too, of his service in World War II in the most secret projects against the Nazis, service that perhaps could not even now be talked of in declassified terms because it was of such a highly important nature, and service that only a man with his background was able to perform. Only a very few were chosen, and because of what they did, the war was made shorter and victory came sooner, and he was one who helped.

I know, too, that he has done many other things. I have served on a board with him of one of the great mutual funds. And I know his business experience and the value of his counsel and the wisdom that I saw in those years that I served with him on that board.

These are personal recollections that I

[1] The President was referring to "Hail Purdue," played at his request by the Purdue Ceremonial Band just prior to his remarks.

have. And then I think of what we think this man will be most remembered for. Well, those who remember football will remember him for that. Others who think of his service in war will remember him for that. But I think on a night like this that the Nation will remember him for the monument that he really leaves, and that monument is 80,000 men and women. Eighty thousand men and women have graduated from Purdue in the 25 years he has served as president.

They have gone forth throughout this land, throughout this world as a matter of fact, serving the cause of progress, the cause of understanding. They have been men and women with brains, good educations; but more than that, they have been men and women with character, and it is that that Fred Hovde stands for: brains and character. That is the tradition he leaves with Purdue, and with America.

Speaking as one who has traveled much in the world, both in official capacities and unofficially, I know the work of Purdue graduates in countries far away in other lands, in Colombia, in Brazil, in Argentina, in Afghanistan. I know the work in the United States. I will not belabor that, but simply say that this university has made an enormous contribution to America and an enormous contribution to the world. And this man who led it so well, therefore, deserves the appreciation not just of those who know Purdue, but those who must speak for America, as I am honored to speak today.

Now I, consequently, was trying to think of something appropriate to present Dr. Fred Hovde on this occasion, and so I decided to make two presentations.

First, I understand that he is really not retiring; he is retiring as president of the university, but will continue in other capacities with the university and will serve his Nation in many other ways. You can see he is a young man; he has so much time left.

I also, however, know that he is an avid golfer; he loves golf; he is a good golfer. And so I am going to present him first with the Presidential golf ball. It is a very special golf ball. It has the Presidential Seal on it, and it has my name written on it, a signature. I gave one yesterday to the Vice President. I told him, "Please, just putt with it."

But to show you that I know Fred Hovde, you can hit it.

Now, in a more serious vein, I want to present something to Fred Hovde, as this great American that he has been and still is, and will continue to be in the years ahead, a special certificate that we have developed for this occasion and for this man.

I shall read it to you, present it to him, and that will conclude my remarks, and the dinner can go forward:

"June 24, 1971, the White House.

"The President of the United States of America presents this certificate of recognition to Dr. Frederick Lawson Hovde. As scholar, educator, adviser to government, and for 25 years university president, you have led Purdue with vision and wisdom and contributed with exceptional distinction to the enrichment of American life."

NOTE: The President spoke at 7:21 p.m. in the Indianapolis-Hilton Hotel, Indianapolis, Ind.

Jack Scott, managing editor of the Lafayette Journal and Courier, was toastmaster for the dinner.

210 Remarks at the Convention of the National Retired Teachers Association and the American Association of Retired Persons in Chicago, Illinois. *June 25, 1971*

Mr. Faassen, Mrs. Pearce, Mr. Nash, Senator Percy, and all of the distinguished delegates to these conventions:

I well recall that occasion in the Oval Office of the President of the United States when I welcomed the two millionth member of the American Association of Retired Persons. I only hope that your membership continues to grow and that the organization will deserve to have it continue to grow, and I am sure that will be the case.

I was thinking, too, as I looked over the backgrounds of those who are the leaders of these organizations, that I have something in common with them which I would like to refer to briefly, and that is, their association with music. I notice, for example, that Mr. Faassen played in Sousa's Band, and anybody who has heard this great Navy Band—aren't they good, though, our Navy Band here—we think of John Philip Sousa and the tradition that he left. And, of course, through the years Mr. Faassen has also made a contribution in many other ways, but particularly in the field of music, I noted it.

Mrs. Pearce taught music for 42 years. And I think of what a legacy she must have left. I don't mean that all those she taught became musicians. I speak with experience; I learned from a music teacher, too, and I am not a musician. I am a piano player, but I don't play it much in the White House now. I studied the violin when I was in high school. As you can see, though, despite the fact that I studied both the piano and the violin when I was in high school, it didn't do much for my dancing, if you follow that.

One little boy down in Indiana, though, yesterday paid me a very great compliment about that. I had remarked in my speech in my mother's hometown about the fact that my dancing was not particularly something I was proud of. He said, "You know, Mr. President, you did keep time." That is because of my musical background; I can keep time, but I don't know the steps.

But I am privileged to join with this organization. I know this is a regional organization in the heartland of America, but in speaking to you, I want to speak to the entire organization. I want to speak to all the people who could be members of this organization—retired teachers, retired persons all over America. So, though this is a representative group, a very important group, let me now speak to all Americans who are 65 or older, and those who will be 65 or over, and that, of course, is all of us, we hope. We hope to live that long.

There is an old story about a man who went to his doctor one day and asked what he should do so that he could live to be 100. The doctor's response was that the man should give up everything. He should give up his work, give up his play, and give up his friends, and he should do absolutely nothing that would cause him to exert himself.

Then the man asked, "And then you can promise me I will live to be 100?"

"No," said the doctor, "but it sure will seem like it."

Well, you know, the doctor had a point.

For nothing ages a person faster than the feeling that he is unneeded, he is unwanted, and he is unproductive. Senator Percy and I both remember a grand old man in the Senate, Senator Green of Rhode Island.[1] He served in the Senate until he was over 90. He used to put it this way: "Most people," he said, "say that as you get old you have to give up things." He said, "I think you get old because you give up things."

Now, I think most of you, and most Americans, would agree with that. What I would like to talk about today, however, is the frequent failure of our society to put this wisdom into practice, for we have not, in fact, been doing a very good job of involving older people in the life of our American society.

This is a great tragedy. It means that old age, which should be a time of pride and fulfillment—pride and fulfillment looking back and looking forward—is too often a time of isolation and withdrawal. Rather than being a time of dignity, it is often a time of disappointment, and the growing separation of older Americans also means that we are not taking full advantage of a tremendous reservoir of skill and wisdom and moral strength that our Nation desperately needs at this moment in its history.

There is one thing I know about the older generation in America. They believe in this country. They have faith in this country. They have the moral strength and character that we need, that all Americans need.

Now all of you know we are engaged in a great venture in America, and that is to bridge the gaps which have developed between geographic parts of this Nation, to bring the North and South and East and West together; between the economic classes, to bring the workers and management and others together; to bridge the gap between racial groups and religious groups; and lately we have done a great deal of soul-searching about the place of the younger generation in our national life.

But while the generation gap between the young and their parents has captured our attention in recent years, as it should, the generation gap between older Americans and the rest of our people has often just been ignored. It has been slighted.

The time has come for a new attitude toward old age in America. The time has come to close the gap between our older citizens and those who are not yet old. The way to do this, I believe, is to stop regarding older Americans as a burden and start regarding them as a resource for America.

Even while science has made it possible for people to live longer, the trend toward early retirements, the growing mobility of society, the loosening of family ties mean that large numbers of senior citizens now have neither families nor jobs to give a focus and a foundation to their daily existence. That is why I say that the generation over 65 is a very special group which faces very special problems—it deserves very special attention. That is why we have been moving to insure that our older citizens get that special attention that they deserve.

Let me talk about that special attention for a moment, if I can.

First, we are making determined efforts to improve the financial position of older citizens. Despite the fact that, overall, American expenditures on the aging have

[1] The late Theodore Francis Green, United States Senator from Rhode Island 1937–61.

just about doubled in the last 5 years, despite the fact that social security has gone up 25 percent in the last 2 years alone—and it will probably go up another 5 percent—old age is still a time of great social *insecurity* for too many of our citizens. One out of every four older Americans lives at or below what is called the "poverty line" in America.

To begin to deal with this problem, we have proposed that the Federal Government place a floor under the income of every senior citizen in America. We have proposed that social security benefits for widows be raised. We have called for a system—and this, it seems, is extremely important; I campaigned on it in 1968; I support it now; I believe it is time that we do it—we find that in social security we are always catching up with the increase in the cost of living, and that is too late. That is why I say that we need an automatic cost-of-living increase in social security to make certain that monthly payments will keep up with inflation, keep up with those which it hits so hard—older citizens.

The fact that many older people may no longer be active members of the labor force does not mean that they should be denied a fair share of our growing productivity.

I would like to talk about another initiative that, at first glance, probably doesn't seem to have much to do with the financial problems of older people—revenue sharing. Here, this is an initiative that Senator Percy is supporting very, very strongly. It is supported on a bipartisan basis by a majority of the Members of the Senate, a majority of the Members of the House. I believe it is going to pass.

Let me tell you why it has a direct relationship to the budgets of senior citizens, of retired people in this country. Only through revenue sharing, where the Federal Government shares its revenues with the States, are we going to stop the rise in local property taxes in this country, which is eating into the budget of every older person, retired person who owns his own home.

I found in a meeting—and you will remember, Mrs. Pearce, in a meeting we had in Washington; you will remember, Mr. Faassen—at that meeting I asked about the various problems that older citizens had. And the one thing that they were unanimous on was that property taxes, going up and up and up, was a tremendous problem for every family budget of older citizens, because they have no increase in their income, and they find those property taxes going up.

It is significant to note that of people over 65, over 70 percent own their own homes or their own apartments. So you have a stake in seeing to it that those property taxes don't continue to go up.

I had a letter from a woman in Long Island, not yet retired. She, however, had the problem, and she pointed it out very interestingly. She said that she bought her house about 5 years ago. At that time the monthly mortgage payments were $100 a month, which was more, really, than she could afford out of her budget, but it was $100 a month. She said in the past 5 years the monthly mortgage payments have gone up to $150 a month because of the rise in property taxes. She said there is a new provision, a proposal being considered by the voters of the county in which she lives, which will increase them again. She said, "If they go up again, I am going to have to sell my house, because I can't afford to live in it any longer."

We have got to stop the rise of property taxes in this country, and revenue sharing is the best way that we can do it. That is why we ask your support of that proposal.

Now, I come to something that I think is particularly close to the hearts of this organization, because all of those who represent this organization have spoken to this problem when we have met in the White House, and I want to speak to it now, to you and all of the older people in America.

We have got to stop discriminating in this country against older people who want to work. The time has come to raise the ceiling on how much a person can earn while receiving social security. The time has come to increase the amount of social security he can keep when his earnings exceed that ceiling.

You know what the problem is today. If you receive social security and if you are able to and want to work, the amount that you can earn is limited, or it cuts into your social security. When people are able to work, when people want to work, there is no excuse for government programs which give them a strong incentive not to work. That is why I believe we need to move in this field.

Discrimination that is based on age—what some people call age-ism—can be as wrong as discrimination based on race or religion or any other irrelevant test. For in all of these cases the individual is judged by his position in some arbitrary category rather than by his value as a unique human being.

Old age should not be a time of endings; it should be a time of new beginnings; not a time for stopping, but a time for new starts.

For many, of course, retirement comes as a long-awaited reward at the end of a full career. I am sure that many of you read, as I did, with very great interest, the press conference that that great lady of the American stage, Helen Hayes, had when she retired after 65 years of acting. She was happy, she said, that she would not have to face the pressures of a live performance again. But then, I noticed at the conclusion of her interview what she said. Listen to this: "Yes, other pressures will come along," she acknowledged. "That's life, isn't it? And I'm not about to retire from living."

So, that is the key to the matter. What we must build in this country—among all of our people—is a new attitude toward old age, an attitude which insists that there can be no retirement from living, no retirement from responsibility, no retirement from citizenship.

There are countless ways in which the experience and the energy of retired persons can continue to be tapped. I received a letter the other day from an 80-year-old man who knew me as a small boy when he delivered milk to my father's grocery store. For the last year—he now lives in southern California still—he has gone each day to work at a hospital as a Foster Grandfather. This is what he wrote: "This has been a tremendous experience for me, not only in being able to supplement my social security but in the thrill of helping mentally retarded children." He cares. He brings to that position something that money won't buy: commitment and caring.

Where older people are willing to do that, where they want to do that, we have got to give them a chance. The country needs them. His testimony is echoed by thousands of other Americans, older people who find that their work in hospitals and schools, in churches and parks

and penal institutions not only makes a tremendous contribution to the lives of others but also gives a new pride and purpose to their own existence. You know what your own slogan is: "To serve and not be served." It expresses that same principle.

I am happy to say that Federal efforts to promote such activities are expanding. This week marks the inauguration of the first 10 projects in the Retired Senior Volunteer Program, known as RSVP. If the Congress approves my budget, this program will be greatly expanded this year.

That program and the Foster Grandparents programs have recently been transferred to the new ACTION agency. And incidentally, I have noted that some have been fearful that this program would be deemphasized as a result of that transfer. I assure you just the opposite is going to be the case. We are going to put more emphasis on those particular programs.

Now, these are some of the things we are doing. Other steps are going to follow. In this connection, I am particularly looking forward to the White House Conference on Aging later this year. You have heard from Mr. Martin,[2] you have heard from others who will be working on that Conference. This Conference promises to provide the most valuable of all resources for policymaking: new ideas, fresh ideas. We want your ideas, the ideas of this organization. That is why I have met with the leaders of your organizations in preliminary sessions. But we want you in this convention and in other conventions to give us the ideas so that those who meet in the White House will represent the whole country, not just their own view.

All who take part in this Conference and in the State conferences, which, as you know, are going to go forward beforehand, can be sure that we will welcome recommendations. We are going to give them our closest consideration.

Now, I would like to speak with regard to that Conference on one issue that I have directed be given special attention, perhaps more attention than any other, if one issue has to have priority. I refer to the need to reform the regulations with regard to nursing homes in this country.

Let's look at the figures. Nine hundred thousand, at the present time, people over 65 live in nursing homes. Some of them are very fine homes. I saw one yesterday just by accident. I was driving back from my mother's home in southern Indiana to Indianapolis. As we went along, I saw some older people on the side of the road waving. So, I stopped the car and right back of where they were waving was a Presbyterian home for the aging.

I said, "How do you like it?" They said, "It is a wonderful place." I could see why, because the Presbyterian minister who was in charge, a young man who obviously loved the people he was working with, was there. Some of the nurses and others were there. You could see they were all proud of being there. A new building was being built, and I could see that this was one of the nursing homes where people who went to them could be sure they would get the proper care, not only in terms of food but in terms of having people who were really concerned about them.

However, if there is any single institution in this country that symbolizes the tragic isolation and shameful neglect of

[2] John B. Martin, Commissioner, Administration on Aging, Social and Rehabilitation Service, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

older Americans, it is not that kind of a home, but it is the substandard nursing home, and there are some. Some are unsanitary. Some are ill-equipped. Some are overcrowded. Some are understaffed.

I am going to be quite blunt. Many of our nursing homes in this country, as I have indicated, are outstanding, like that Presbyterian home that I saw, and like others I have seen in California. My 90-year-old aunt, my mother's older sister, still living, is living in one in Riverside, and it is a wonderful home.

But I have been to others that are not, and you have been to some. You have seen them. That is why many of these, the substandard ones, are described as little more than warehouses for the unwanted—that is blunt language, but it is true—as dumping grounds for the dying. I have even heard of doctors who refuse to visit some nursing homes because they get too depressed.

Too often it seems that nursing homes serve mainly to keep older people out of sight, out of mind so that no one will notice their degradation and despair. Just think, if a doctor gets depressed visiting the home, how depressing it must be for the patients that are in it.

I believe we should take notice of this problem. I am confident that our Federal, State, and local governments, working together with the private sector, can do something to transform the nursing home, for those who need it—and of course, there are millions who do not need it, who do not want it—but for those who need it, we must transform that home into an inspiring symbol of comfort and hope.

This is a goal. I have asked the White House Conference to give particular consideration to it. One thing you can be sure, I do not believe that Medicaid and Medicare funds should go to substandard nursing homes in this country and subsidize them.

The ancient Greeks said that we could count no man's life happy until the end of it. For if any man is to live a good life in the most complete sense, then his later years must also be years of fulfillment. As we pursue this goal, as we break away the barriers to full participation for those who are old today, we will also break them away for those who will be old tomorrow.

Our Nation has a high obligation to a generation which has given so much to its service. I think of so many in this audience who have given. I have mentioned this wonderful teacher, 42 years of teaching. You can think of, frankly, some of the students she probably had to teach. They probably were as difficult as I was, and I was not very good at music.

I think, for example, of the mother of George Romney, who is here, and what she has contributed in raising a son who is now a member of the President's Cabinet, and has been Governor of a State. I think of what others have contributed, in your various capacities, to this Nation.

The Nation's commitment to its older citizens also grows out, however, of a more selfish consideration, and that is this: We need you. We need your experience. We need your perspective. And above all, we need your sense of value. Because, you know, this can be a strong nation militarily, it is the strongest in the world; it can be a strong nation economically, it is—we are the richest nation in the world. And it can be an empty shell if we forget that those moral and spiritual values, to which your generation is so deeply committed, are also there.

I have always felt rather fortunate,

particularly fortunate, I should say, that my own parents lived long lives. My father lived until he was 77, died in 1956 when I ran for Vice President the second time. My mother lived until she was 82. They shared a lot with me when I was young, growing up in a family of five boys, two of whom died when I was young.

But when we went through those periods, their strength, of course, built strength in the other boys. But also, they shared a lot with me when I was older. One little incident proves it. In 1962 I ran for Governor of California and lost, after having lost for President in 1960. I then moved to New York. A couple of years later my mother had a very serious operation. She was not expected to live. I flew to California to see her. The doctor in the hospital said, before I went into the room, he said, "The best thing you can do is to cheer her up. Let her know that there is still something worth living for."

So I went in and I talked to my mother, and she was under heavy sedation, but she perked up, as she always did when somebody came in to see her. And then, just as I was ready to leave to go back out to New York, I said, "Now, Mother, don't you give up." Her eyes flashed, she sort of leaned up in the bed, and she said, "Don't you give up."

I didn't give up. That is why I am here today. But let me tell you something. It was very tempting to give up—two defeats, making a lot of money as a lawyer in New York, not the problems and vicissitudes of politics. If my mother hadn't said that, I might have given up. She didn't live to see what her advice did.

But that shows what the older generation can do to younger people who have not been through as much, who might give up. You can see why we need you, why younger people need you, your advice, your wisdom, your strength, your perspective.

If we allow our society to become fragmented, so that younger Americans are cut off from older Americans, then each member of our society will also become fragmented, with young people cut off from their past and older people from the future.

I spoke last January to an assembly of young people at the University of Nebraska, young people like the young people in this band, about their age. And on that occasion, I called for a new alliance between generations—between the young generation on the one hand and the older generation on the other. But, you know, when I come to think about it, that is not enough.

Today I want to go a step further. I call today for a new alliance in this country between Americans who are under 65 and those who are over 65.

The American community will be incomplete without the full participation of every American. For each generation has its unique role to play in the unfolding drama of America.

Let us then put aside the things which would divide us—suspicion, condescension, resentment, indifference. Let us join together across the generations and make ours an even greater America as we move forward together.

I have met many world leaders in my travels to over 70 countries in the world. I did not agree with all of them, but I learned from all of them, young and old. I remember seeing President de Gaulle of France after he had become President of France. I had been defeated for office.

This was in the year 1963. He was talking about his own life, the fact that he had led the Free French, kept up the spirit of France when it was ready to die after their defeat in World War II, after he was then repudiated by the French people and had gone into retirement, then called back into service as President of France.

Then, and perhaps he was speaking to me as my mother has spoken to me, he said something about his favorite quotation from Sophocles, the Greek poet. He said, "One must wait until the evening to see how splendid the day has been." I want all of you in this audience to know that we want the evening of your lives and the evening of all lives of older Americans to be good evenings, fine evenings. We want you in the evening of your lives to be able to look back and say, "How splendid the day has been."

[At this point, Katherine Pearce, president, National Retired Teachers Association, presented to the President a plaque with the inscription: In Recognition of Significant and Valued Contributions to the Enrichment of Retirement Living. The President then resumed speaking.]

Thank you very much, Mrs. Pearce. I am most grateful for the award. I hope that what we do, not what we say, will make us deserving of this award that we have received here. You have our commitment, certainly, to do everything that we can to carry out what I tried to outline in my remarks today.

Mrs. Pearce, I want to say to you, after meeting you in the White House and after hearing you here today, if you had been my music teacher, I might have been—I was just thinking I might have been leading the band, rather than making the speeches.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:07 a.m. in the Pick-Congress Hotel.

Fred Faassen was president, American Association of Retired Persons. Bernard E. Nash was executive director of the National Retired Teachers Association and the American Association of Retired Persons.

An advance text of the President's remarks was released on the same day.

211 Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report on the Food for Peace Program. *June* 28, 1971

To the Congress of the United States:

I am pleased to transmit to the Congress the 1970 annual report on agricultural export activities carried out under Public Law 480. In a year which saw more than its share of disasters around the world, Public Law 480 concessional sales programs and donations once again reflected the desire of the people of the United States to try to help others improve their own circumstances by improving the agricultural foundation of their economies.

The Public Law 480 program demonstrated its flexibility in 1970 both by responding quickly to the immediate needs of countries in distress, and by using food assistance to promote long range development in developing countries. One important example of the program's scope and success was our aid to victims of the earthquake in Peru—much of which was channeled through voluntary relief agencies.

The Public Law 480 program also provided increasing benefits to the United States. Currencies generated by the pro-

gram together with the increasing volume of payments received under past long term credit sales agreements, resulted in a contribution of more than $300 million to our balance of payments in 1970. In addition, this program has placed increasing emphasis on helping recipient nations develop their own economies and thus become better export markets for the United States.

Public Law 480 has now been extended through 1973. As our efforts move forward, we will continue to stress both trade development and food assistance through this highly esteemed program.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
June 28, 1971

NOTE: The report is entitled "The Annual Report on Activities Carried Out Under Public Law 480, 83d Congress, As Amended, During the Period January 1 Through December 31, 1970" (164 pp. plus tables).

212 Message to the Senate Transmitting Convention on Psychotropic Substances. *June* 29, 1971

To the Senate of the United States:

With a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, I transmit herewith a copy of the Convention on Psychotropic Substances, signed at Vienna February 21, 1971. I transmit also, for the information of the Senate, the report of the Secretary of State with respect to the Convention.

Nationally and internationally, we are faced today with a very serious problem posed by a new group of dangerous drugs—the psychotropic or "mind-bending" substances, such as LSD, mescaline, amphetamines, barbiturates and tranquilizers. It is the purpose of this Convention to limit to medical and scientific uses those substances that are liable to abuse but not covered by the existing treaties for the international control of narcotic drugs. The Convention will close an important gap which now exists in international drug regulations.

Nearly all of the psychotropic substances are manufactured rather than derived initially from plants, as are the narcotic drugs—such as heroin—that are involved in so much illicit traffic. As a major manufacturer of psychotropic substances, it is important that the United States cooperate with other countries in efforts to limit the use of those substances to medical and scientific purposes. I urgently recommend, therefore, that the Senate give early consideration to the Convention and that it give its advice and consent, with the reservation as proposed in the report of the Secretary of State in accordance with the provisions of the Convention.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
June 29, 1971

NOTE: The text of the convention and the report of the Secretary of State are printed in Senate Executive G (92d Cong., 1st sess.).

213 Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report on National Housing Goals. *June 29, 1971*

To the Congress of the United States:

I herewith transmit the third annual report on national housing goals as required by Section 1603 of the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968.

This Report, prepared by the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, notes the progress toward meeting the Nation's housing needs. Increased housing opportunities have been provided for lower income families through the greatly expanded federally assisted housing programs. Lower interest rates and the increased availability of mortgage capital will permit greatly expanded housing production during the current year.

The Report also makes it quite obvious that we must not be complacent about the progress we have made in the past two years. Several types of problems are emerging. Housing costs continue to rise, pricing many families out of the market for adequate homes. This Administration has taken firm steps to control the inflation in construction costs, but we cannot consider the problem solved.

Other problems highlighted in this Report are equally or more difficult to solve:

- The need to deal with inequities which arise when some families receive subsidies and others do not, the inevitable result of having to allocate scarce resources.
- The need to assure that the effort to meet housing production objectives goes forward in consonance with our deep concern for assuring a desirable overall living environment.

These problems are complex; simplistic solutions will not do the job. This Report raises the problems in a straightforward way so that they can be aired and each of the possible solutions explored openly. Only in this way can realistic answers be found. This Administration is committed to the search for those answers, working in full cooperation with the Congress, private industry, labor and the American people.

I commend this Report to the Congress and to the public as a major step forward in our efforts to meet the housing needs of the American people.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
June 29, 1971

NOTE: The Third Annual Report on National Housing Goals, as transmitted to the Congress, consisted of 64 pages plus appendixes.

214 Veto of the Accelerated Public Works Bill. *June 29, 1971*

To the Senate of the United States:

Expansion of job opportunities for those presently unemployed is one of this administration's highest priorities. Measures to expand job opportunities must be effective; they must hold real promise of providing the jobs when they are needed, where they are needed, for the persons who most need them.

In recent weeks, the Congress has acted

on two measures which seek to achieve the same goal of job creation through two quite different approaches.

One meets the test. Another does not. I hope the two Houses of Congress will soon vote final passage of the Emergency Employment Act of 1971 (S. 31), on which the Conference Committee has now completed its report, which would create new job opportunities in the public sector. However, I am returning without my approval S. 575, which among its other provisions would attempt to deal with unemployment through a $2 billion program of accelerated public works.

The administration has been working closely with Congressional leaders on the Emergency Employment Act of 1971 in an effort to ensure its adoption in a form permitting States and localities to move quickly, and on a sound and responsible basis, to create new job opportunities in the public sector. In the form agreed to by the Conference Committee, it would do so. Like the provision for 200,000 public service jobs in the welfare reform bill passed by the House, it would mark a useful addition to the existing programs—including Operation Mainstream and the administration's own Public Service Careers program—which are currently providing public service job opportunities for the unemployed.

In December of last year I disapproved a manpower measure passed by the Congress, because in the form in which it was passed it would have created dead-end jobs amounting to a system of permanent subsidized public employment. However, I have made it clear that the administration considers that our unmet needs in the public sector provide an opportunity to combat joblessness by bringing unemployed men and women into the labor force in selected areas and appropriate circumstances. We have stressed one key point: that these created jobs must be *transitional*—that is, they must be a bridge to permanent, productive jobs, not a substitute for them.

The action taken thus far this year by the Congress on the Emergency Employment Act of 1971 deals effectively with these concerns. Public employment is defined as "transitional." It is targeted on locally-supported jobs of proven need. Moreover, the bill, as it has been agreed to in Conference, would be limited to two years and would be triggered when national unemployment exceeds 4.5%.

I am particularly gratified that the Emergency Employment Act as currently drawn extends special consideration to recent veterans. The level of unemployment among veterans who have served their country so well and so bravely is unconscionable. The Emergency Employment Act would be an installment on repaying the debt that we owe them.

Furthermore, leaders in both bodies of the Congress have indicated that, as soon as action on the Emergency Employment Act of 1971 is completed, they will move with dispatch to hold hearings, and then make every effort to obtain favorable action, on broader manpower reform legislation this year. They will include in these deliberations the administration's proposal for Manpower Special Revenue Sharing.

In terms of its capacity for generating new jobs quickly, the accelerated public works approach—as embodied in S. 575—at best comes out a poor and distant second. Among its deficiencies are these:

—Construction projects have notoriously long lead times. Experience under the original Public Works Ac-

celeration Act of 1962 demonstrates that spending—and hence job creation—under this bill would not become fully effective for at least 18 months at which time further stimulation would be unnecessary and inflationary. Only about 10 percent of the funds would be likely to be spent within the next twelve months. It therefore would not even make a real start on delivering on its implied promise of jobs now, when jobs are needed.

—It would have little effect in reducing joblessness in the areas where it is now most concentrated. The Vietnam Veteran, the unskilled youth, and other persons unemployed because of lack of training or opportunity would have little chance of securing a job on one of these projects.

—Rather than helping the broad spectrum of the presently unemployed, the impact of the bill would focus primarily on the construction industry which already has experienced rapid cost inflation. In no other industry have wage increases been higher. Increases in that industry have affected collective bargaining elsewhere, thus further fueling inflation in the overall economy.

—Because the accelerated public works program has been conceived of as an emergency measure, with an implied promise of quick approvals and a broad scattering of the benefits, insistent demands could be expected for marginal, hurriedly planned, environmentally damaging and uncoordinated projects.

—Finally, false hopes would be created in many communities, and this administration does not wish to be a party to these misleading impressions. The previous Accelerated Public Works program resulted in applications for nearly double the amount of funds available despite early efforts to discourage requests. On the basis of these expectations, communities deferred locally funded projects. Therefore, the net economic impact in many communities was, actually, a delay in needed public works projects.

In addition to accelerated public works, S. 575 also extends—by Title II—the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965 until June 30, 1973, and extends—by Title III—the Appalachian Regional Development Act to June 30, 1975. I agree that our present economic development programs should be extended while the Congress is considering my revenue sharing proposals. But most importantly, the Congress must act immediately to insure that there is no gap in service to the people in Appalachia and in the economically depressed areas served by EDA. In this connection, I am pleased to note that the House has already provided for the temporary continuance of these programs until new legislation can be enacted. I urge the Senate to do likewise.

I know the problems of these areas. I met with the Appalachian Governors last year for a full half day to discuss the best ways in which we could meet the needs of the people of Appalachia. When I met with the Governors of Virginia, West Virginia, and Kentucky last week, I emphasized that even if I would have to veto the Accelerated Public Works bill, I support the Appalachian program 100 percent.

The Appalachian Regional Commission has been a very useful experimental development program which can be improved upon and can serve in many respects as a model for a national program. This is essentially what I have done in proposing to the Congress Rural and Urban Community Development Revenue Sharing. The record of the Appalachian Regional Commission goes a long way in proving that State and local governments do have the capacity to make revenue sharing work.

The revenue sharing proposals will insure that States and localities will get their fair share of the funds automatically without having to play grantsmanship games. Furthermore, those proposals would eliminate Federal red tape and local share requirements. State and local officials could more quickly provide public projects which are most responsive to local needs. The gap between Federal resources and local needs would be bridged in a way that would strengthen State and local responsibilities and decision-making. These proposals deal with problems which simply will not yield to the old approaches, no matter how they are reworked or expanded. I again urge upon the Congress the early enactment of my revenue sharing programs.

Meanwhile, as a means of providing additional jobs now, the public service jobs approach as it has emerged in the Emergency Employment Act of 1971 is clearly a better answer than the Accelerated Public Works program.

Public sector jobs are labor-intensive: a high proportion of Federal appropriations under that bill would flow into direct wages and salaries for new employees. In community service activities such as environmental protection, health and sanitation, unemployed persons can be put to work rapidly. No long lead time is required for complicated engineering studies.

On the other hand our experience during the early 1960s clearly shows that accelerated public works is a costly and time-consuming method of putting unemployed persons to work. Even the bill's strongest proponents recognize that public works programs are not people-intensive, but money-intensive.

The job of the administration, indeed of any administration, is to search out the best ways to deal with the problems and needs of the Nation. We need more jobs. A bill to do this directly and *now,* when the jobs are needed, is clearly the best answer.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
June 29, 1971

NOTE: On July 14, 1971, the Senate sustained the President's veto.

215 Remarks Announcing Decision by the Turkish Government To Ban Cultivation of Opium Poppies. *June 30, 1971*

Mr. Secretary, Mr. Ambassador, ladies and gentlemen:

The joint announcement that is being made at this time in Washington and Ankara represents, by far, the most significant breakthrough that has been

achieved in stopping the source of supply of heroin in our worldwide offensive against dangerous drugs.

Sixty percent of all opium poppy, which is, of course, the raw material from which heroin is made, is grown in Turkey.[1] As a result of negotiations that have been taking place between the United States Government and the Turkish Government, the Turkish Government has made a decision that it is announcing today, which means that the cultivation of opium poppy in Turkey will completely cease within one year, by June of 1972.

This very courageous and statesmanlike action deserves the appreciation of all the people of the world, and the people of the United States. The credit goes, of course, to the Turkish Prime Minister and his Government, and a great deal of credit in our Government goes to the Secretary of State, who has taken personal leadership in achieving this objective on our part, and, of course, Ambassador Handley, who represents us so well in Ankara.

The Secretary of State will brief you on the details of the announcement. I want to say, Mr. Ambassador, we are very proud at this particular time to see that one of our best friends in the world, a staunch ally, has moved so effectively against one of the most dangerous threats to our young people and other people by stopping the source of supply of the opium poppy, as you have done.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:06 a.m. in the Briefing Room at the White House.

On the same day, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing on the Turkish decision by Secretary of State William P. Rogers and Turkish Ambassador to the United States Melih Esenbel.

[1] The President was referring to the fact that experts have estimated that 60 percent or more of the heroin entering the United States in recent years has been processed (elsewhere) from opium poppies grown in Turkey.

216 Statement About the Turkish Government's Ban on Cultivation of Opium Poppies. *June* 30, 1971

IN TODAY'S world, declarations of statesmanlike intent are not difficult. But instances of courageous statesmanlike action are few. Prime Minister Nihat Erim of Turkey has just combined the two. Today he declared that the Republic of Turkey, our friend and staunch ally within the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, would abandon a traditional agricultural practice in order to make a significant contribution to the well-being of the world. In the decree of his Government, he announced that within one year, in accordance with the law of his nation, the opium poppy will no longer be planted. This farsighted step will provide an example which we trust will soon be followed by other nations.

For hundreds of years, tens of thousands of Turkish families have raised the opium poppy as a legitimate cash crop and for its edible oil and seed. Under a United Nations convention, Turkey is one of those few nations permitted legally to grow poppy for export. Yet Turkey is one of the few opium-cultivating countries in which the use of opium or heroin as an addictive drug is virtually unknown. Since the opium farmer has little if any knowledge of his part in the spread of a frightening international epidemic, a ban on opium production is a particularly diffi-

71-234—72——53

cult decision. These circumstances accentuate the vision and wisdom of this very important step. We know well the importance of the agricultural sector of Turkey's economy, and we are prepared to put at the disposal of the Turkish Government our best technical brains to assist Turkey's program to bring about a better life for the Turkish farmer.[1] We are proud to assist in a program from which we all will benefit.

Secretary of State Rogers told me about his discussions in April with Prime Minister Erim and senior Turkish officials. Secretary Rogers understood fully the range of problems confronting the Turkish Government and its people, and he was impressed by the efforts being made to solve them. We in the United States are obligated to a friend and ally whose firm military and political commitment to the welfare and defense of the Atlantic community is well known. My Administration is committed to aid nations and peoples prepared to help eliminate the narcotics menace. I pledge continued cooperation with Turkey in its efforts to increase the well-being of its people and to maintain its independence and security.

[1] A White House announcement of the Secretary of Agriculture's mission to Turkey to assist in an agricultural development program was released on September 28, 1971, and is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 7, p. 1354).

217 Message to Nikolai V. Podgorny, Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, on the Death of Three Soviet Cosmonauts. *June* 30, 1971

Dear Mr. Chairman:

The American people join me in expressing to you and the Soviet people our deepest sympathy on the tragic death of the three Soviet cosmonauts. The whole world followed the exploits of these courageous explorers of the unknown and shares the anguish of their tragedy. But the achievement of cosmonauts Dobrovolsky, Volkov and Patsayev remains. It will, I am sure, prove to have contributed greatly to the future achievements of the Soviet program for the exploration of space and thus to the widening of man's horizons.

Sincerely,

RICHARD NIXON

NOTE: Lt. Col. Georgiy T. Dobrovolsky, 43, Commander of the Soyuz 11 mission, Vladislav N. Volkov, 35, flight engineer, and Viktor I. Patsayev, 38, test pilot engineer, died as a result of the sudden depressurization of their spacecraft while returning to earth, after docking with and then entering the first space station and setting a new record for man's endurance in space.

218 Remarks at Graduation Exercises of the FBI National Academy. *June* 30, 1971

Mr. Attorney General, Director Hoover, members of the graduating class, and all of our guests here today:

I am very honored to be here. And responding to the personal note which Mr. Hoover introduced me on, may I say that

I am very honored to have these cuff links and will be honored to wear them.

As some of you may know, when I travel through the country, like all Presidents who travel through the country, there are times when over-enthusiastic people will grab your arm and take a cuff link. When I wear these I will simply say, "Watch out, the FBI will get them back."

I know that you will be hearing from the Attorney General for the address to the graduating class, and I will try not to impose on his time or yours in my remarks on this occasion. But I did not want to miss the opportunity on this day, a very special day for the 100 who are in this class and for their families who are here, to speak to some subjects that it seems to me are quite relevant on this occasion.

First, I congratulate all those who are graduates of the class, and I want to, in speaking to you, to speak to all of the men and the women in law enforcement throughout this country. I want to tell you, first, that today, significantly enough, is a good day in terms of news, as far as law enforcement is concerned. At 9 o'clock this morning at the White House, I announced the most significant breakthrough in stopping the source of supply of heroin into this country that we have made, perhaps, in recent history.

What has happened is that the Turkish Government—and in Turkey between 60 to 80 percent of all the opium poppies from which heroin is made that comes to the United States is grown—that the Turkish Government, in cooperation with the Government of the United States, has announced a new policy. All opium poppies which produce heroin will cease to be grown in Turkey starting in June of 1972.

This does not mean that the fight against dangerous drugs is over. It does mean that we have made a big step forward.

But we would hope that as far as the demand is concerned, enforcing those who are the pushers, giving treatment for those who are the addicts, that all of these programs will go forward.

I can assure you that your Government is engaged in a worldwide offensive to stop the source of supply of dangerous drugs into the United States. You in law enforcement know how important it is to see that those who are addicted to drugs—that those numbers can be reduced, because in our major cities, and many places where I have seen the statistics, over 50 percent of the more aggravated crimes are committed by those who are engaged in the drug traffic or who are addicts.

The second point that I think is good news, and I trust that the Attorney General will expand on this, are the crime statistics that Mr. Hoover's department has released today.

For the first quarter of this year we have seen a downturn in the rate of increase of crime. What is, however, even more significant in terms of our cities—we find that in 61 cities of over 100,000 population, crime was actually reduced in the first quarter of this year. And that includes the city of Washington, D.C.

This means we are making progress in the battle against crime. That progress could not be made, of course, without the laws which the Congress has enacted—enacted in cooperation with and at the urging of this Administration. It could not be done without the national support that you receive from the Federal Bureau of Investigation and other law enforcement agencies and the Attorney General of the United States.

But more important, this progress in the battle against crime couldn't be made unless it was for the frontline soldiers, those who are the law enforcement officials in the cities, in the counties, all across this great country of ours.

And, therefore, I want to give a personal message to the 100 graduates of this class. It is one that I am really trying to give to all law enforcement officials wherever they may be, any place in the United States. When you go home, tell your colleagues that the era of permissiveness with regard to law enforcement is at an end in the United States of America. Tell your colleagues that not only in terms of the laws of the land at the national level, in terms of our LEAA programs, in terms of the support of the FBI, but more particularly in terms of support of the President of the United States and the Attorney General, that we back law enforcement officials in their attempts to reestablish respect for law, in their attempts to enforce the law with justice, in their attempts to [bring] freedom from fear and [end] terrorizing of our citizens throughout this country by criminal elements. They have the backing of the President, of the Attorney General, of their Federal Government and their Federal officials, and will continue to.

May I also say in that connection that we not only speak in terms of backing from a moral standpoint, but I want to assure you that as I travel throughout the country—don't get discouraged by some of the talk to the effect that the man who wears the badge or the man who is in law enforcement is one who isn't backed in his community. There are some who do not back you. It has become somewhat fashionable, or had become somewhat fashionable in recent years, to make attacks on law enforcement officials. But let me say that the great majority of the American people in this country do provide backing for the men who are willing to sacrifice their lives or to risk their lives in order to save the lives of others.

You have our backing. You have the backing of the American people. And this particular ceremony provides an opportunity for us to state it again, and state it for all of the American people on this occasion.

Also on this occasion I am provided an opportunity to say a personal word with regard to my longtime friend and the man who is responsible for this Academy—Mr. Hoover.

I have known him for 24 years. As a young Congressman I worked with him and with others in the Federal Bureau of Investigation in major investigations of various subversive elements in this country.

Mr. Hoover—during my period of knowing him, over 24 years—has served under five Presidents. Three of them were Democrats; two were Republicans. In that period of 24 years that I have known him, I can say from personal knowledge that he is a man who has never served a party, he has always served his country, and he deserves credit for that.

Now incidentally, they say sometimes that Mr. Hoover is controversial. Let me tell you something. Anybody who is strong, anybody who fights for what he believes in, anybody who stands up when it is tough is bound to be controversial. And I say that insofar as he is concerned, there may be controversy, but the great majority of the American people back Mr. Hoover and they back our law enforcement officials like yourself throughout this country.

So with that, I am honored to be here, to break into your graduation ceremony to reassure you and all of the men in law enforcement throughout the country of the support you have at the very highest levels in government for your work—your work which is sometimes dangerous, sometimes underpaid but, believe me, deeply appreciated.

The Nation is in your debt for what you are willing to do, and I am honored to speak for the entire Nation in saying to you congratulations, wishing you well, and seeing that this Nation is one in which we will have respect for law, in which the American people can have freedom from fear.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:42 a.m. in the Departmental Auditorium at the Department of Labor to graduates of the 87th session of the Academy.

219 Statement About Ratification of the 26th Amendment to the Constitution. *June* 30, 1971

TONIGHT Ohio's Legislature ratified the 26th Amendment to the Constitution. This Amendment guarantees the right of 18-year-old persons to vote in State and local, as well as Federal, elections. It appears that 38 States have now ratified the Amendment that will now become a part of the law of the land.

Some 11 million young men and women who have participated in the life of our Nation through their work, their studies, and their sacrifices for its defense, are now to be fully included in the electoral process of our country.

For more than 20 years, I have advocated the 18-year-old vote. I heartily congratulate our young citizens on having gained this right.

The ratification of this Amendment has been accomplished in the shortest time of any amendment in American history. This fact affirms our Nation's confidence in its youth and its trust in their responsibility. It also reinforces our young people's dedication to a system of government whose Constitution permits ordered change.

I urge them to honor this right by exercising it—by registering and voting in each election.

220 Remarks of the President, Chief Justice Warren E. Burger, and Speaker of the House Carl Albert at a Ceremony Opening the American Revolution Bicentennial Era. *July* 3, 1971

THE PRESIDENT. *Mr. Speaker, Mr. Chief Justice, and our very distinguished guests:*

We are, in this room, in the presence of some immortal phrases: All men are created equal; government derives its powers from the consent of the governed; life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

These are familiar words—perhaps too familiar. Because the real meaning of the words of independence is the meaning we

give them today, in our own lives, and the love of liberty and equality that we pass on to our children.

The American Revolution was not something that happened two centuries ago; it is something that is happening today. Behind it is a spirit of adventure, a spirit of compassion, a spirit of moral courage—the "Spirit of '76." In that spirit, as President of the United States in this 195th year of its existence, I declare the 5 years until our 200th anniversary to be the Bicentennial Era. In this Bicentennial Era, let us rededicate ourselves to the principles set forth by the men whose faces can be seen in the magnificent murals in this room—rededicate ourselves to the principles set down in these documents.

One of those principles is the separation of powers. So it is fitting that we have with us tonight leaders of the other two branches of Government. First, to speak to you about the meaning and spirit embodied in our Bill of Rights—the Chief Justice of the United States.

THE CHIEF JUSTICE. *Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, members of the Commission, fellow Americans:*

When we celebrate 200 years of the Declaration of Independence, in 1976, we will honor a period in the life of our country rather than a single historical event.

July 4, 1776 was a great occasion in our history and in the history of mankind, because it was the beginning of 15 years of startling developments. In that very brief period—the time it takes for a boy or a girl, today, to go from primary school to the third year in college—a handful of men in our small country, with a population of only a few million people at that time, wrote the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the Bill of Rights, and literally shook the world with a new idea in government.

These three remarkable documents that we see here tonight gave the oppressed people everywhere in the world new heart, and the world has never been quite the same since that time. These men created a new form of revolution—one that ebbs and flows but never ceases, and it never needs force or violence.

Many of the men who framed these great charters of liberty were young men. Thomas Jefferson, the prime author of the Declaration, was 33; James Madison was only 25. When the Constitution was later written at Philadelphia, almost one-third of the active working delegates to that Convention were under 35.

But even after the Declaration and after the Constitution, there was such a deep concern that the people be protected from arbitrary actions of government, that in 1791 the guarantees of the Bill of Rights were added to the Constitution. These guarantees made more certain that the promises of the Declaration would be fulfilled and that such great rights as freedom of worship, freedom of expression, and due process of law could never be withdrawn from the people without their consent.

These were revolutionary ideas, and with them we Americans began a very special kind of revolution. And that revolution has gone on to this very day. Those who are impatient for change should see that no nation in all history has ever given so much power to the people, and no people have ever used that power more often and more wisely to improve their lives and secure their liberties.

Even though this revolution of ours will soon be 200 years old, it is still youthful

and vital. Everyday is the beginning of a new phase in this kind of revolution—it is steady, slow, often silent and almost unseen, but it is a revolution that works constantly to improve the quality of life. It will always work that way if we make it work.

That is the American way.

THE PRESIDENT. Thank you, Mr. Chief Justice.

One of the great purposes of our Constitution was—in its words—"to form a more perfect Union." In the halls of Congress, that process of forming a more perfect Union—of improving our laws to make them more responsive to the changing needs of our people—has been going on for nearly 200 years.

Here, to speak to that subject, is the Speaker of the House of Representatives.

THE SPEAKER. *Mr. President, Mr. Chief Justice, my fellow countrymen:*

Amid the dissension that sometimes amounts to hate in our country today, it behooves us to remind ourselves that we are a united nation where every individual, regardless of race, color, creed, or economic status, is under our system clothed in the dignity that befits the image of his Maker.

America's first form of government was a confederation of States, loosely organized, but with the Articles of Confederation came chaos and black despair. There could be no liberty without union, no independence without strength. And so it was that in May 1787, a group of earnest men, representatives of the American States, assembled in the city of Philadelphia and formulated a constitution providing for a more perfect Union and guaranteeing the individual rights of men to themselves and their posterity.

In forging that Union, they constructed a system of government rigid enough to preserve its basic principles, flexible enough to be applied to any new conditions brought in the tide of time, conservative enough to protect the individual from the fickle winds of popular impulse. Forged to protect and to secure individual liberty, that government is yet ever responsive to the will of the majority; for by empowering the people with the right to elect their representatives, it gives the people the right to make and enforce the law and to control and operate their whole machinery of government. By dividing responsibility between an executive, a legislature, and an independent judiciary, that government prevents tyranny over men.

After nearly 200 years, that government still stands tall and rugged. It emerged from the Civil War unimpaired. It emerged from the two mightiest wars in history, grand and glorious. It has survived depressions and riots and troubles of all kinds, but it yet stands a monument to that spirit of forbearance, compromise, and self-restraint that has kept our Constitution vibrant. That same spirit will allay the divisions which haunt us today and will ensure for ourselves and our posterity not only the blessings of liberty but a still more perfect Union.

THE PRESIDENT. *My fellow Americans:*

We share tonight a great moment, the beginning of the Bicentennial Era. In this room, so rich in our most precious heritage, we look back across two centuries with pride and gratitude to all the brave and dedicated Americans, some famous but most unknown, who made it possible for us to be here today.

But on this day, like the men and women who brought these United States into being 195 years ago, let us look more

to the future rather than to the past. What kind of country do we want to be 5 years from now on America's third century as it begins?

Above all, we want the world of 1976 to be one in which Americans can live in peace with all the peoples of the world, and at peace with themselves.

We are already taking the first long step toward that goal by ending the difficult war in which we are engaged, in a way that will contribute not only to peace in the Pacific but to peace in the world, not only to peace for our generation but to peace for the next generation. But we can reach that goal after Vietnam only if America continues to meet its responsibilities of leadership in building a structure of lasting peace in the world.

The stakes are much higher for us than they were for the Founding Fathers. One hundred and ninety-five years ago, what America did or did not do could have little effect on the peace of the world. But today we hold the high trust of free world leadership, and if we fail to meet our trust the danger of war will be enormously increased.

The future of the peace of the world is in our hands. We cannot and we shall not fail.

Whatever mistakes we have made in foreign policy, we can be proud that in four wars in this century Americans have sacrificed their lives not for domination or conquest, but always to help others to enjoy the freedom which we ourselves gained in 1776. We shall never betray that tradition. We shall always use our strength to keep the peace, not to break it, to defend freedom, not to destroy it.

The peace we seek is not merely the absence of war, but the building of an open world—a world of open borders, open hearts, open minds, where people with different cultures and different systems of government can live side by side and draw strength from their diversity; a world where all men can devote their energies to the works of peace rather than to the weapons of war. This is the world our foreign policy, a foreign policy in which we emphasize negotiation rather than confrontation, seeks to build.

And what of our Bicentennial goals for America at home? Here, too, we must aim high, for we already have achieved beyond the dreams of many other nations in the world. Americans today have by far the highest standard of living in the world, but even more important, we enjoy more freedom, we have more opportunity than any people in the world's history. Even the man who is poor by America's standards would be rich in most other nations of the world today.

And yet we have no room for self-satisfaction. There is still so much to achieve in this country. Over the next 5 years we can confidently hope to achieve these high goals:

—Full employment without the cost of war.

—The restoration of our heritage of clean air and water which our forefathers enjoyed two centuries ago.

—A nation in which we again have respect for law and freedom from fear.

—Better education, health, and housing for all Americans.

—Reforms of our Government to make our Government more responsive to the needs of our time.

—Unlimited opportunity for every American citizen, whatever his background.

These are great goals, but we could reach all these material goals and still not be worthy of our heritage unless we have the "Spirit of '76."

The new United States of America 195 years ago was a small nation of only 3 million people, as the Chief Justice pointed out. It was weak militarily, poor economically, and yet in the face of all that, Thomas Jefferson said, we act not "for ourselves alone, but for the whole human race." And the wonder of it was that the world believed him!

America caught the imagination of the world in those days, not because she was strong or rich but because the young Nation stood for something far more important. It had a flaming idealism, a high purpose, a free spirit that has come to be called the "Spirit of '76." The American people believed in themselves, in their country, and their ideals. America 195 years ago was weak in arms and poor in goods, but rich in spirit. Let it not be said of our America today that we were strong in arms and rich in goods, but poor in spirit.

For we are not poor in spirit. The American spirit which inspired these historic documents around us here in this Archives lives today, hard at work, stronger than ever. We have been reminded eloquently of it by the Chief Justice and the Speaker, and as we celebrate the Fourth of July tomorrow, on Sunday, we will be reminded of another great source of America's continuing strength — our deep religious faith.

To look at America with clear eyes today is to see every reason for pride and little for shame, great cause for gratitude and little for regret, strong grounds for hope and none for despair. The crucial challenge now is to hold the high ground of confidence, courage, and faith that is rightly ours, and to avoid the quicksand of fear and doubt.

If we are to measure up as Americans, and if America is to measure up as a nation, the commitment which each of us makes to freedom cannot be less than the total commitment made by the 56 patriots who put their names to the Declaration of Independence so long ago.

There is a famous painting of these men which hangs in the Roosevelt Room across from the President's office in the White House. It is unusual because for some reason the artist never finished it. Many of the figures in the background of the scene are only sketched in or left blank. That painting reminds us of a profound truth. The American Revolution is unfinished business, with important roles still open for each of us to play.

The message of that uncompleted painting is this: Any American can be a signer of the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, the Bill of Rights. We write our names with the lives we live. One of America's new voters, Miss Cynthia Frink, 18 years of age, signed her name to America's highest ideals in her high school valedictory speech a few evenings ago. Her message is for all of us on this Independence Day. Listen to her:

"I think the time has come to defend America. I simply feel that on such an evening as this, thought should be given to the goodness of America, to the freedom it provides, greater than anything else anywhere on earth, even the liberty to attack the government which makes that freedom possible. We are truly man's hope. No country has stood more firmly than she; been more just as she is just;

71-234—72——54

been more generous than she has been; or is more deserving of the praise of her people than America."

We are going through a period when it is not always easy to keep a clear perspective about ourselves, our country, and our future. Day after day voices are raised to tell us what is wrong about America. We should, and will, correct what is wrong, but let us never allow what is wrong [to] blind us to what is right about America. The time has come to answer the false charge that this is an ugly country.

Let us love America. Let us love her not because she is strong and not because she is rich, but because America is a good country, and we can make her better.

One hundred and twelve years ago, in one of the most tragic events in America's history, John Brown, after the bloody raid on Harper's Ferry, was tried, convicted, and sentenced to hang.

On his way to the gallows he rode in a wagon with his own coffin right beside him. As he rode through the Virginia countryside that day, speaking to no one in particular, he said, "This is a beautiful country."

If John Brown, with his own death imminent, just before the tragic War Between the States, could say that, then even more we today can truly say: America is a beautiful country, and we are privileged to be the generation that has the magnificent opportunity to make America more beautiful for the generations to come.

NOTE: The ceremony began at 10:30 p.m. in the Exhibition Hall at the National Archives. Sponsored by the American Revolution Bicentennial Commission, it was broadcast live on radio and television.

221 Remarks at a Ceremony Marking the Certification of the 26th Amendment to the Constitution. *July* 5, 1971

IT IS a great privilege to welcome this very exciting group to the White House on the day that we celebrate our national Independence Day. It seems to me that it is particularly appropriate that on this same day we are certifying the 26th Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

That Amendment, as you know, provides for the right to vote of all of our young people between 18 and 21—11 million new voters as a result of this amendment that you now will see certified by the GSA Administrator.

Now, the custom on certification of an amendment has varied through the history of this country. Always, of course, the certification is provided, but as far as witnesses are concerned, sometimes the President witnesses it—usually he has in recent years—but I understand a President has a prerogative to ask for additional witnesses if he likes.

On this occasion, therefore, I am going to ask that three of the representatives of this group who are 18 years of age or older—and I understand you range from 15 to 20, so we picked three 18-year-olds. We have worked this out so that you know it is absolutely fair, by lot, through checking with Mr. Ramsey, your choir director. They cover all parts of the country. If

these three would step forward as I call their names and stand beside me on my left: first, Julianne Jones from Memphis, Tennessee; second, Joseph Loyd from Detroit, Michigan; and third—incidentally, I don't think this was an accident—we have one from California, and it is Paul Larimer from Concord, California.

[At this point, Robert L. Kunzig, Administrator of General Services, signed the certification of the Amendment, and the President and Julianne Jones, Joseph W. Loyd, Jr., and Paul S. Larimer of the "Young Americans in Concert" signed as witnesses. The President then resumed speaking.]

If Mr. Ramsey would step forward, I am going to present the pen that I witnessed with to the director. I wish we had 500 more pens, but that is above our budget.

If I could have your attention for just a moment—this is, of course, a very historic occasion in this famous room, the East Room of the White House. I am sure that as you are here witnessing the signing of the 26th Amendment, its certification, that you must think back about all the things that must have happened in this room from the times that John Adams, who was the first President to live in the White House, lived here.

I think particularly it is significant that this group, "Young Americans in Concert," is here today, and that you are going to go abroad; you are going to be in Europe, as I understand, for 28 days.

I have been thinking about what kind of a message you would be taking to Europe, what you would be saying. You are going to be saying it, of course, in song, but you also will be saying it by your presence, by how you represent America. I think these are some of the things that we in the United States would like the people of Europe to hear from our young people, those who represent us so well, as you will be representing us in these next 28 days.

Naturally, you all know that America is the richest and strongest nation in the world. But it is not that—the fact that we are strong, the fact that we are rich—that makes America the hope of the world, that made it the hope of the world when it began, and makes it still the hope of the world today.

In other words, when we look at our strength, the thing that you can be proud of is that you can tell anybody in Europe, in Asia, Latin America, anyplace in the world, that America in this century has never used its strength to break the peace, only to keep it. We have never used our strength to take away anybody's freedom, only to defend freedom.

You can also assure them that the strength of America in this last third of a century when you will be making the great decisions by your votes, and perhaps in your positions of leadership, that America's strength will be used to bring peace and keep peace in the world.

This is a very important thing, because many other powers, when they reach the pinnacle where we are, the pinnacle of free world leadership, still had designs on conquests. The United States of America doesn't want an acre of territory. We do not want to dominate anybody else. We want other people simply to have the freedom that we enjoy. That is what we believe in and that is what you can say as you go abroad.

Now, let me say a word about our wealth. We are a very rich country, rich by any standard that civilization has ever put for nations. But the fact that a country is rich isn't going to make you very

popular abroad—not popular because, after all, people who do not have as much as we have wonder, how do we get it, how are we going to use it.

You can be very proud in that respect, too. You can point out that as far as our wealth is concerned, that it isn't something that is an end in itself. We are not proud of it because we are rich. We are proud because what we have in the way of wealth enables us to do good things.

For example, there was a terrible flood in Romania, a Communist country, a few months ago. We were able to send $10 million to the people in that land. You all read about the terrible earthquake in Peru, you know, where 50,000 people were killed. We sent millions of American dollars to that country.

Whenever people in other lands have problems, we are able to help them. In fact, since World War II, $100 billion has come from America to help both our friends and those who had been our enemies. We could not have done that unless we were rich.

Then here at home, what does wealth mean? Well, it isn't an end in itself; it should never be. If it does become an end in itself, then we are simply a rich country or a rich person living selfishly, thinking only of what is good for us.

But the reason that our wealth means something far more than that is that it enables us today to set out goals higher than any people in the history of the world. We can do more in building better education. We can do more, for example, in improving health care in this country. We can do more in campaigning on a program against poverty, in raising the level of all of our people, than any nation in the world, and the reason we can do it is because America is a rich country.

Therefore, we are not proud of the fact that we are rich simply because of that, but we say we—in view of the fact that we produce so much—that we are very privileged to be able to do good things, and may it always be that way.

Finally, I would like to leave this thought with you: I think more than conveying to the people of Europe, what is the truth, that America is strong and that America is rich and that we will use our strength and our wealth for good things, I think that what they would like to hear from young Americans is what I know you convey as I see you here today, and that is that we stand for something far more important than wealth and far more important than strength.

We stand for something that made this country the wonder of the world 195 years ago. Just think of it: 3 million people then, very poor, very weak by world standards, and yet Thomas Jefferson was able to say, we act not "for ourselves alone, but for the whole human race." He could not have said that and the world would not have believed him—and they did believe him—unless America stood for something other than wealth and strength.

What did it stand for? Well, first, it was a young nation, and second, it was an idealistic nation, and third, it was a nation that believed in itself, that had faith in God, and also that set very high purposes and very high goals for all people. That is why people came to America when they had the opportunity, because here there was more chance, more opportunity than in any nation in the world.

It is significant, incidentally, that this very desk on which we have certified this amendment was the desk that Thomas Jefferson used at the Continental Congress during the time that that Congress

was meeting in Philadelphia. He used to stand up writing at that desk because while he was a relatively young man, not perhaps by your standards, but certainly by mine, only 33 years of age, he had arthritis and he therefore liked to write standing up.

Coming now to the basic theme, the reason that I believe that young Americans—you who represent the youth of America at its best—the reason that I believe that you will represent America well abroad, the reason I believe that your generation, the 11 million new voters, will do so much for America at home, is that you will infuse into this country some idealism, some courage, some stamina, some high moral purpose that this Nation always needs, because a country throughout history, we find, goes through ebbs and flows of idealism. Time after time the country needs an infusion of new spirit, an infusion of youth. You are bringing that.

As I meet with this group today, I sense that we can have confidence that America's new voters, America's young generation, will provide what America needs as we approach our 200th birthday, not just strength and not just wealth but the "Spirit of '76," a spirit of moral courage, a spirit of high idealism in which we believe in the American dream, but in which we realize that the American dream can never be fulfilled until every American has an equal chance to fulfill it in his own life.

That is what I believe. It is what you believe. And that is why, I think, we are so proud to have you in this room today on this historic occasion.

Mr. Ramsey, we have had some great stars perform in this room, of course, some of the great stars in opera and some of the marvelous singing groups, and some from the age of jazz—Duke Ellington, for example, was here—and many others that are perhaps more relevant to the group here. But I think that this room would be honored to have this group that is going to represent us in Europe sing in the White House. Could we have a number from you?

[At this point, the "Young Americans in Concert," under the direction of William Ramsey, sang the "Battle Hymn of the Republic." The President then resumed speaking.]

Mr. Ramsey, I have heard the "Battle Hymn of the Republic" at least 700 or 800 times, and I have heard it sung by many fine groups, but I can tell you that after hearing this rendition, that no group has ever sung it better. Believe me, this is a magnificent job.

Now, I want to ask you a question: How many of you have been to Europe before? Just a few.

Now, one thing you are going to find is that when you are there, it is very exciting, you know, to see all these places that you read about when you were in school and the rest, and the sightseeing, in addition to the performance, and the people you are going to meet, and you are going to, of course, get acquainted with some different kinds of food than you have been used to, but it will be fun.

From my own experience, I can tell you that after traveling to about 70 countries in the world that I have always enjoyed it, and I have always enjoyed particularly trying different kinds of food. But after I have been gone about a month, I say, "Gee, I would like to have some home cooking." Now, I told Mrs. Nixon, as we were getting off the helicopter, that we really ought to provide some home cooking. We don't quite have enough for 500,

but we do have refreshments. And I checked it out and I find that the punch is very good, and it is made from Florida and California products. But as far as the home cooking is concerned, I found that the cookies were made by a Swiss chef, but they also will be very good.

I want you to know, though, in a very serious sense, that this house is one that all Presidents have lived in since John Adams was President, but it really belongs to the whole country.

There is a wonderful Spanish phrase, whenever you go into a Spanish country and somebody welcomes you at an airplane, or as you go into a house, even a very humble house, they will say *"Estan ustedes en su casa,"* which means, of course, "You are in your own house."

I want everyone here, all 500 of you, to feel that for the few moments that you are here enjoying the home cooking and also the White House tour, this is your house, this is your home; you are in your own house. We are very proud of you. We hope you have a wonderful trip, and we hope you come back to Washington many times and come back to this house many times.

Thank you.

By the way, in checking at the warehouse, we find we do have enough pens for all 500 of you.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:32 p.m. in the East Room at the White House.

The "Young Americans in Concert" program was sponsored by the Universal Academy for Music, Princeton, N.J. The young musicians, numbering approximately 500, were selected from every State in the Nation.

The 26th Amendment to the Constitution is printed in the United States Statutes at Large (85 Stat. 829). The document certifying the Amendment is printed in the Federal Register of July 7, 1971 (36 F.R. 12725).

222 Remarks to Midwestern News Media Executives Attending a Briefing on Domestic Policy in Kansas City, Missouri. *July* 6, 1971

Ladies and gentlemen:

From reading the agenda, I think you have had a pretty full plate on the domestic issues. I gather from looking at the people here at the head table that you have been briefed.

I heard the answer to the last question on the economy. I understand there were other questions on that, and on our health program, also on our environment, on our revenue sharing, reorganization programs, on our crime programs, particularly with regard to the control of dangerous drugs, and also programs that may be in related fields that Mr. MacGregor[1] may have covered.

I think perhaps for this kind of meeting, what I could best do is to put all of these domestic programs into a broader context, to indicate the relationship between these programs and the problems that America has in the world.

Sometimes that seems very, very hard to do. I realize that it is quite the approach these days to suggest that we

[1] Clark MacGregor, Counsel to the President for Congressional Relations.

either ought to look at our foreign policy and put that as priority number one—in other words, the security of America must come first—or we must put our priority on domestic problems, and turn away from our problems in the world.

Of course, the answer is to that: We must do both. Because it would not make any sense to have the best environment with clean air and clean water and good jobs and all the rest if we were not around to enjoy it. On the other side of the coin, we are not going to be able to play an effective role in the world unless we have a healthy environment, economically and in every other way.

So what I would like to do is to, for a few moments, discuss the world position that we find ourselves in today, and then indicate why I believe these domestic programs—a program of reform which goes far beyond any program of reform that has been submitted to the American people in over 50 years, or 40 years I should say—why that program is so essential at this particular time; why it is that America now cannot be satisfied domestically, we can't rest on our laurels; why we have to make a critical examination of everything we are doing in this country to see whether we are doing it with the most efficiency possible.

Now, in terms of our world situation, the tendency is—and this has been the case for the last 5 to 6 years—for us to obscure our vision, almost totally, of the world because of Vietnam. That is understandable. We are always concerned about the war in which we are currently involved. That was true at the time of Korea; it is now true of Vietnam.

The difficulty is that as we obscure our vision with Vietnam, we do not see very significant changes that have occurred in the world over the past 25 years, the period since World War II, and changes that have occurred even more dramatically, perhaps, over the past 5 to 10 years, and ones that may be in the offing. So I would like to take Vietnam very briefly.

I have nothing new to say on Vietnam. It seems to me, however, that since so much has been written and said in recent weeks about how we got in, it might be well to reiterate what we are doing to get out.

On Vietnam, what we find is that 300,000 Americans have left Vietnam since this Administration came in. A division a month are coming home each month at this time. As far as casualties are concerned, it is interesting to note that the casualties in the month of June were less on a monthly basis than the weekly casualties we were having a year ago. When we came into office, they were 15 times as great per month or per week or per day, take the index, whatever it is. One is too many, but that does indicate the winding down of the war.

As far as the ending of the war is concerned, as far as American involvement, we find that we are proceeding on two tracks. We are actively pursuing the negotiating channel. We also, regardless of what happens on the negotiating front, are pursuing our program of Vietnamization in which all Americans will be withdrawn from Vietnam consistent with two objectives: first, of course, the release of our prisoners of war; and second, in a way that will contribute to a permanent and lasting peace, we hope, in Southeast Asia and in the Pacific rather than in a way that might increase the danger of another war.

I will simply conclude this section by saying this: Vietnam is an issue which, of

course, concerns us. It is an issue, however, to which we have an answer. The American involvement is being ended. It will be ended certainly. The question is only a matter of time and only a matter of how. So consequently, it seems to me that a group of editors, opinionmakers like yourselves, should, and I think will, appreciate the opportunity to look beyond Vietnam.

For example, a year from now, what is the world going to look like as Vietnam moves from our vision, or at least recedes from it, and what will America's role in the world be at that time?

As I came into the room I noticed Martin Hayden,[2] shook hands with him, and I perhaps can put my remarks on the world scene in context by pointing out that he first came to see me when I was a freshman Congressman. It was 24 years ago. I was thinking how much had happened in those 24 years. Many of you, a few of you, are old enough to remember what America was 24 years ago.

We were number one in the world militarily, with no one who even challenged us because we had a monopoly on atomic weapons. We also at that point, of course, were number one economically by all odds. In fact, the United States of America was producing more than 50 percent of all the world's goods.

That was just 25 years ago. Now, 25 years having passed, let's look at the situation today and what it may be 5 years from now or 10 years from now. I will not try to limit myself to 5 or 10 years except to say that in the next decade we are going to see changes that may be even greater than what have occurred in the last 25 years, and very great ones have occurred in that respect.

First, instead of just America being number one in the world from an economic standpoint, the preeminent world power, and instead of there being just two super powers, when we think in economic terms and economic potentialities, there are five great power centers in the world today. Let's look at them very briefly.

There is, of course, the United States of America. There is, second, Western Europe—Western Europe with Britain in the Common Market. That means 300 million of the most advanced people in the world, with all the productivity and all the capacity that those people will have and, of course, with the clout that they have when they will act together, as they certainly will. That is a new factor in the world scene that will come, and come very soon, as we all know.

Then in the Pacific, looking also at free world countries, we have a resurgent Japan. I met with steel leaders this morning—leaders of industry and leaders of unions.[3] I pointed out what had happened to Japan in terms of their business: Just 20 years ago Japan produced 5 million tons of steel a year; this year they produced 100 million tons of steel; 2 years from now Japan will produce more steel than the United States of America.

That is what has happened. It has happened in the case of Japan, in the case of Germany, our two major enemies in

[2] Martin S. Hayden, editor in chief, Detroit News.

[3] The President met with union and management leaders of the steel industry to urge a constructive wage settlement which would help the industry become more competitive in world markets. The transcript of a news briefing on the meeting by George P. Shultz, Director, Office of Management and Budget, was released by the White House on July 6, 1971.

World War II, partly as a result of our help in getting them on their feet. But it has happened since that time as a result of their own energy and their own ability.

So now we have three power centers—the United States, Western Europe, Japan, noting that both Western Europe and Japan are very potent competitors of the United States—friends, yes; allies, yes—but competing and competing very hard with us throughout the world for economic leadership.

Now we turn to the other two super powers, economic super powers I will say for the moment. The Soviet Union, of course, first comes to mind. Looking at the Soviet Union, we are entering a period which only time will tell may be successful in terms of creating a very new relationship or a very different relationship than we have had previously.

I referred to the need for an era of negotiation rather than confrontation when I made my inaugural speech. We have been negotiating; we have made some progress in negotiating. The important thing is that we are negotiating rather than confronting in many areas of the world where confrontation could lead to explosion. Whether it is on the limitation of nuclear arms, whether it is on the central issue of Europe, or whether it is on the Mideast, negotiations are going on.

I am not suggesting that these negotiations are going to lead to instant peace and instant relationships with the Soviet Union such as we presently have with our friends in Western Europe and with our friends in Asia who may be allied with us, or who may have systems of government that are more closely aligned to ours. What we have to recognize is that even as we limit arms, if we do reach an agreement in that field, and even if we find ways to avoid confrontation in other areas, and perhaps work out negotiated settlements for mutual force reductions in Europe, the problem of Berlin, all the others that come to mind, we must recognize that the Soviet Union will continue to be a very potent, powerful, and aggressive competitor of the United States of America. And, ironically—and this is also true of Mainland China, as I will point out in a moment—as we have more and more success on the negotiation front, as for example the Soviet Union, like the United States, may be able if we have a limitation in nuclear arms, if we are able to turn our eyes more toward our economic development and our economic problems, it simply means that the competition changes and becomes much more challenging in the economic area than it has been previously.

So what we find, in other words, is that the success, and we do want success, of a policy of negotiation rather than confrontation will lead to infinitely more economic competition from the Soviet Union.

Mainland China is, of course, a very different situation. First in terms of its economic capacity at the present time, a pretty good indication of where it is is that Japan, with 100 million people, produces more than Mainland China, with 800 million people. But that should not mislead us, and it gives us, and should give none of the potential competitors in world markets of Mainland China, any sense of satisfaction that it will always be that way. Because when we see the Chinese as people—and I have seen them all over the world, and some of you have, too, whether in Hong Kong, or whether in Taiwan, or whether they are in Singapore or Bangkok, any of the great cities, Manila,

where Chinese are there—they are creative, they are productive, they are one of the most capable people in the world. And 800 million Chinese are going to be, inevitably, an enormous economic power, with all that that means in terms of what they could be in other areas if they move in that direction.

That is the reason why I felt that it was essential that this Administration take the first steps toward ending the isolation of Mainland China from the world community. We had to take those steps because the Soviet Union could not, because of differences that they have that at the present time seem to be irreconcilable. We were the only other power that could take those steps.

Let me be very, shall I say, limited in what I would discuss on this particular issue, because we should not consider that more has happened than has happened. What we have done is simply opened the door—opened the door for travel, opened the door for trade.

Now the question is whether there will be other doors opened on their part. But at least the doors must be opened and the goal of U.S. policy must be, in the long term, ending the isolation of Mainland China and a normalization of our relations with Mainland China because, looking down the road—and let's just look ahead 15 to 20 years—the United States could have a perfectly effective agreement with the Soviet Union for limitation of arms; the danger of any confrontation there might have been almost totally removed.

But Mainland China, outside the world community, completely isolated, with its leaders not in communication with world leaders, would be a danger to the whole world that would be unacceptable, unacceptable to us and unacceptable to others as well.

So consequently, this step must be taken now. Others must be taken, very precisely, very deliberately, as there is reciprocation on the other side.

But now let's see how this all fits into the economic program that I mentioned a moment ago, and the economic challenge. The very success of our policy of ending the isolation of Mainland China will mean an immense escalation of their economic challenge not only to us but to others in the world.

I again come back to the fundamental point: 800 million Chinese, open to the world, with all the communication and the interchange of ideas that inevitably will occur as a result of that opening, will become an economic force in the world of enormous potential.

So, in sum, what do we see? What we see as we look ahead 5 years, 10 years, perhaps it is 15, but in any event, within our time, we see five great economic super powers: the United States, Western Europe, the Soviet Union, Mainland China, and, of course, Japan.

Now, I do not suggest, in mentioning these five, that Latin America is not important, that Africa is not important, that South Asia is not important. All nations are important, and all peoples in underdeveloped or less developed countries will play their role. But these are the five that will determine the economic future and, because economic power will be the key to other kinds of power, the future of the world in other ways in the last third of this century.

Now let's see what this means to the United States. It means that the United States, as compared with that position we

found ourselves in immediately after World War II, has a challenge such as we did not even dream of. Then we were talking about the dollar gap; then we were talking about the necessity of—putting it in terms of a poker game—that the United States had all the chips and we had to spread a few of the chips around so that others could play.

We did it. One hundred billion dollars worth to Western Europe, for example, to rebuild them, and billions of others to other countries, and it was the correct policy as it turned out. But now when we see the world in which we are about to move, the United States no longer is in the position of complete preeminence or predominance. That is not a bad thing. As a matter of fact, it can be a constructive thing. The United States, let us understand, is still the strongest nation in the world; it is still the richest nation in the world. But now we face a situation where four other potential economic powers have the capacity, have the kind of people—if not the kind of government, but at least the kind of people—who can challenge us on every front.

That brings us back home, and it brings us back home for a hard look at what America needs to do if we are going to run this race economically and run it effectively and maintain the position of world leadership, a position that can only be maintained if the United States retains its preeminent position in the economic field.

I could sum it up briefly this way: First, in personal terms, we need a healthy people. Mr. Richardson has, of course, directed his comments to the need for programs that will make us a more healthy people in a very physical sense.

We need a healthy environment. And Mr. Ruckelshaus has directed his remarks to the need for programs that will make the environment in this country more healthy.

We need, also, a healthy economy. Mr. Stein has been talking about the economy, and I think it is only relevant to mention the fact that in terms of the economy that we have a situation here that at the moment, again, obscures our vision because of temporary problems which will change once the problems move along. For example, when we consider the problem of unemployment, it must be noted that if the 1,200,000 who have been let out of defense plants and out of the Armed Forces since this Administration came in were still in the Armed Forces and in Vietnam and in defense plants, unemployment would be less than 5 percent today. But the cost would be too high. What we want is high employment, and full employment to the extent that we can get full employment, but without the cost of war. And we can have it. That is what our policy is directed to achieve.

When we speak of a healthy economy, we are also speaking, as Mr. Stein mentioned—I heard his answer to that last question—of an economy in which the fires of inflation have been cooled. We are moving on that. We have made some progress, not enough, but we have made some.

At this particular point, it is essential that whether it is in having to make the hard decision to veto a public works bill which would not speak to the problem of unemployment now, but would enormously escalate the problem of inflation a year from now, and 2 years and 3 years and 4 years from now, or whether it is in speaking to the leaders of labor and

management and calling upon them to be responsive and responsible in their wage-price decisions in seeing that they were not inflationary, the United States, of course, if it is going to have a healthy economy, must move in those particular areas, as well as in others.

Also, when we speak in terms of our health, we must speak in terms of how we accomplish some of these goals. Let me now speak quite directly about a problem that I know has been the subject of many editorials, editorials of newspapers, and, of course, on television and radio to the extent that you are permitted to do so.

First, it has become rather common practice to berate the American system. Now, without being a bit jingoistic, and being totally objective, let us examine this system of ours, examine it in terms of the problems that I have just mentioned.

Health: It would be very easy at the time that we are looking at the problems of the distribution of health care to throw the baby out with the bath water and to fail to recognize that at the present time, while we have enormous problems which need to be dealt with—of distributing health care fairly so that everybody who needs medical care can get it—we must handle that problem without destroying what we also enjoy: the best medical care in the world in terms of quality. That is why our medical program, and our health program, is not one that throws out the present medical care system. It builds on it. It reforms it. It corrects it.

Let's look at the environment for a moment. Here one is tempted, as he goes into a place like Los Angeles—and I will be there in a few hours—and you see the smog, that yellow ugly smog hanging over the city or when you go down the Potomac and you see the filth in that river, to say: Wouldn't it be great if we didn't have automobiles? Wouldn't it be great if we didn't have all these factories? Wouldn't it be great if we could go back to the way it was in the beginning?

The answer is: not at all. I have been, and you have been, to countries that do not have the problems of the environment created by an industrial society. Those countries and those peoples, of course, would very much like to have those problems if that was the cost of raising their standard of living.

That is why Mr. Ruckelshaus—and this Administration—has emphasized, and will continue to emphasize an attack on the problem of the environment, but recognizing that the genius that created the industrial might of the United States, that created the problems in the environment, can be put to the task of cleaning it up. This we will do, and this we believe we can accomplish, consistent with maintaining our system.

In terms of our economy, when we talk about how we can change it and how we can deal, for example, with problems like the wage-price escalation, it, of course, has not gone unnoticed that many at this time tend to throw up their hands and conclude that the only answer to the problem is to go to wage and price controls. Some nibble at it at the edges and say, well, we ought to have a wage-price board, or others go all the way and say, why not wage and price controls. When you talk to management, however, they want wage controls. When you talk to labor, they want price controls. When you talk to Government, they recognize, as we recognize, you cannot have wage controls without price controls, and—any of us, as I was—I was in the OPA for a few months before I went into the serv-

ice in 1942—you cannot have wage and price controls without rationing.

It would help us on the unemployment problem. I just checked and I found that we had 47,000 in the OPA at the end of World War II enforcing all the regulations of wage and price controls across this country. And it wasn't working because it will not and it cannot work in peacetime.

That is why, despite the fact that even a majority of the American people, when they are asked, "Do you believe there should be wage and price controls?" say, "Yes." If they had them for a while they would say no with a vengeance, because one, they would not work in peacetime in controlling the problem; and two, because the cost in terms of snuffing out the dynamism and strength of the American economy would be a cost much too high to pay.

What I am simply suggesting is this: I am suggesting that as we talk about our system, that we must take the necessary steps to correct the problems that are wrong about it, but we must recognize that it is a system that has nevertheless produced today more jobs, higher wages, greater opportunity than any system in the world. And before lightly changing it or reforming it in a way that changes its character, let us also have this in mind.

I looked, for example, at the Soviet Union, and those of you who have traveled in the Soviet Union several times, as I have—my first trip in '59, my last in 1967—have noted the significant change that has occurred there. There we find that they have moved more and more to a system of rewards rather than every man according to his ability and receiving according to his needs, because the other will not work.

At a time that we find them moving—and, may I say, others who are trying the total socialist approach—moving our way, we could make no greater mistake than to move their way.

What are the economic miracles in the world today? Japan: a different system from ours in terms of government, but relying very, very heavily on private enterprise, private incentives. Germany: a different system from ours in terms of government, but again, private enterprise oriented, private incentives.

And here is the United States of America. At this particular time, as we look around the world, we should not turn away from what is really the great source of our strength.

Now, I have mentioned the personal health that is very important, the health of our environment, the health of our economy; I should also touch upon the health of government. Government in this country needs some major surgery; it is too fat. It has in many cases too many useless limbs; some need to be chopped off. Certainly it needs to be reduced in size. And most of all, of course, it needs an infusion of leadership and responsibility at local and State levels which is going to be essential if you are going to have improvement of government in this country.

That is why revenue sharing, that is why government reorganization are very high on our agenda. There is not much sex appeal in these programs unless you talk to mayors or Governors or county officials who say, "Please give us the money or we cannot pay our payrolls."

But on the other hand, they are enormously important because the United States cannot go into this last third of a century of competition, when we are going

to have to be at our best, with an unhealthy government structure. We have got to thin it down; we have got to get it ready for the race. It is not ready for the race. That is why at the present time we are strongly advocating these changes.

There is one other kind of health that the Nation needs. I don't want to sound here like a moralist or a preacher, although I have great respect for preachers and moralists. This Nation needs moral health. By moral health, I use the term in a very broad sense.

Don Rumsfeld, I know, has addressed himself to the problem of drugs and, I assume, law enforcement. I have stated categorically, and I state it again here today, that in this Administration the era of permissiveness in law enforcement has come to an end. We are going to continue to support strong laws dealing with criminal elements; we are going to continue to support law enforcement officials up and down this land; and we are going to continue to have a program that will reduce the rise in crime and eventually reverse it.

One of our most substantial achievements has been that in cities over 100,000, that in 61 of them the crime rate went down in the last quarter, and in the city of Washington it went down for the first time in almost 20 years. Now this kind of progress is, of course, significant—more needs to be made.

Let me now address myself to the narrow, but in a sense, decisive issue of drug control. I will not elaborate on what Don Rumsfeld said, except to say that we are dealing very effectively with the problem at its source. Our arrangement with the Government of Turkey: to the great credit of the Turkish Prime Minister and his Government, we have, of course, stopped that source, and it will be totally stopped by June of next year. We are dealing with it through a better law enforcement; we are dealing with it also in terms of rehabilitation.

But the fundamental problem in terms of drugs goes far beyond that. You can stop the source of supply in one country, and if there is enough demand they will grow it someplace else. You can have the strongest laws possible, and if there is enough demand and enough use, you are just going to have to add more officials.

So what we really need here in this instance is to get at the fundamental cause, and the fundamental cause has to do, as all of you know, has to do with basically a problem in our society. This we must recognize: The problem is no longer a black problem, it is no longer a ghetto problem; it never was, as a matter of fact, although it was predominant in many of these areas. It is one that has moved now to the suburbs; it has moved to the upper middle class and the upper class as well. It is particularly a problem among younger people. It is not limited to veterans. It is one which goes far beyond that. All these things we know.

The real problem, fundamentally, gets down to why; why do people take them? And there we find the fundamental challenge of our time, a challenge that opinion leaders have to meet. If individuals have something to live for, if individuals have something to believe in, then the tendency to throw up their hands, to retreat, to give up on life, is substantially reduced.

But as a society comes to the point where there is negativism, defeatism, a sense of alienation, it is inevitable that younger people will give up. They will turn to drugs, to any other kind of activity that is, of course, disruptive of the society.

I address myself at this point to this particular question for a reason that I think is quite relevant in view of the announcement that I made on July 3. I said then that the United States was entering its Bicentennial Era, because 5 years from July 4 of this year we will celebrate the 200th anniversary of the United States of America.

We wonder what kind of a nation we are going to be then. Well, I will flatly predict that 5 years from now we will still be the richest nation in the world. If we want to be—and this will depend upon the American people—and need to be, we will still be the strongest nation in the world. But the critical question is whether the United States will be a healthy nation, a healthy nation not simply with a healthy government and a healthy economy and a healthy environment and a healthy physical system insofar as we personally are concerned, but healthy in terms of its moral strength.

On that, there is a question. That question is raised often in your editorial columns, as I have noted because I read many of them. It should be raised. But I would only suggest that part of the reason for raising it is that again we tend to allow the problems of the moment to obscure our vision of the future. We tend to allow our faults—and we have many—to obscure the many virtues of our society.

I will not list them. Let us simply say this world leadership—oh, I know all the criticisms: the United States can't be trusted with power; the United States should recede from the world scene and take care of its own problems and leave world leadership to somebody else, because we engage in immorality in the conduct of our foreign policy. Let's take a look.

We have been in four wars in this century, and four times young Americans have gone abroad. We have done so without any idea of conquest or domination. We have lost hundreds of thousands of lives and we have not gotten a thing out of any of it. And we have helped each of our enemies, after each of the wars, get on his feet again.

Oh, we have made our mistakes. We make them now, for example, as we have made them in previous wars. But let me say this: Think for a moment. What other nation in the world would you like to have in the position of preeminent power? What other nation in the world that has what it takes would have the attitude that the United States has, as far as its foreign policy is concerned?

Here is a nation that did not seek the preeminent world position. It came to us because of what had happened in World War II. But here is a nation that has helped its former enemies, that is generous now to those that might be its opponents, a nation that, it seems to me, is one that the world is very fortunate, in a way, to have in a position of world leadership.

In terms of our domestic policies, I think we can truly say we have some problems. They are quite significant, and we like to look at those problems; not only look at them but we must work on them, and constantly see that America is revitalized, reinvigorated.

But as we look at those problems, the enormous strengths of this country can only be appreciated once you have seen other countries, great as they are, much as they have to offer, and come back and see what we have in America. I am not speaking of wealth, but I am speaking of freedom. I am speaking of opportunity. I am speaking of concern—concern that

people have not only for people here but for people in other places.

When we presented the program on July 3, some of you who may have heard it will note that it was in the Archives Building. I am often asked, as I am sure many of you are who are in Washington, what is your favorite building? My usual answer is the Lincoln Memorial, particularly at night with the light shining on the statue of Lincoln. But I would say that in terms of the most impressive building, impressive because it has the appearance of the ages there, it has to be the Archives—more impressive than the Capitol or the Lincoln Memorial or the Jefferson or the Washington or the White House itself.

These great marble columns give you the feeling of the past and also of what the Nation stands for, and you know that all the building is, is simply one that holds the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, the Declaration of Independence, the great documents that started the Nation at the beginning.

Sometimes when I see those pillars I think of seeing them on the Acropolis in Greece. I think of seeing them also in the Forum in Rome, great, stark pillars—and I have walked in both at night, as I have walked down by the Archives at night from time to time.

I think of what happened to Greece and to Rome and, as you see, what is left—only the pillars. What has happened, of course, is that great civilizations of the past, as they have become wealthy, as they have lost their will to live, to improve, they then have become subject to the decadence which eventually destroys a civilization.

The United States is now reaching that period. I am convinced, however, that we have the vitality, I believe we have the courage, I believe we have the strength out through this heartland and across this Nation that will see to it that America not only is rich and strong, but that it is healthy in terms of moral strength and spiritual strength. I am convinced it is there. I am convinced as I talk to crowds of people. I am convinced as I see a group of young people, 500 of them, going off to Europe, as I saw them yesterday, from 50 States.

But I also know that people need to be reassured. The people that can reassure them are opinion leaders, editors, television, radio commentators, teachers, even perhaps Presidents and politicians. At the present time, I will simply say in raising these problems, I don't raise them in any sense of defeatism; I don't raise them in the usual sense of pointing out that the United States is a country torn by division, alienation, that this is truly an ugly country, because I don't believe that.

I honestly believe that the United States, in its preeminent position of world leadership, has in its hands the future of peace in the world this last third of the century. I honestly believe that the United States has the destiny to play a great role, but I also know we cannot play it unless this is a healthy land, with a healthy government, a healthy citizenry, a healthy economy, and above all, the moral and spiritual health that can only come from the hearts of people and their minds, and that will only come as people are reassured from time to time, as we discuss our faults and as we correct our faults, reassured.

Keep them in balance. Don't let the problem of the moment obscure the great things that are going on in this country and the goodness of this country. It is

that that I would suggest to the editors and the other opinionmakers here: that from time to time, maybe once a month, that message might come through.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:56 p.m. in the Holiday Inn.

On the same day, the White House released a list of participants at the briefing.

223 Statement on the Death of Louis Armstrong. *July* 6, 1971

MRS. NIXON and I share the sorrow of millions of Americans at the death of Louis Armstrong. One of the architects of an American art form, a free and individual spirit, and an artist of worldwide fame, his great talents and magnificent spirit added richness and pleasure to all our lives.

NOTE: Mr. Armstrong, 71, died of a heart attack in his home in Corona, Queens, N.Y. He achieved worldwide fame as a jazz musician and trumpet player.

The statement was made available to the press on board Air Force One en route to San Clemente, Calif.

On July 9, 1971, Leonard Garment, Special Consultant to the President, represented the President at funeral services in New York City.

224 Statement Following Senate Approval of the Conquest of Cancer Bill. *July* 7, 1971

THE SENATE deserves the thanks of all Americans for its prompt bipartisan action today in passing the conquest of cancer act introduced by Senator Dominick and cosponsored by 67 Senators of both parties. This measure represents an important part of the "total national commitment" to an intensive campaign to find a cure for cancer that I called for in my State of the Union Message and in my special message to the Congress on a national health strategy. Another essential part of that commitment was the additional $100 million I asked for cancer research. The Congress has already met that request, and I signed the bill on May 25.

But money alone will not be enough. The way we organize our work in this field is also extremely important. It was for that reason that on May 11, I proposed legislation to establish the cancer cure program that would be independently budgeted, with its Director responsible directly to the President.

Now that the Senate has acted on this program, I urge prompt agreement by the House of Representatives so that we can swiftly lengthen our strides against the dreaded ravages of cancer, bringing new hope to all Americans—and indeed bringing new hope to the world.

NOTE: The statement was released at San Clemente, Calif.

225 Message About the Death of Dorothy Elston Kabis. *July* 9, 1971

THE UNTIMELY death of Dorothy Elston Kabis is a blow not only to her friends and associates, but to the country in whose service she lived and died.

Her dedication to good government was unwavering, her organizational talents unsurpassed, her sense of humor unfailing. The eloquence, perseverance and tireless devotion of "Dottie" Kabis to the important causes she espoused gave her immeasurable influence in countless areas of national endeavor.

She provided the modern American woman a stirring example around which to build her life, and proved to all of us the unlimited potential for achievement by women in our society.

The Republican Party is proud to claim her. But we are even prouder that she shared her talents with the nation. As we who worked with her and knew her best now memorialize the enduring good she did, we also set the tone for what will be a nation's lasting tribute. In our hearts, as in the hearts of her friends across the country, there will always be a special place for Dorothy Elston Kabis.

RICHARD NIXON

NOTE: Mrs. Kabis, 54, died of a heart attack while visiting her father's gravesite in Massachusetts on July 3, 1971. She had served as Treasurer of the United States since May 8, 1969.

Senator William V. Roth, Jr., of Delaware, read the message at memorial services for Mrs. Kabis at the National Presbyterian Church in Washington, D.C. The President was represented at the services by Virginia H. Knauer, Special Assistant to the President for Consumer Affairs, and Patricia Reilly Hitt, Assistant Secretary for Community and Field Services, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

The text of the message was posted for the press at San Clemente, Calif.

226 Statement on Signing the Office of Education and Related Agencies Appropriation Act, 1972. *July* 11, 1971

I AM SIGNING today H.R. 7016, which appropriates funds for fiscal 1972 for the Office of Education and several related Federal programs.

This will make Federal funds available to schools and colleges earlier than at any other time in recent years, thus permitting careful planning for the fall term by our educational institutions. In the past, such planning has too frequently been made impossible as a result of late enactment of education appropriations. The early passage and signing of this year's measure is an accomplishment of which both the Congress and the executive branch can be proud.

H.R. 7016 provides spending authority of $5.1 billion, and is the largest appropriation in the history of the Office of Education. These appropriations will permit the continuation of Federal programs in thousands of classrooms to improve the educational achievement and personal development of our Nation's children.

While H.R. 7016 contains the same level of spending authority as I requested

in my January budget for these programs, the distribution of funds differs from my proposals in several areas. The result of these differences will be an increase in Federal expenditures in fiscal year 1972 of $375 million over the amounts estimated in my January budget. This increase will require offsetting reductions elsewhere in the budget to maintain fiscal stability.

With the completion of action on this bill, I also urge the Congress to turn its attention now to other important proposals which the Administration has made in the field of education. These proposals would focus Federal resources on several significant problem areas and would also provide increased funds for education in 1972.

—The emergency school assistance act would provide sorely needed aid to school districts throughout the Nation which are dealing with the complex and difficult problems of desegregation. I have asked that $1.5 billion be made available over a 2-year period for this purpose. Prompt action on this proposal is imperative so that the first installment of these funds can be used by our schools during the next school year, which begins in 2 months.

—My proposal for education revenue sharing would allow States and localities to make their own decisions about how to use $3 billion in Federal funds in ways that would best serve the educational needs of their own children. This proposal would overcome the many problems of present Federal aid to elementary and secondary education, which provides funds in too narrowly defined and rigid categories. Enactment of this proposal would better enable States and local schools to meet their education responsibilities.

—The Administration's proposed reform and expansion of higher education student aid programs is based on the principle that "no qualified student who wants to go to college should be barred by lack of money." More than 2½ million students would benefit from these proposals.

—Two new educational agencies—the National Institute of Education and the National Foundation for Higher Education—have been proposed by this Administration to promote and assist innovations and reform at all levels of education. Our children will learn most effectively if education is a self-renewing enterprise; these new organizations will contribute to that end by supporting the development and dissemination of new approaches to learning.

These legislative proposals constitute an unfinished educational agenda of major importance to the country. Congress should address itself to that agenda with the same dispatch it demonstrated on the education appropriations.

NOTE: The statement was released at San Clemente, Calif.

As enacted, H.R. 7016, approved July 9, 1971, is Public Law 92–48 (85 Stat. 103).

227 Remarks on Signing the Emergency Employment Act of 1971. *July 12, 1971*

I THINK it is particularly significant that I am able to sign this bill and have the opportunity to comment upon it in California.

As you know, this is the Emergency Employment Act of 1971. It meets the objections to the bill that I vetoed last year. This bill is transitional, providing for 150,000 jobs over the next 2 years. It also provides for job training to move people from public service jobs into jobs in the private sector. It will be particularly helpful in areas like California, which have higher than the national average of unemployment due to layoffs in aerospace and related defense industries.

In signing the bill, I am also asking Congress to move as expeditiously as possible on the appropriation bill. I have been assured by the leaders that they will have the appropriation bill out within a matter of a few days, and once the appropriation bill is on my desk and is signed, we already have, under the Department of Labor, a number of areas selected where men will be put to work immediately. So this will have an immediate effect in areas of high unemployment like California, particularly southern California, in alleviating that situation.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:05 a.m. at the Western White House, San Clemente, Calif.

As enacted, the bill (S. 31) is Public Law 92–54 (85 Stat. 146).

On July 23, 1971, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing on the emergency employment program by James D. Hodgson, Secretary, and Malcolm R. Lovell, Jr., Assistant Secretary for Manpower, Department of Labor.

228 Statement About the Emergency Employment Act of 1971. *July 12, 1971*

TODAY I have signed into law the Emergency Employment Act of 1971, and I shall shortly urge the Congress to appropriate the full $1 billion authorized by the act for this fiscal year.

As I noted last week in affirming my support of this act, "The job of the administration, indeed of any administration, is to search out the best ways to deal with the problems and needs of the Nation."

America needs more jobs, and it needs them now. This Administration is working to meet this need. The Emergency Employment Act of 1971 will mean more than 150,000 additional new jobs for our unemployed and our underemployed. I am especially pleased that our returning veterans will be favored by the act, and that those with little or no job training, such as unskilled youth, will also have a chance to get jobs through this measure. The jobs provided by the act will be in the field of public service—in such areas as environment, health, education, public safety, crime prevention, prisons, transportation, park maintenance, recreation, rural development, and sanitation.

The Emergency Employment Act of 1971 will be speedy in its relief: The kind of community service activities supported

do not require long lead times before their job impact is felt, such as are characteristic of public works construction projects.

A very important feature of the act, too, is that the jobs will be "transitional." This means that they will lead people into permanent jobs, and not be a substitute for them. The employment will be real and steadying; it will not be a dead end entrapment in permanent public subsidy. Local programs will be designed with a view toward career advancement and toward developing new non-subsidized careers for the worker.

The Emergency Employment Act of 1971 carries authorization for 2 years and will be triggered when the rate of national unemployment is at 4½ percent or above for 3 consecutive months. In addition, the act authorizes a separate program for local areas which may suffer from continuing high unemployment. This means that a given city which experiences unemployment of 6 percent or above for 3 months will receive added assistance for its extra needs from a special $250 million authorization.

The Emergency Employment Act of 1971 is an addition to existing manpower work and training programs such as Public Service Careers program and Operation Mainstream.

In the longer term, the welfare reform program, which has passed the House and is about to be taken up by the Senate, includes two provisions directly relating to jobs. The public service employment provision would allocate $800 million for public service jobs, giving employment to some 200,000 persons. The manpower training provision would provide $540 million for job training opportunities and for the upgrading of skills of persons now working in low-paying jobs. Together, these two provisions of the welfare reform program would yield in excess of $1.3 billion for jobs and job training.

This Administration has also strongly urged passage of manpower revenue sharing. Under this program $2 billion would go to State and local governments in the first full year for manpower training. Matching local funds would not be required. Further, the money could be used for public service jobs, if the jobs are transitional in character. I am pleased that leaders of the Senate and House labor committees have agreed to hold hearings on this important measure and report out a bill before the end of this year.

The prevailing curse of securing funds from the Federal Government by the States and localities is "grantsmanship." Manpower revenue sharing would eliminate grantsmanship. As I have repeatedly stressed, existing programs are overcentralized, bureaucratic, remote from the people they serve, overguidelined, and far less effective than they might be in helping the unskilled and the disadvantaged.

I earnestly recommend that the Congress act favorably and with dispatch on the appropriations request of $1 billion for the Emergency Employment Act of 1971. I also urge early and favorable action on the welfare reform program and manpower revenue sharing.

NOTE: The statement was released at San Clemente, Calif.

229 Statement About the Death of Edgar N. Eisenhower. *July* 13, 1971

MRS. NIXON and I wish to express our deep personal sorrow at the death of Edgar Eisenhower. Mr. Eisenhower was a warm friend. He not only was a distinguished member of an illustrious family but was a man who throughout his life was dedicated to principle.

NOTE: Mr. Eisenhower, 82, died of a stroke in Tacoma, Wash., on July 12, 1971. He was an elder brother of the late President Dwight D. Eisenhower.

The statement was read by Press Secretary Ronald L. Ziegler during a news briefing at the Western White House, San Clemente, Calif., on July 13, 1971.

230 Memorandums About the Combined Federal Campaign. *July* 15, 1971

Memorandum for Heads of Executive Departments and Agencies:

I am pleased to announce that Honorable Rogers C. B. Morton, Secretary of the Interior, has agreed to serve as Chairman of the Combined Federal Campaign for the National Capital Area this fall.

As in the past, this year's campaign will combine into a single drive the solicitation efforts of the United Fund, the American Red Cross, the National Health Agencies, and the International Service Agencies. In this one drive we will be seeking to do our share to meet the needs of more than 150 local, national, and international agencies in the diversified fields of health, welfare, and social service. These voluntary charitable organizations perform services that are vital to our community, our nation and our world.

Through the Combined Federal Campaign, Federal personnel are offered a unique opportunity to help hundreds of voluntary organizations by one gift once a year, a pledge made particularly easy by the availability of payroll deductions. I know that Secretary Morton will have your wholehearted support in this endeavor, and I hope you will commend the campaign with its payroll deduction feature to Federal employees and military personnel in your organization.

I request that you serve personally as Chairman of the combined campaign in your organization and appoint one of your leading assistants as your Vice Chairman. Secretary Morton should be advised of the person you designate as your Vice Chairman.

You have my every best wish for another successful campaign.

RICHARD NIXON

Memorandum for All Federal Employees and Military Personnel:

The 1971 Combined Federal Campaign gives each of us the opportunity to show our individual concern for those in need of help. In this one campaign are combined the annual fund-raising efforts of the local United Fund, the American Red Cross, the National Health Agencies, and the International Service Agencies.

Through CFC federal employees and military personnel provide support to voluntary agencies which are working to make our community and nation a better

place in which to live. We help those voluntary agencies which are working to lessen the pain and distress of illness and are supporting research to seek cures from dreaded diseases. We assist those agencies which serve beyond our own national boundaries, extending a helping hand to our friends in overseas lands. Thus the voluntary agencies supported by CFC are doing those things which in a free society they can best do to enhance the quality of life.

This year, for the first time, the Combined Federal Campaign will be the uniform fund-raising method for the entire Federal service, thereby enlarging the number of Federal employees and military personnel who will have the opportunity to participate in this convenient form of charitable giving.

I commend to you the 1971 Combined Federal Campaign. It is a worthy cause. Generosity and concern for others has always been a tradition of all who serve in the United States Government. From my proud association with you over the past several years, I feel confident you will continue this tradition and that you will welcome the opportunity to be of service through your voluntary contributions.

I send you every best wish during this year's Combined Federal Campaign.

RICHARD NIXON

NOTE: The memorandums were released at San Clemente, Calif.

231 Remarks to the Nation Announcing Acceptance of an Invitation To Visit the People's Republic of China. *July* 15, 1971

Good evening:

I have requested this television time tonight to announce a major development in our efforts to build a lasting peace in the world.

As I have pointed out on a number of occasions over the past 3 years, there can be no stable and enduring peace without the participation of the People's Republic of China and its 750 million people. That is why I have undertaken initiatives in several areas to open the door for more normal relations between our two countries.

In pursuance of that goal, I sent Dr. Kissinger, my Assistant for National Security Affairs, to Peking during his recent world tour for the purpose of having talks with Premier Chou En-lai.

The announcement I shall now read is being issued simultaneously in Peking and in the United States:

> Premier Chou En-lai and Dr. Henry Kissinger, President Nixon's Assistant for National Security Affairs, held talks in Peking from July 9 to 11, 1971. Knowing of President Nixon's expressed desire to visit the People's Republic of China, Premier Chou En-lai, on behalf of the Government of the People's Republic of China, has extended an invitation to President Nixon to visit China at an appropriate date before May 1972. President Nixon has accepted the invitation with pleasure.
>
> The meeting between the leaders of China and the United States is to seek the normalization of relations between

the two countries and also to exchange views on questions of concern to the two sides.

In anticipation of the inevitable speculation which will follow this announcement, I want to put our policy in the clearest possible context.

Our action in seeking a new relationship with the People's Republic of China will not be at the expense of our old friends. It is not directed against any other nation. We seek friendly relations with all nations. Any nation can be our friend without being any other nation's enemy.

I have taken this action because of my profound conviction that all nations will gain from a reduction of tensions and a better relationship between the United States and the People's Republic of China.

It is in this spirit that I will undertake what I deeply hope will become a journey for peace, peace not just for our generation but for future generations on this earth we share together.

Thank you and good night.

NOTE: The President's remarks were broadcast live on radio and television at 7:31 p.m. from the NBC studios, Burbank, Calif.

232 Letter to the Chairman of the Senate Committee on Commerce About Pending Product Safety Legislation. *July* 19, 1971

Dear Mr. Chairman:

In my Consumer Message of February 24, I proposed comprehensive product safety legislation authorizing the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to regulate hazardous consumer products. Subsequently S. 1797, a bill incorporating this proposal, was introduced on behalf of the Administration and referred to your Committee.

As part of the preparation of this bill, I asked Secretary Richardson to undertake a careful study of the organizational structure within the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare that would most effectively implement the consumer product safety authority proposed in S. 1797.

Today, Secretary Richardson will announce, with my approval, that upon enactment of this bill, he will create within the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare a new Consumer Safety Administration. This unit will build upon the activities, personnel and facilities of the Food and Drug Administration, which has a long and distinguished history in the field of consumer safety, primarily in the vital regulation of the foods we eat and the drugs we use.

The Consumer Safety Administration will continue the work of the Food and Drug Administration. At the same time, the new unit will be structured so that the regulation of hazardous consumer products authorized in S. 1797 will have the facilities, the personnel, and the organizational prominence that will ensure an effective, efficient and responsive product safety program. Finally, where possible, common facilities such as laboratories and field offices will be uti-

lized to gain the maximum possible cost effectiveness.

S. 1797 is a strong bill which will fully satisfy the public need for adequate protection against hazardous consumer products, and Secretary Richardson has acted to ensure that his Department is fully capable of implementing this needed authority. I urge your Committee to report S. 1797 favorably to the Senate.

Sincerely,

RICHARD NIXON

[Honorable Warren G. Magnuson, United States Senate, Washington, D.C.]

NOTE: A copy of the letter was sent to the Honorable Norris Cotton, ranking minority member of the Senate Committee on Commerce.

233 Letter Accepting the Resignation of Glenn T. Seaborg as Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission. *July* 21, 1971

Dear Glenn:

It is with special regret that I accept your resignation as Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission effective, as you have requested, upon a date to be determined. However, I would hope that you will continue as planned to head our Delegations to the Soviet Union in August and to Geneva and Vienna in September, even if your successor is confirmed and sworn in before the date of these trips. I would also hope that you could remain as a consultant for some time after these meetings are completed to insure the smoothest possible transition.

For ten years, three Presidents have had the benefit of your wisdom and counsel in making decisions which, increasingly, affect the daily lives and well-being of our fellow citizens. Thanks in large measure to your outstanding leadership during this time, the United States has maintained its position of preeminence in the field of atomic energy.

As a world famous chemist, scholar, and administrator, you have contributed in a unique and meaningful way to far greater understanding and application of the miracles of the atom. As you return to academic life, I am confident that your activities will bring new benefits to mankind while reflecting the highest credit upon yourself and your country. You may be certain that my warmest wishes and the deep admiration of your colleagues go with you.

Sincerely,

RICHARD NIXON

[Honorable Glenn T. Seaborg, Chairman, Atomic Energy Commission, Washington, D.C. 20545]

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released an announcement of intention to nominate James R. Schlesinger as a member, and to designate him Chairman, of the Commission, and an announcement of intention to nominate William O. Doub as a member of the Commission. The two announcements are printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 7, pp. 1069 and 1070).

Mr. Seaborg's letter of resignation, dated July 19, 1971, and released with the President's letter, read as follows:

Dear Mr. President:

I am writing to request that you accept my resignation as Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission. This is in accordance with our

71-234—72——55

understanding last year at the time of my reappointment, when I expressed the desire to return to my professorship at the University of California at Berkeley.

I should want to have the date of my resignation be at your convenience. I want to help my successor in every possible way, including the timing of the transfer of my responsibilities to him.

It has been a rewarding experience to serve you as Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission. Your personal interest in the Commission's program has been a source of inspiration to me and I have particularly valued our fine personal relationship. I had no inkling when we first met in Chattanooga, Tennessee, nearly twenty-five years ago that we would, years later, share in such an interesting adventure.

Although we leave Washington with mixed feelings after so long a stay, having served under three Presidents, my family and I have anticipated for some time our return to California, and we look forward to our return home.

Respectfully,

GLENN T. SEABORG

[The President, The White House]

234 Message to the Senate Transmitting the Seabed Arms Control Treaty. *July* 21, 1971

To the Senate of the United States:

I am transmitting herewith, for the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, the Treaty on the Prohibition of the Emplacement of Nuclear Weapons and Other Weapons of Mass Destruction on the Seabed and the Ocean Floor and in the Subsoil Thereof, opened for signature at Washington, London and Moscow on February 11, 1971.

This Treaty is the product of intensive negotiations during the past two years at the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament at Geneva and at the United Nations. On December 7, 1970, 104 members of the United Nations voted to commend the Treaty and urged that it be opened for signature and ratification at the earliest possible date.

In broadest outline this Treaty prohibits the emplacement of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction on the seabed beyond the outer limits of a 12-mile coastal "seabed zone" defined in the Treaty. The provisions of the Treaty are described in detail in the accompanying report of the Secretary of State.

The seabed is man's last frontier on earth, and that frontier should be a source of promise. This Treaty represents a practical and timely step toward helping protect this new environment. It is a significant addition to the structure of multilateral arms control agreements such as the Limited Test Ban Treaty, the Antarctic Treaty, the Outer Space Treaty, and the Non-Proliferation Treaty, contributing to international security.

I consider this Treaty to be in the interest of the United States and the entire world community and recommend that the Senate give its advice and consent to ratification.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House

July 21, 1971

NOTE: The text of the treaty and the report of the Secretary of State are printed in Senate Executive H (92d Cong., 1st sess.).

235 Message to the Congress Transmitting First Annual Report on Financial Assistance to Rural Areas. *July 23, 1971*

To the Congress of the United States:

I am transmitting today the first annual report on financial assistance to rural areas, as called for by Title 9 of the Agricultural Act of 1970.

The revitalization of rural America is one of the important objectives of my administration. For I am convinced that the growth which this Nation will inevitably experience in the coming decades will be *healthy* growth only if it is *balanced* growth—and this means growth which is distributed among both urban and rural areas. The recent trend of diminishing population and diminishing prosperity in many rural areas must be actively resisted. This report tells about some of the steps we have taken in this direction—and about some of the conclusions we have reached concerning future steps.

As the report points out, financial assistance is now available from public and private sources for agriculture, industrial development, housing, community development and other economic activities in rural areas. This document describes some of the things this administration is doing to correct deficiencies in these programs. It also provides detailed financial data for selected Federal programs for Fiscal Year 1970, most of them Federal direct and insured loan programs.

Perhaps the most important element of the report, however, is its conclusion that the most critical financial needs for achieving greater rural development are those of State and local governments. My General and Special Revenue Sharing proposals are geared to meet these needs. These proposals recognize both the steadily increasing demands for service being placed on State and local governments and the severe limitations on new and existing sources of revenue at these governmental levels.

These proposed revenue sharing funds could be used for specific services presently provided by State and local governments, or to finance new programs and services tailored to particular needs of States and localities, including rural development. One of my six Special Revenue Sharing programs, in fact, is earmarked specifically for Rural Community Development and it alone would provide a total of $1.1 billion annually for rural programs and services administered at the State and local level. In addition, substantial portions of my revenue sharing proposals for transportation, education, urban community development, manpower training, and law enforcement assistance would directly benefit rural residents. And my General Revenue Sharing proposal would provide additional funds which could be used to augment various rural efforts.

I would emphasize that revenue sharing monies could be used not only to pay for direct governmental services but also to give credit assistance for accelerating the expansion of commercial and industrial development through locally sponsored institutions. Such institutions can be particularly useful in those specific areas where there are shortages of private investment capital, and where even the

removal of existing barriers to the free movement of private capital may not entirely meet local needs.

I strongly believe that it would be better to establish a series of State and local special credit institutions than to create a nationwide federally sponsored community bank, since the former course places responsibility for decision making and action closer to the people who require assistance—and is more likely to produce decisions which are truly responsive to their needs.

This report also highlights the problems caused by the excessive proliferation and fragmentation of Federal assistance programs. Too often, the result has been an uncoordinated and piecemeal approach to rural development. Merely to increase the level of rural assistance without making basic reforms in the delivery systems will not enable us to solve the problems of rural communities.

This is why it is so important that my proposals for reorganizing the executive branch be enacted by the Congress. For only a thoroughgoing restructuring of the organizational framework can bring about a true consolidation and coordination of numerous Federal programs and with it the more effective and efficient delivery of Federal assistance. The proposed new Departments of Community Development and Economic Affairs would have particular responsibility in the rural development area.

As the report indicates, many families are presently excluded from eligibility for Federal credit assistance because of their low income. Traditional development programs can do little to give them the direct aid they need. This is another reason why I believe so strongly that my proposed family assistance program could have a major impact on the quality of life in rural America. Not only would it immediately help poor families raise their standard of living, but it would also enable many of them to take advantage of Federal credit assistance which is presently beyond their reach. Coupled with more effective delivery of federally assisted housing services, the family assistance plan would permit great strides in improving the quality of rural housing.

The problems of agricultural credit and farm debt are also taken up in this report. While the credit requirements of commercial farmers appear to have been adequately funded during the last 20 years—primarily by private lenders—the recent trend of increasing farm debt is likely to continue throughout this decade. Fortunately, the federally sponsored farm credit lending institutions—which are now entirely member-owned—have been playing an increasing role in meeting the credit needs of farmers. If private lenders and the Farm Credit System continue to expand their credit assistance at the same rate as during the 1960's, there should be adequate credit available to meet the needs of commercial agriculture during the 1970's.

For those farmers who are unable to qualify for credit from private lenders and the Farm Credit System, recently strengthened Federal credit programs administered by the Farmers Home Administration are available to meet additional needs. In my "Salute to Agriculture" speech this past May, I announced plans to increase the farm operating and farm ownership loan programs by $215 million over the level originally budgeted for 1972—an increase of nearly 50% in available loan funds. I pledge that my administration will continue to be responsive to

the needs of those farmers who are unable to qualify for private credit. I also believe, however, that we should continue to rely primarily on private lenders to meet the general credit needs of commercial agriculture, and I would point to various measures which are recommended in this report for improving the flow of private credit to agricultural borrowers.

In addition to all of these decisions and recommendations, I have also supported enactment of legislation to create a Rural Telephone Bank which will soon be able to provide substantially increased credit assistance to small rural telephone companies and cooperatives. This will mean better telephone service for our rural citizens. I have recently sent to the Congress a budget amendment requesting $30 million for the initial purchase of capital stock in this Bank. My speech last May also announced increased lending for rural sewer and water projects in both 1971 (an additional $100 million) and 1972 (an additional $111 million)—a nearly 60% increase over the level budgeted for the 1972 fiscal year.

I am confident that the actions already taken by this administration—in conjunction with the new programs which I have recommended to the Congress—can do a great deal to bring about the renewal of rural America. The achievement of this goal is essential if the growth we experience in the years ahead is to be for us not a curse but a blessing. All Americans have a high stake in the success of rural development.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House

July 23, 1971

NOTE: The 47-page report is entitled "A Report on Rural Financial Assistance—Prepared Within the Departments and Agencies of the Executive Branch for Transmittal to the Congress by the President."

A White House announcement of the signing of the bill establishing the Rural Telephone Bank (Public Law 92–12, 85 Stat. 29) was released on May 7, 1971. On September 15, the White House released an announcement of the appointment of 11 members of the Board of Directors of the Bank. The two announcements are printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 7, pp. 735 and 1279).

236 Statement on the Death of President William V. S. Tubman of Liberia. *July* 23, 1971

IT WAS with profound sadness that Mrs. Nixon and I learned today of the death of President William V. S. Tubman of Liberia. A leading African statesman for a quarter of a century, President Tubman was well known and highly respected in the United States. During his years as President of Liberia, the close and friendly relations between the United States and Liberia were continually strengthened. The world will sorely miss his wise counsel and effective leadership.

President Tubman will be long remembered for his accomplishments in Liberia and in Africa. During his tenure as President, he worked tirelessly for the unity of Liberia's diverse peoples and for the economic well-being of his country. Under President Tubman's leadership, Liberia played a vital role in the United Nations and was a moving spirit in the Organization of African Unity.

Liberia's sorrow at this sad time is shared by the American people. On their

behalf, I express our deepest sympathy to President Tubman's family and to all Liberians.

NOTE: President Tubman, 75, died in London, England, of complications resulting from surgery. He had served as President of Liberia since 1943.

The statement was posted for the press.

On July 26, 1971, the White House announced that Robert H. Finch, Counsellor to the President, would represent President Nixon at funeral services for President Tubman.

237 Statement About Legislation To Provide Emergency Loan Guarantees for Major Business Enterprises. *July* 24, 1971

I FULLY SUPPORT the legislation now before both Houses of Congress to provide emergency loan guarantees for major business enterprises confronted with temporary financial stringencies.

The Administration originally sought legislation only to help the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation. That support is still needed very badly. But I have instructed Secretary of the Treasury Connally, in behalf of the Administration, to accept the broader legislation. It would be most useful in providing a systematic procedure for helping any major business enterprise with temporary financial problems whose failure would adversely affect the economy of the Nation or a region thereof.

I urge Congress to enact this legislation with all deliberate speed, and, in any event, before the August recess.

NOTE: The legislation was introduced as H.R. 8432 and S. 2308.

238 Statement Following the Successful Launch of Apollo 15. *July* 26, 1971

APOLLO 15 is safely on its way to the moon, and man is on his way to another step across the threshold of the heavens.

Man has always viewed the heavens with humility. But he has viewed them as well with curiosity and with courage and these defy natural law, drawing man beyond gravity, beyond his fears, into his dreams and on to his destiny.

The flight of Apollo 15 is the most ambitious exploration yet undertaken in space. Even as it reflects man's restless quest for his own future, so it also reenacts another of the "deeper rituals of his bones"—not only the compulsion of the human spirit to know where we are going but the primal need in man's blood to know from what we have come.

We hope, by this journey, to know better the origins of earth, the moon, and the other planets. We hope to understand something more of the mysteries of God's great work. And, in this seeking, we hope to understand more of man himself.

To the men of Apollo 15, for all men, I say Godspeed.

NOTE: On July 25, 1971, the President telephoned the Apollo 15 astronauts to extend good wishes on the eve of the launch.

On July 30, the President telephoned congratulations to the ground and flight crews of Apollo 15 following the moon landing.

239 Letter Accepting the Resignation of David K. E. Bruce as Head of the United States Delegation to the Paris Peace Talks. *July* 28, 1971

Dear David:

I profoundly regret, even as I fully understand, that personal circumstances have deprived us of your continued services as Head of the United States Delegation to the Paris Peace Talks.

Your willingness to come out of retirement and once again help your country was but the latest demonstration of the dedication and unselfishness that have marked your more than thirty years of public service. We have been fortunate, during the past year, that we could draw upon the wisdom and patience accumulated throughout your remarkable career. You have served well the objectives of your country and the goal of peace.

It is my strong hope that we will be able to call on you for special assignments in the future. For you have shown once more your giant stature as a diplomat and as a man. You have my deep appreciation and admiration.

With warm regards.

Sincerely,

RICHARD NIXON

[The Honorable David K. E. Bruce, American Embassy, Paris]

NOTE: A White House announcement of the intention to appoint William J. Porter as head of the U.S. delegation to the Paris talks on peace in Vietnam was released on the same day and is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 7, p. 1092).

Ambassador Bruce's letter of resignation, dated July 27, 1971, and released with the President's letter, read as follows:

Dear Mr. President:

As you know, it became imperative, on the advice of physicians, to relinquish my position as head of the United States Delegation to the Paris Meetings on Viet-Nam. I am, therefore, formally tendering herewith my resignation, with the request that it become effective on July 31, 1971.

I would like to make a few comments on my work here. Throughout my assignment, our excellent U.S. Delegation in Paris has received the unstinted support of the White House and of the Department of State.

Personally, I have been, and shall remain, grateful to you for your wise comprehension of the issues involved in your unceasing efforts to bring to a peaceful and honorable end the war in South-East Asia.

I also deeply appreciate your personal confidence in me.

I am profoundly convinced that the policies you have sponsored in respect to a settlement of the problems of that troubled area have been sound and constructive, and should have constituted a satisfactory basis for agreement with our opponents on the matters in dispute. It is they, and they alone, who bear the heavy responsibility for the continuation of war in Indo-China.

With warm and respectful regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

DAVID K. E. BRUCE

[The President, The White House, Washington, D.C.]

240 Remarks at the Unveiling of Portraits of Two Former Chairmen of the House Committee on Appropriations. *July* 28, 1971

Mr. Speaker, Speaker McCormack, Mr. Chairman, Congressman Ford, Congressman Bow, and all of the distinguished guests on this occasion:

In a room like this, at a time like this, we think of the history of this country and of the men who helped to make it and the women who helped to make it. We think of this room, up until the year, about 1850, being the room in which the House of Representatives met.

We think, for example, of Henry Clay and Abraham Lincoln speaking in this room. Then we move on into this century and we go back 25 years, or 20 years, as the case might be, to think of two of the giants of the Congress. We do not see the giants of our own time. No one knows at the time who really is a giant.

But as the years pass, we look back and we realize who the great men were. Two of them we honor today—Clarence Cannon, John Taber. Everything has been said about them, by those who served with them, so eloquently that I will not try to add, except to say that I was privileged to be a Member of the House of Representatives and to have known both of them as a Member of the House, then as a Member of the Senate, and as Vice President of the United States. I can certainly endorse everything that has been said so generously about them and so well by others who have appeared in this program.

I do know, too, that the Appropriations Committee of the House of Representatives is an enormously important committee, and that whoever is the chairman of that committee is a very important and powerful individual.

Now, I have to be very careful at this point, because I realize that represented in this room are chairmen of other committees, and men who serve on other committees as well, so I will choose my words very carefully.

As I looked over the record of those who have been chairmen of the Appropriations Committee, going back to the year 1865 when it was first set up, I found that some went on to be Speaker of the House—a few, very few. Some went on to be Governors. Only one became President—James Garfield.

Yet I can stand here, looking back over my own public service, and also looking back over the history of this country, and say, as has already been implied by other speakers, that the hardest working committee in the House of Representatives is probably the Appropriations Committee, because of its workload; that the most powerful committee in the House of Representatives, because of its control of the money that is spent, is the Appropriations Committee. And then third, that potentially the most unpopular committee in the House of Representatives is the Appropriations Committee, because the Appropriations Committee members and its chairman and its ranking minority member have responsibilities that go beyond the committee's, the very important ones on the legislative side.

They meet. They determine what is in the public interest as far as their views

are concerned. They submit that legislation to the Congress. They get it passed. And then the question is: Should the money be appropriated for the purpose of carrying out those spending programs that the legislative committees have approved? It is here that the unpopularity comes in.

I was studying recently a poll that was taken by a group of business executives with regard to national attitudes in this country on spending. The business executives were terribly disappointed by the results of the poll because they thought it would come out strongly against government spending. But I was not surprised, and anyone who is a sophisticated observer of government would not be surprised to find that a great majority of the American people, when asked about spending for almost any program in the domestic area, are for it—whether it is for billions more for education or health or housing or in the field of agriculture or any other area.

If an individual is asked, "Do you favor more Federal money spent for this program?" the answer is, "Yes." So you can see, therefore, if an individual really is seeking popularity, the thing to do is to get on a committee where he can vote yes for that program and go back and say to his constituents, "I was for what you wanted."

But there was another interesting result at the bottom of this poll, and here is where the Appropriations Committee came in. The great majority of the people who voted for every one of the spending proposals listed on the domestic front, when they were asked, "Do you favor higher taxes?" said, "No"; "Do you favor higher prices?" said, "No."

That is where the Appropriations Committee comes in, because the members of this committee must take these tremendously popular programs, they must examine them, they must cut out all the waste to be sure that that is taken out. And then they must see whether or not all of them put together—no matter how desirable they are individually—whether all of them put together will be so much that they will raise taxes, and then they must say no; or whether, when they are put together, they will have the effect of causing inflation and raised prices, and then they must say no.

That is why men and women who serve on this very important and powerful committee are not necessarily always the most popular men or Congressmen or Congresswomen in the country.

But on the other hand, they are absolutely essential to responsible government, because there must be at some point along the line those people in government who will look at the whole picture and, rather than representing this interest or that interest or the other interest, will represent the interest of all the American people. Every American is interested in how high his taxes are. Every American is interested in how high his prices are. That is why the Appropriations Committee, more than any other committee in the House of Representatives, speaks for all of the American people.

That is where these two men come in. That is where, also, the men who are seated on this platform—the chairman of this committee, George Mahon from Texas, a Democrat; the ranking Republican, Frank Bow from Ohio—where they come in.

I have been trying to think of an appropriate way to describe what they are. We often hear—when we hear of politicians, in either the House or the Senate,

71-234—72——56

who have reached high ranks, labeled, certain favorite terms apply. One will be called "Mr. Republican." Another may be called "Mr. Democrat." And somebody will be called "Mr. Conservative." Someone else will be called "Mr. Liberal." The main thing is to be sure you call them the same thing at the right time and the right place.

So, the real question then, and that is what it seems to me that the unveiling of these portraits brings to mind, is: What would one call the chairman of the Appropriations Committee or the ranking member of the Appropriations Committee? I would not call him "Mr. Republican" or "Mr. Democrat." I know that both George Mahon and Frank Bow will speak up to any President, Democrat or Republican; that they speak up to any partisan, Republican or Democrat; that they look upon their role as being bigger than party, as big as all of America itself, because they represent all of the American people.

No, I would not call the chairman of this committee or his colleague, the ranking member, "Mr. Republican," "Mr. Democrat," "Mr. Liberal," or "Mr. Conservative." I would call him "Mr. Responsible." Responsibility may not be popular always, but it is enormously necessary, absolutely indispensable for the future of this country.

So, this gives me an opportunity to express on behalf of all the American people our thanks to the people through the years that have served on this committee; that have kept us on a steady course; that have seen to it that those things that should not be funded are not funded, to see to it that money that should not be wasted is not wasted, and to see to it that our policy, whether it is under a Democratic or a Republican President, to the greatest extent possible will be one that will not raise the taxes of the people unless the people are in a position where they want them raised—and they usually don't—and will see to it that our policy will not have the effect of raising their prices by reducing the value of their money.

I would simply close this by saying that I remember only two things that have not been mentioned up to this point about the descriptions of John Taber and Clarence Cannon. When John Taber in the 80th Congress was cutting budgets, they said he was "Taberizing" the budget, and Clarence Cannon "Cannonized" the budget after that.

I would say in tribute to George Mahon and to Frank Bow that they are trying to bring the budget back to earth again.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:25 p.m. in National Statuary Hall at the Capitol.

Representative John W. McCormack was Speaker of the House 1962–70.

Representative Clarence H. Cannon of Missouri served in the House from 1923 until his death in 1964. He was a member of the Committee on Appropriations for 35 years and was chairman 1941–46, 1949–52, and 1955–64.

The late Representative John Taber of New York served in the House from 1923 to 1963. A member of the Committee on Appropriations for 40 years, he was chairman 1947–48 and 1953–54.

241 Statement Announcing Participation of 20 Cities in the New Planned Variation Program. *July 29, 1971*

TODAY I am announcing the selection of 20 cities to participate in Planned Variation—an intensive effort to demonstrate what local government can accomplish in solving urban problems when given greater freedom from Federal regulations. The cities are:

1. Butte, Mont.
2. Dayton, Ohio
3. Des Moines, Iowa
4. East St. Louis, Ill.
5. Erie, Pa.
6. Fresno, Calif.
7. Indianapolis, Ind.
8. Lansing, Mich.
9. Newark, N.J.
10. Norfolk, Va.
11. Paterson, N.J.
12. Seattle, Wash.
13. Tampa, Fla.
14. Tucson, Ariz.
15. Winston-Salem, N.C.
16. Waco, Tex.
17. Houston, Tex.
18. Rochester, N.Y.
19. San Jose, Calif.
20. Wilmington, Del.

In my March 5, 1971, message to the Congress proposing a system of special revenue sharing for urban community development, I noted that too often State and local officials are hemmed in and restricted by the burdensome requirements and regulations of Federal grant-in-aid programs. They are sometimes treated like children, given an allowance, told precisely how to spend it, and then scolded for not being self-reliant enough to handle more responsibility. I am firmly convinced that the way to develop greater responsibility at the State and local level is to give greater responsibility to State and local officials. The Administration has developed the new Planned Variation program as a way to convert a portion of present Model Cities grants into a test of what can be accomplished under the revenue sharing approach to intergovernmental relations.

The basic purpose of Planned Variation is substantially to improve the operation of the Federal grant system under existing legislation. The Administration's revenue sharing proposals, now pending before the Congress, would accomplish needed basic changes in this system. While these proposals are under consideration, however, we are continuing to make improvements, reducing delays and redtape in the present system. Along with these efforts we are endeavoring to reduce the extent to which Federal officials are in a position to "second-guess" the decisions and priorities of local elected officials.

The Planned Variation program consists of three central features:

First, all 20 cities will receive funds to build up the *planning and management capacity of the local chief executive.* These funds will strengthen the chief executive in his role of managing local government. They will be used—with the help of local citizen advisory groups—to identify the priority needs of the community and to develop a local comprehensive plan, which includes a strategy for resource allocations to meet priority needs and which assures that both Federal and local funds are used

effectively in concert with this plan. In this respect, the Planned Variation program offers us a chance to test another of this Administration's reform proposals—the new Planning and Management program, announced in conjunction with the urban community development special revenue sharing proposal. This new program would provide assistance on a general basis for improving the management capacity of State and local governments.

Second, the Department of Housing and Urban Development will set aside additional program funds for the first 16 of the 20 cities listed above so that their plans can be carried out on a *citywide* basis. These 16 cities will be able to use their "supplemental" funds to address priority needs which they themselves have identified and which cannot be met through other Federal, State, and local funding sources.

Third, along with increased program funding for these 16 cities will go greater discretion in the use of the funds. In addition, there will be significantly less oversight and review of details for all 20 of the Planned Variation cities. This is a logical outgrowth of the basic principle of revenue sharing. It also accords with the effort to build up the planning and management capacity of local chief executives, so that they can more effectively use the discretion which we are making available to them under this new approach.

In sum, this new approach—a significant variation in terms of intergovernmental relations—involves a combination of assistance to provide increased managerial capacity, increased funding, and increased flexibility in the use of Federal funds.

The Planned Variation program represents a major broadening of the scope and nature of the Model Cities program. The Administration also views Planned Variation as an important beginning step in the process of returning authority to local government. We will carefully evaluate the results. It does not replace other Federal programs. Communities now participating in the Model Cities program, but not selected to participate in Planned Variation, will still continue under present arrangements to receive Model Cities funds.

Finally, I want to emphasize that the cities selected to participate in Planned Variation are not the only ones which will eventually benefit from the program. For it is a test of new approaches. I believe this test of the basic revenue sharing idea will demonstrate, in a way which words cannot do, the validity of the principle that when local governments are given the opportunity and the resources, they can and will manage their affairs effectively and in a way which is responsive to the needs of all of their citizens.

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing on the program by Elliot L. Richardson, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare; and George W. Romney, Secretary, and Floyd H. Hyde, Assistant Secretary for Community Development, Department of Housing and Urban Development.

242 Remarks on Arrival at Canton, Ohio. *July 30, 1971*

I JUST WANTED to take this opportunity to express my very grateful appreciation to all of you from the Canton and the Akron area for this wonderfully warm welcome.

And to all of us who are here, as you see, I have a wonderfully distinguished welcoming committee: the mayors of both Canton and Akron,[1] the Governor of the State, Governor Gilligan, Senator Saxbe, and Congressman Bow from Canton Let's give them a hand.

I thought you would be interested to know that I have a rather special feeling in my heart for Ohio generally, because, of course, as you know, my father was born here.

Also, it happens that the most indispensable person on any man's staff, including the President of the United States, is his secretary. And my secretary comes from Sebring, Ohio. So, thank you for Rose Mary Woods. I am telling you, if all the girls in Ohio have her ability and her loyalty, this is going to certainly be a place where everything is going to come up roses—I suppose Rose Bowl, I should say.

The other thing I would like to say is that we have brought with us on the Presidential plane today a native of Canton, Ohio, John Scali. You may remember, he was the commentator with ABC, and now on the White House Staff.

He told me an interesting thing as we came in, as the plane came in. I am sort of a football fan. That is one of the reasons I wanted to come out here to the Hall of Fame. Consequently, he said that he had gone to high school, to the Canton-McKinley High School. Then he went on to tell me that when he was at Canton-McKinley they used to beat Massillon. Then I asked Congressman Bow whether I should mention that. He said, "Oh, no, Massillon is only 8 miles away so they might be here, too."

Oh, here is John Scali; here is Canton's own who is now on the White House Staff.

Just let me say one final word before we have to go downtown for a visit to the Hall of Fame and then to the dinner to pay our tribute to the very great stars who are being initiated into the Hall of Fame, including, of course, the man who is perhaps best known in this century in American football, Vince Lombardi, who is being put in the Hall of Fame posthumously.

I would like to say that at this very moment there are three very brave, courageous Americans on the moon. Before we left Washington, I got the report. Some of you may have come to the airport before you got it. They landed safely. It was a perfect landing. Tomorrow you, of course, will be able to see them on television. Since Ohio—and Ohio seems to be doing everything—produced, of course, many in this field of astronauts, I thought that report was one that you would want.

Let me say this thing with regard to what they see as they look down. I am sure as they see the earth it will look like a very peaceful and a very quiet place. As I come to Ohio again, and I have been here many, many times—perhaps to this State more than any other except my own State of

[1] Stanley A. Cmich of Canton and John S. Ballard of Akron.

California—I can assure you that the greatest goal we have, all of us, whether we are Republicans or Democrats in Washington, is to bring peace to this world. We are bringing that peace through ending the war that we are in, in a way that will contribute to a lasting peace.

I am going to try to contribute to that peace—not just for our generation but for these young people in that band, and the rest, for your generation—by a journey to Mainland China, so that in the future the 800 million people who live—and that is one-fourth of all the people in the world—who live there, will not live in isolation from the rest of the world. This is truly one world, and we must know all the people in the world. That is, of course, the reason for that journey.

So, with that, let me say, we thank you very much for coming out, for giving us such a warm welcome. I just wish I could shake hands with everybody here and sign all those autographs. Incidentally, if you want an autograph, just send me a letter and I will see that you get one.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 7:50 p.m. at the Akron-Canton Airport.

243 Remarks at the Professional Football Hall of Fame Annual Banquet in Canton, Ohio. *July* 30, 1971

Mr. Commissioner, all of the distinguished guests both here on the platform and in the audience:

This is a very special evening for me because, first, I am glad to be in Canton, and to see so many friends in this very friendly city; second, because for me football is perhaps my second vocation.

It is true, as was mentioned a few moments ago, that I not only said that I would like to have the Commissioner's job—would you like to have mine?—but I also have said that since we have made an award tonight to Joe King [1] that if I had my life to live over again I would like to be a sportswriter or a sportscaster. The trouble is, I could never make the deadlines.

Then, too, as I look back over the years, I think of the fact that when anyone reaches the very high position in government you will find that he is often introduced and his past is really built up. A lot of mythology grows up about your past, sometimes bad, sometimes good. One bit of mythology I want to put to rest tonight is with regard to my own reason for being so interested in football, something that I guess is rather generally known across the country.

The late Harry Wismer, who was a sportscaster in Washington and later went on to New York, once introduced me when I was Vice President. And he really got carried away. He said, "I want to introduce the Vice President of the United States, a great football fan, a former All-American." Well now, I really want to tell the truth about that particular matter. I really wasn't an All-American. I didn't even make the team at Whittier.

I do want to say though that as I lis-

[1] Joseph P. King was awarded the Dick McCann Memorial Award for over 30 years of distinguished writing on professional football for various New York newspapers.

tened tonight to this program my memories were carried back through the years to the games I have read about through the years. And I have read about all of those, those which I have not had the opportunity to see either on television or in person and also the games I have seen.

Just to correct the record on a couple of things—and I would very much hesitate to try to correct Kyle Rote because he always has the last word; he is a sportscaster, you know, and he will get back. But somebody asked me—Frank Gifford did a moment ago when I was being interviewed, prior to coming over here, for a program tomorrow on ABC—as to what team a President of the United States is for. And I said he is for whatever team from whatever town he is in. That means, of course, if I am in Los Angeles I am for the Rams, or in Washington, where I presently live, for the Redskins. But speaking for the Redskins, and also commenting upon the Giants because I did live in New York for a while, Kyle, I saw those Giants play many times. And anybody who is in New York City and follows the Giants—and I was there in the period before the Jets came along—they did have a great defensive team with Andy Robustelli, a magnificent defensive end as has already been mentioned, but don't say that they didn't have also a good offensive team. After all, I remember Y. A. Tittle when he was throwing passes to Del Shofner and to Frank Gifford, and Frank Gifford also running. That was a pretty good offensive team, don't you think so, Kyle?

We also can remember the Washington Redskins, and that allows me to comment on a very great pro who lives here in Canton, Marion Motley. I remember when we were rooting for the Washington Redskins back in the fifties that it always seemed that the Cleveland Browns had a great fullback that would tear us to pieces. You can see I am a partisan—tear *us* to pieces. And Marion Motley was that fullback, year after year after year. Then we got the good news: Marion Motley was retiring. Next year will be for us. Then the next year Jim Brown came along, and he tore right up the same holes that Marion Motley used to go through. And we remembered that through those years, these great fullbacks from Cleveland, and they left memories which I must say were somewhat envious but also with a great deal of respect.

I think, too, of the fact that tonight as I was reading over the various biographies of the players, that Bruiser Kinard was referred to as a man who played in the era when he went both ways. That impressed me. I couldn't even go one way. But I think of him and I saw him here tonight and I shook hands with him. And I realized he probably could handle an assignment on some teams I have seen even at the present time.

But just let me say this about professional football before turning to the subject I particularly think should be touched upon briefly tonight in the position that I represent, speaking for all of the Americans who are football fans and all who want to pay their respects to this Hall of Fame:

We have honored tonight a number of players and we have also honored a very great coach, Vince Lombardi. No one could add to the eloquence of Wellington Mara.[2] We think of Vince Lombardi and what he meant to his teams in, of course,

[2] President and owner of the New York Giants professional football team, who had presented the names of Vince Lombardi and Y. A. Tittle for induction in the Hall of Fame.

New York and then at Green Bay, and finally in Washington.

We also think of what he meant to America. And we are reminded of what coaches generally have meant to each of us who happen to have gone out for football, for those who made the team and really became All-Americans, great players, great stars in the Hall of Fame.

And for the many more like myself who went out, we tried, we sat on the bench or ran the opponent's plays. I knew the opponent's plays better than I knew our own, I can assure you. We then, however, went out for the game and perhaps never made the team, but some way, somehow, those coaches had influences on our lives.

For example, I noted that as I went through the Hall of Fame that Jim Thorpe is the man whose statue is first there. He played on that first pro football team here in Canton. He was an American Indian. My coach in college at Whittier was an American Indian. He was a graduate of the University of Southern California, Frank Gifford's school. He was an All-American at USC the year that USC played Penn State in the Rose Bowl. I am not telling you who won that game. I have enough trouble in Penn State already by naming Texas number one.

Chief Newman, my coach, an American Indian, produced some very fine teams at that small, little college at Whittier. We won a lot of games. But he also left a legacy to all of those who came in contact with him that stayed with us and meant something to us the rest of our lives. We were better men because we knew him, because of what he taught us.

He was a hard driver. He was a great disciplinarian. There was no permissiveness as far as he was concerned. There were no excuses for failure. He didn't feel sorry for you when you got knocked down. He had a different definition of being a good loser. He said, "You know who a good loser is? It's somebody who hates to lose and who gets up and comes back and fights again."

I think, perhaps, as I look back at those who shaped my own life—and there are a great deal of similarities between the game of football and the game of politics—that I learned a great deal from a football coach who not only taught his players how to win but who also taught them that when you lose you don't quit, that when you lose you fight harder the next time.

That, of course, is what a nation needs to know. It is what all of us need to know at this time in this country. I think as we think of men like Vince Lombardi, Chief Newman, the thousands of other coaches, Bruiser Kinard, others who have left their mark on America's young men, either by reason of the fact that they have played for them or by reason of the fact that those in the stands have seen the spirit that they have been able to infuse among those players—I think as we think of that, we can think of what that should mean and can mean to America at this time in our history.

On such an evening as this, so full of fun and so full of nostalgia, so full of respect for the past and looking to the future of next season and who is going to win, let me just leave one very serious thought with this audience with regard to where America is going in these next few years.

We are entering what I believe is going to be an era of peace for America. I hope it will be, and I believe there is a better chance than at any time in this century

that it will be—peace for a whole generation, something we have not had in this century.

We are ending a war in which we are presently engaged, ending it in a way that will contribute to a lasting peace. I am making a journey to a country in which one-fourth of the people in the world live, making that journey not so much because it will affect my generation, although it may, but because, as I look to the generations in the future, we cannot have peace in this world and have one-fourth of the people in the world isolated from the world community. We must know them. They must know us. And that is why that journey for peace is being undertaken.

But having undertaken that journey, and looking around the world, and with the prediction, or at least the hope that this prediction may come true, that we are entering an era of peace for our generation and perhaps the next generation, so that these young people, sons and daughters of those in the Hall of Fame, can enjoy that peace, let us recognize that that does not mean that it is a time when it is going to be easy for us, when we can rest on our oars. Because what peace then means is: What do we do with it?

In that connection, I would say that while America is entering very possibly a period of peace such as we haven't enjoyed in this century, it will be a period of enormous challenge, because all over the world—800 million Chinese, 250 million Russians, 300 million Europeans, 250 million in Latin America, 700 million in South Asia, another 200 million on the rim of Asia—there are people all over the world who are becoming more competitive.

I first came to Canton 22 years ago. Frank Bow will remember that visit, and others may remember it. I was a Congressman at the time, and at that time Americans could look at the world and say, "We are number one," without any question. We were number one from a standpoint of military strength; we were number one from the standpoint of our economic power, and no one in the world could possibly, at that time, challenge us.

At the present time the United States is still the strongest nation in the world, and we are still the richest nation in the world. But we must remember that in those past 21 years we have the nations of Western Europe, completely recovered from World War II, competing with us. We have the potential competition of 800 million in China, and all of these other nations that I have mentioned; the competition from Japan, the competition from the Soviet Union. This, however, should not be considered by Americans to be simply a problem that we wish would go away.

What it reminds us, simply, is this fact: It sometimes is said these days that it doesn't make any difference whether you are number one or not. Let me tell you, it makes a great deal of difference, not simply because we want to be number one so that somebody else can be number two in the world, but because unless you try to do your best, unless you give everything that you have to your life and in the service of your country, then you have not been the man or the woman that you can be. And for America at this time, when we are still the first nation in the world, to rest on our laurels and to let the other nations that are competing with us pass us by, this is something that we cannot let happen and that we should not let happen.

That brings me back to the game of

football, to our coaches, to the players who are examples. I think what football and other sports mean to, and what they contribute to, millions of us who are fans—more than the recreation, more than the enormous spectator sport that it is—is the spirit, a spirit of competition, a spirit of trying to do our very best, a spirit of when we lose of trying to win the next time out, and a spirit, may I say also, of being for our team, all the way, strong for it.

I think it is great for the Giant fans to be for the Giants and for the Bengal fans to be for the Bengals, and the Browns fans to be for the Browns. I think it is great, too, for Americans to be for America, all the way.

So, if we learn from football to be for our team, for our town, for our country, then that is a good thing. Oh, I don't mean that our country is perfect, but I have traveled to most of the nations of the world and just let me remind us all of this great truth. Go anyplace else; you will enjoy it. But you will, when you come back to America, say, "I am glad that I am an American," because in no nation of the world is there more opportunity; in no nation of the world is there more freedom; in no nation in the world are there better jobs, better wages, a better income, a better life than in America.

There are a lot of things to improve about it, but the greatness of this country is that we have a system in which, where we don't like what we find, we can change it and we can improve it.

So, I would leave this final passing thought with you tonight on my first visit—and I hope not my last—to this Hall of Fame. In the spirit of American football at its best, let's always try to be number one, because we owe it to ourselves, we owe it to our country.

Second, in the spirit of American football, let's be for our team, let's be for our country. As we look at this country, when we hear people say America is an ugly country, let's stand up and answer. Let's say this is a beautiful country, and the glory of it is that we have the great opportunity to make it even more beautiful in the years to come.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:18 p.m. in the Canton Civic Center.

The Commissioner of the National Football League was Pete Rozelle.

The banquet was in honor of the following men who were inducted into the Professional Football Hall of Fame the next day: Norm Van Brocklin, Jim Brown, the late Bill Hewitt, Frank (Bruiser) Kinard, the late Vince Lombardi, Andy Robustelli, and Y. A. Tittle.

244 Television Interview With ABC Sports Commentator Frank Gifford in Canton, Ohio. *July* 31, 1971

MR. GIFFORD. Mr. President, I know of your fondness not only for sports, physical fitness, but also Vince Lombardi who is being honored here at the Hall of Fame. He was a very special man, I think, to so many people, and I think you felt that.

THE PRESIDENT. He was very special to me mainly because I read about him and admired him as millions of Americans did who saw what a man he was. He was a great coach, as you, of course, know, but more than that he was a fine family man.

He was a man who loved his country, and he set a magnificent example for people all over the country.

I think that if you were to pick one man who has more caught the imagination of the Nation in the field of sports it is probably Vince Lombardi because of his character.

MR. GIFFORD. He certainly had that.

Of course, the other inductees that are being inducted in the Hall of Fame, Y. A. Tittle, Jim Brown, Bruiser Kinard, Andy Robustelli, Hewitt——

THE PRESIDENT. I remember so well, the time that I met both Y. A. Tittle and Andy Robustelli was in your apartment, Frank, in New York, in 1962. You know, in those years you had those great Giant teams—I don't mean they aren't so great now.

MR. GIFFORD. It was close to a championship team.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, they were championship in my book. And I recall the great time we had, and what fun it was just to sit there and talk football. I have often thought that if I had my life to live over again and did not go into politics I would like to have your job—you know, be a sportscaster or writer.

MR. GIFFORD. We do have a good seat.

THE PRESIDENT. Yes. Well, possibly if I am not too old you will give me the chance later.

MR. GIFFORD. I have heard you do a very fine color job once before.

Where did the interest in football, physical fitness, athletics in general—I know you are a general sports fan—but where did it begin, back at Whittier maybe with Chief Newman, the head coach?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes. Whittier, as you know, right next to Southern Cal, is a small college, but with a very fine football tradition. And my coach, Chief Newman, of course, was an alumnus of your college, or university, University of Southern California. As a matter of fact, he was an All-American.

MR. GIFFORD. He was a great player.

THE PRESIDENT. A great player. He played tackle and fullback both, in the days when they went both ways. He played tackle on defense and fullback on offense. But the Chief in a very interesting way was a lot like Lombardi. He was a fellow who produced good teams. I think the thing that I remember most about him was his attitude about being a good loser. He said you ought to be a good loser. But being a good loser to him—he said you have got to hate to lose. You have got to hate to lose and get up off that floor and come back to fight again.

He got that into everyone who ever played for him or, as I did, sat on the bench and was on the taxi squad. And I think perhaps that may have had an effect on me. I had to lose a little before I won.

MR. GIFFORD. Mr. President, it is very difficult now. I know you were a fan of the Los Angeles Rams, a very good fan of the Giants when you were in New York, a fan of the Washington Redskins. Do you find it difficult now to pick a team to root for or do you just like it all?

THE PRESIDENT. Well first, Frank, as President I have to be very nonpartisan, and when I go to a game, consequently, it is very difficult because I like to be for a team, for a man or for a team. I don't mean being so much against the other team, but for somebody I know.

But what I have now decided is the best rule is to be for the team in the city I happen to be living. Now that is the Washington Redskins at the present time,

with George Allen, who incidentally, as you remember, coached at Whittier before he went on to the Chicago Bears as a defensive coach, and then on to the Rams, and now to the Washington Redskins. I have told him I am going to come out and root for the Redskins. But let me say, that when I am in Los Angeles, I am rooting for the Rams or when I am in San Diego, I am with the Chargers. You name it, and I will be there.

MR. GIFFORD. Mr. President, I want to thank you for joining us. I know I speak for Mrs. Lombardi, Marie, all the inductees. I know how terribly honored they are to have you here.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think it is nice that she is going to be here tonight, and I think also, Frank, speaking of the fact that Vince Lombardi was such a wonderful family man, a deeply religious man, that this [July 30] is his 31st wedding anniversary. It would have been tonight. So, the fact that he is in the Hall of Fame, that she is here on this day which must have meant so much to both of them, I think, is very significant.

MR. GIFFORD. It could not have been better put.

THE PRESIDENT. Thank you.

MR. GIFFORD. Thank you.

NOTE: The interview was videotaped on Friday, July 30, 1971, for broadcast on ABC during the Professional Football Hall of Fame game between the Los Angeles Rams and the Houston Oilers in Canton, Ohio, on Saturday, July 31.

245 Remarks at the Dedication of the Rathbun Dam Near Centerville, Iowa. *July 31, 1971*

Governor Ray, Senator Miller, Congressman Kyl, Congressman Smith, all of the distinguished guests on the platform, and all of those who have come to the dedication of Rathbun Dam:

I want you to know that for me this is somewhat of a homecoming. It allows me to tell you just a little bit out of my own life, which has already been referred to by Governor Ray in his introduction. As I flew into the Ottumwa Air Base today, or now the Ottumwa Airport, I thought back to 29 years ago. I had just finished my indoctrination at Quonset Point, Rhode Island. Like all others who went through the indoctrination course, I was asked by the personnel officer what duty would I prefer. Well, coming as I did from California, I put as my first choice, "sea duty."

When I got my orders it said, "Naval Air Station, Ottumwa." I asked somebody there, "Where is Ottumwa?" I found out soon enough. So, we came to Ottumwa, and I will never forget my first visit to the Naval Air Station. It was in the middle of a very cold Iowa winter. We drove out to an old farmhouse out in the middle of a great cornfield. The snow was piled high. And believe me, there was no body of water in which you could sail a boat for miles around.

The standing joke among those of us who were assigned to that Naval Air Station in those early days when it was being built was that here we were in the Navy, in the middle of Iowa, but certainly, no bodies of water big enough for boats of any size.

Now, to come back 29 years later, and to fly by helicopter over this magnificent body of water, the largest body of water not only in this State but in all the area

around, I can simply say: I did not promise then that that would happen. I was not running for anything then. I was just in the Navy, as many others were. But I am glad that after 29 years I finally found the water I asked for 29 years ago right here in Iowa.

I am so delighted, too, that so many of you have come here on this magnificent day to give me the opportunity to participate with the other distinguished guests on this platform in the dedication of this dam and of this lake.

I saw the cars parked for almost miles around. I know you had to walk quite a way. And I know, too, that we had some competition today insofar as what you might have been doing at this moment. It seems that this weekend has been competition generally for me. Yesterday, for example, I was in Canton, Ohio, for a dinner. There was a big crowd, but the master of ceremonies, Kyle Rote, pointed out that he was surprised that any sports fans were there at all because at that very hour the all-star game was being played in Chicago and was on television.

At this time, as you know, at this very hour, if you were watching on television you could see that fantastic ride in a golf cart on the moon. So, I do appreciate the fact that so many of you came, came out here on this beautiful day to this dam site so that I could have the opportunity to talk a bit about it and so that all of us together can share a moment in history, a moment in history on this earth which means so much to the people of this area and, as I will point out in my remarks, so much to America, all Americans.

The building of this lake is a classic example, it seems to me, of the way American resourcefulness converts problems into opportunities. You all remember the floods. I remember back 29 years ago the situation with regard to the fact that this was generally an area where there were flooding problems.

But today, instead of the river floods, you now have the benefit of this dam, this reservoir, and with all the recreational and economic possibilities that they open up. The Corps of Engineers certainly deserves a great deal of credit, and I am glad that tribute was paid to them in the very eloquent invocation.

May I give you a little advice? I presided over the United States Senate for 8 years. What I say now is not said in derogation of the speeches that are made in that great body. But I often said to the Chaplain of the Senate as he opened the Senate with prayer, I said, "Chaplain, do a good job today. You are probably going to make the best speech of the day." Certainly, as we heard this eloquent invocation, it reminded us of our spiritual background, our religious background, and, of course, told us of who was responsible and those to whom we should give our thanks.

We should, of course, express our thanks to the Members of Congress of both parties who have supported this project through the years, authorized in the Eisenhower Administration in 1954, but money not appropriated until 1964, when John Kyl, the Congressman from this district, worked on the appropriation and when Jack Miller, as a Senator, also worked on it.

But I want to say that, in addition to the Congressmen and the Senators and the others in Washington who can take credit, members of both parties in the Congress, much of the credit, as a matter of fact—let me say, speaking somewhat as an expert as to how these projects finally get built—goes to the people out in front of me here

in this audience, to the people through the years who never gave up hope. You dreamed of this dam and what it could do for southern Iowa. And despite the fact that you went up the Hill and down the Hill, got it authorized and then waited 7 years before a dime was appropriated for it, to you goes the credit, because you had the vision and the energy to plan the project and you had the vision and the energy and the determination to push it through to its completion.

Some of you may have seen an open letter which appeared in the Centerville Iowegian—is that correct?—several weeks ago; I asked John Kyl and he said, "Well, most people don't pronounce it quite that precisely." But the Centerville Iowegian—one of the readers of that paper sent me a copy of this open letter, and the editor sent me one, too, inviting me to come out for the dedication. I am sure that some of you happened to read the letter. Let me tell you what the most persuasive part of it was to me. It had a great deal to do with my coming, in addition, of course, to the invitation extended by people here and by John Kyl, Jack Miller.

Here is what the letter said. It said by coming to Centerville and, of course, here to Lake Rathbun, I would be able to "see once again the heart of rural America, an area valiantly struggling to stay in the mainstream of our national development."

Think of that as you hear what I now say. To me there is nothing more important than to keep our rural areas and their people right in the American mainstream.

As I have learned a little about the Rathbun area, and I can see what that letter meant, the record of the last 10 years is impressive. You recall that there was a very severe population loss in the 1950's, a population loss which has been felt by the loss of a Congressman by result of redistricting. But Centerville brought the decline almost to a standstill in the 1960's, and now you are ready to start gaining in the years ahead.

How did you do it? Well, you attracted new industry. You moved successfully from a largely agricultural economy in 1960, to one evenly balanced today between agriculture and industry. Now, with the opening of this Lake Rathbun, you are introducing into the economic picture a third very promising element: recreation.

I saw all the boats down there. I thought of them, the fishing boats, and all of the opportunities that were there, and the thousands of people that will be coming there from all over Iowa and Missouri and the other surrounding country to enjoy these recreation opportunities.

So what we find here is that the communities in this region—Ottumwa, Centerville, all the other cities and towns represented—what you are doing is to resist rural stagnation, and you are moving forward with healthy rural development.

That same story, I can report to you, is being repeated thousands of times over in other parts of rural America. I was down in Tulsa, Oklahoma, a few weeks ago, dedicating another project like this. There it has revitalized the whole area, the building of a dam with the water and all the other resources that result from it.

What is happening is that rural development, which was for so long in the early periods of the history of this country taken for granted, and recently so long ignored, is finally starting to get the attention it deserves. The people of this Nation's farms and the smaller communities have not been receiving their fair share of progress and prosperity and the better things

of life. You, you in this audience, you all over Iowa, you through the heartland of America are determined to change that. And I can tell you today, we in Washington are determined to help you to change it.

This does not mean to say that we are setting rural America against urban America, because if you talk to people that live in the great cities of America you will find that they have begun to realize that unbridled, unplanned urban growth and concentration of population are giving rise to some very grave problems.

Just pouring more and more and more people into already overcrowded cities isn't the way to build a better country. The way to build a better country is to discover again the grace and the beauty of this heartland of America so that people, instead of moving out, will move back here and develop it again.

So our goal is balanced growth for America, and the key to that is a program to revitalize the American countryside.

Let me just tell you some of the steps we have taken in that direction during the past 2½ years. We have more than doubled the number of loans and grants for rural housing. We have increased the number of loans and grants to provide rural water and sewer systems by almost 30 percent. We have expanded resources conservation and development, flood prevention, watershed, river basin programs by more than 50 percent. I was very impressed to see on farm after farm the developments there of water and the fact that that has changed the whole ecological development in this area.

We have expanded the Extension Service community development program by 50 percent. We have proposed a new program of special revenue sharing for rural community development. We have provided the removal of strings and limitations under this program so that the people at the State and local level, you, you people here, make your decisions about how best to use your rural development money rather than to have those decisions all made for you by somebody in Washington, D.C.

The $1.1 billion program budgeted for it in the first year represents a 24 percent increase over past spending levels. Special revenue sharing for education, transportation, law enforcement, manpower would also help towns like Centerville and counties like the four around Lake Rathbun; and general revenue sharing—Governor Ray will be interested in this—provides a first year share of more than $74 million for the State of Iowa.

To restore, to develop, to maintain: This is what America owes its countryside. We must restore the farmer to his rightful place of prosperous production and a fair share of America's increasing prosperity.

We must develop the economic potential of our rural areas so that the people who live there can be first-class citizens enjoying a first-class way of life. And we must maintain the precious values which America has traditionally drawn from her open spaces—the moral strength, the self-reliant spirit, the sound character, the natural beauty, the unlimited horizons.

As we work together in these efforts, we will assure not only the Lake Rathbun area but all of our rural areas of a place in which that letter which was sent to me and which brought me here calls "the mainstream of our national development."

Now, if I could relate for this great audience here in the heartland of America what I have said about this project and

your area to all of America, let me return again to those three Americans on the moon.

We can think of them now on the moon, two of them on the moon, riding in the golf cart. And they look down on earth, what does it look like? Well, we have had descriptions from other astronauts, and often they have remarked about the fact that from far out there the earth looks like a very peaceful planet.

So, I speak a moment on that subject because I know that here in the heartland of this country you are concerned not just about your rural development, not just about your economic development, but you are concerned about peace for America and peace for the world.

I can tell you that at this time I believe the prospects for America—and particularly the young children that I see here in such great numbers—to enjoy a full generation of peace are better than they have been at any time since the close of World War II.

I can tell you first that we are ending the longest and most difficult war in which America has been engaged, and we are ending it in a way that will contribute to a lasting peace.

Also, as you have heard, I am planning a journey to Mainland China. The purpose of that journey involves not just peace for my generation, but even more, it affects peace for generations to come, because looking far to the future we cannot have a peaceful world if 800 million of the most creative, able people in the world, one-fourth of all the people in the world, are isolated from the rest of the world.

So that is why I believe the President of the United States should take the first step to establish a new communication with that one-fourth of the world's people who live in Mainland China, so that we can have a better chance for peace in the generations to come.

Getting peace is not easy; keeping the peace is not easy. But I can assure you that we are dedicated to that proposition. It is a goal that I think we have a very good chance to achieve.

But as we get the peace and we keep the peace the question then comes: What do we do with it? I think all of us in America must recognize that as the world becomes more peaceful, it will become far more competitive. That is what we are learning today.

We are learning that Western Europe, the Soviet Union, the potential of Mainland China, Japan, not to mention the other great areas of the world, more and more are developing the ability to compete with the United States of America.

Let me put it in its clearest context: Today America is the strongest nation in the world. Today America is the richest nation in the world. But in order to remain number one, the first nation in the world in strength and the first nation in the world in wealth, America is going to have to develop all of its resources.

No part of the country, like this part of the country, can be left out of that development. No group of Americans can be left out of that development. Every American must have a chance to make his contribution to the development of America's greatness.

In addition to that, if we are going to maintain our position, it is essential that this Nation have the drive and the purpose and the dedication to do so. I am sometimes asked, what difference does it make? Why do we care whether America is number one economically in the world?

Let me tell you why it makes a great deal of difference: not because we want to be ahead of somebody else so that they can be number two, but for two very fundamental reasons.

First, because in the last part of this century, whether we have peace will depend primarily upon the United States of America. And that is a good thing for the world because whatever you may have heard and whatever the criticisms of American foreign policy have been, we can be proud of the fact that in four wars in this century Americans have fought, Americans have died, not for an acre of territory, not to dominate any other country, but for the freedom of other people. And it is that kind of leadership that the world needs so that peace can be safe in the world. That is why America should maintain that strength—so a strong and vigorous America will contribute to peace.

But then there is another reason. I know that many of the young people here are students of history, as I once was so many years ago. As you study the history of great nations, you will find that unless a people seek great goals they lose their greatness.

Once a people decide that it doesn't matter whether they excel, once they resign themselves to be second best, then they find that they lose in every other way. That is the beginning of the end of great civilizations.

I say to you today: We cannot let that happen to America. Let us see to it that we recognize that this country has become great because people have dedicated themselves to making it the country that it is.

We have worked hard. We have had great purpose. We have had great loyalty. We have been willing to make great sacrifices, and as a result we have reached the position where today we can proudly say to our young people: In no country in the world today can you be born and have the opportunity of having more freedom, more opportunity, better jobs, higher wages, than in America. Let's keep it that way, and the way to keep it that way is to continue to work for a better America.

That brings me now back again to this wonderful audience that I see in front of me, the people that I found here 29 years ago and the people I see today.

My wife and I left Ottumwa but we did not leave behind people who were not our friends. Those friends we have kept through the years, and we also took away with us a memory, a memory of people that were deeply religious, deeply patriotic, people who were self-reliant, people who had the courage and the character that has made this country great.

America today needs that kind of contribution from its heartland. We need the development of, the maintenance of our American rural heartland and its strength.

I can simply say to you that here today, at this historic moment when we dedicate this beautiful lake, this project which is the realization of the dreams of hundreds, perhaps thousands, in this audience, let us remember: It will help this area of the country but it will also help America.

It will help America by revitalizing our rural countryside, by allowing people to stay here with gainful opportunities in employment, with a better life than would otherwise be the case.

And let us also be thankful on this particular occasion that we live in a beautiful country. I know you hear quite often, and we all hear those things that are wrong about America, and there are things wrong; but there are some who go to the

conclusion that because we have problems in our cities, because we have problems in crime, because we have problems sometimes with young people, and the rest, that, first, these things are new, but second, that this makes America an ugly country.

Don't you believe it. If you fly over this country as we did today and look down on the beauty of this land, if you look at a great audience of Americans of both political parties, see them sitting here as you are, listening to the President of the United States so attentively as you have, then you would say, as I say: This is a beautiful country, and we have the great privilege of having the opportunity to make it even more beautiful for the generations to come.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:20 p.m.

An advance text of his remarks was released on the same day.

246 Statement About Senate Approval of the Emergency Loan Guarantee Act. *August* 2, 1971

THE Senate's decision to approve a Government guarantee for a $250 million private bank loan to the Lockheed Corporation is in the best interests of all the American people. I greet this vote—as I greeted the vote in the House of Representatives last week—with gratitude and deep satisfaction.

This action will save tens of thousands of jobs that would otherwise have been eliminated. It will have a major impact on the economy of California, and will contribute greatly to the economic strength of the country as a whole. It will help ensure that the Nation's largest defense contractor, and its largest airframe manufacturer, will continue serving the Nation's needs. It will also help ensure that this country will continue to play a leading role in the development of aerospace technology.

The bill which the Senate has approved is the same measure I recommended to the Congress several weeks ago. I would emphasize again that it provides no Federal dollars to the Lockheed Corporation; it merely provides a Government guarantee for a loan which will be made entirely through private institutions.

Both Houses of the Congress have deliberated carefully upon this matter, and they have acted in a prudent and farsighted manner. I appreciate what they have done, and I congratulate them for their decision.

NOTE: As enacted, the bill (H.R. 8432) was approved by the President on August 9, 1971, and is Public Law 92–70 (85 Stat. 178).

247 Letter to the Speaker of the House of Representatives Urging Congressional Approval of Funds for Declassification of World War II Documents. *August* 3, 1971

Dear Mr. Speaker:

I am asking the Congress today to approve a supplemental appropriation for fiscal year 1972 of $636,000 for the General Services Administration, so that we can begin an immediate and systematic effort to declassify the documents of World War II.

These documents are more than 25 years old, and after careful consideration, I believe that we must now undertake a massive declassification if the United States is to retain its traditional leadership in providing accessibility to historical papers, and if we are to preserve respect for those sensitive materials which should properly remain classified.

For the past several months representatives of the National Archives and Records Service of the General Services Administration held discussions with the Departments of State and Defense on the problems of declassification of those documents. They have agreed that approximately 90–95 percent of the classified documents of the 1940–1945 period can now be declassified if the necessary funding can be obtained.

The task ahead is mammoth, as it involves nearly 160 million pages of classified documents contained in 49,000 cubic feet of paper records and over 18,500 rolls of microfilm held by the National Archives alone. Wherever feasible "bulk declassification" techniques will be used; but to protect the 5 to 10 percent of the materials that still possess some degree of sensitivity, a substantial amount of page by page screening will be necessary. The General Services Administration estimates that the project may require as many as five years to complete. If the Government is to allow scholars and the general public the access to the material which they deserve, it is important that we begin now.

Since January of this year, a high-level, interagency study has been underway within the Government to review general procedures for classifying and declassifying sensitive materials.[1] While my request today does not spring directly from that effort, it does reflect the same priority which this administration places upon the open conduct of public affairs. In this age of uncertainty, it is clear that our security depends as much upon public trust and understanding as upon the protection of legitimate State secrets.

With this proposal today, I am transmitting a letter from the Director of the Office of Management and Budget setting forth his views on this appropriation. I ask the Congress to give swift consideration to this request.

Sincerely,

RICHARD NIXON

[Honorable Carl Albert, Speaker of the House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.]

NOTE: On August 12, 1971, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing by John D. Ehrlichman, Assistant to the Presi-

[1] An interagency group, chaired by William H. Rehnquist, Assistant Attorney General, Office of Legal Counsel, Department of Justice, was set up at the President's request on January 15, 1971, to conduct the study.

dent for Domestic Affairs, and John W. Dean III, Counsel to the President, on classification and declassification procedures in the Federal Government.

The letter from George P. Shultz, Director, Office of Management and Budget, which was transmitted with the President's letter, is printed in House Document 92–151.

248 Message to the Senate Transmitting the Locarno Agreement Establishing an International Classification for Industrial Designs. *August* 3, 1971

To the Senate of the United States:

With a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, I transmit herewith a certified copy of the Locarno Agreement Establishing an International Classification for Industrial Designs, signed October 8, 1968. I transmit also, for the information of the Senate, the report of the Secretary of State with respect to the Agreement.

The countries which are parties to the Agreement constitute a Special Union. The principal purpose of that organization, which will consist of an Assembly of all contracting parties, and a Committee of Experts, is to establish an international classification for industrial designs. Such a classification system will be of great assistance in researching the existence of exclusive rights respecting a specified design or any variants thereof. This arrangement will be generally similar to that set forth in the Nice Agreement Concerning International Classification of Goods and Services to which Trademarks are Applied as revised at Stockholm July 14, 1967.

I recommend that the Senate give early and favorable consideration to this Agreement.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
August 3, 1971

NOTE: The text of the agreement and the report of the Secretary of State are printed in Senate Executive I (92d Cong., 1st sess.).

249 Statement About the Busing of Schoolchildren. *August* 3, 1971

THE Justice Department is today announcing the Government's decision to take an appeal on limited constitutional grounds in the case of the *United States* v. *Austin Independent School District,* involving school desegregation.

The Attorney General advises me that he must appeal the District Court's decision that the school board's plan to bus children periodically for interracial experiences eliminates the dual school system, because that decision is inconsistent with recent rulings of the United States Supreme Court. The Justice Department is not appealing to impose the HEW plan. In the process of the appeal, the Justice Department will disavow that plan on behalf of the Government.

I would also like to restate my position as it relates to busing. I am against busing as that term is commonly used in school desegregation cases. I have consistently opposed the busing of our Nation's schoolchildren to achieve a racial balance, and I am opposed to the busing of children simply for the sake of busing. Further, while the executive branch will continue to enforce the orders of the court, including court-ordered busing, I have instructed the Attorney General and the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare that they are to work with individual school districts to hold busing to the minimum required by law.

Finally, I have today instructed the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to draft and submit today to the Congress an amendment to the proposed Emergency School Assistance Act that will expressly prohibit the expenditure of any of those funds for busing.

250 The President's News Conference of *August* 4, 1971

PAKISTANI REFUGEES

THE PRESIDENT. [1.] Ladies and gentlemen, I would begin this with a brief résumé of the conversation I have just had with the Secretary of State, because I know the subject will probably come up in any event.

This is with regard to the Pakistan refugee situation. To recap what we have done: As far as the refugees who are in India are concerned, we have provided $70 million in aid to date, being administered through the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees. And we are prepared to provide more. That, incidentally, is more than all the rest of the nations of the world put together, so it is a substantial amount.

As far as those in East Pakistan themselves are concerned, whereas you know there are prospects of famine in the event that the crop reports are as bad as they seem to be, at this point we have 360,000 tons of grain ready for shipment there. We have also allotted $3 million for the purpose of chartering ships for the purpose of getting the grain into the overcrowded ports.

As a further step, the Secretary of State has worked out with my very strong approval a plan to go to the United Nations next week to talk to the responsible and appropriate members of the United Nations, including the U.N. High Commissioner in that office, to see what additional steps can be taken on both fronts to help the refugees in India from East Pakistan and also to help those who are in East Pakistan and are presently confronting famine situations.

With regard to a problem that was addressed by the House yesterday, we do not favor the idea that the United States should cut off economic assistance to Pakistan. To do so would simply aggravate the refugee problem because it would mean that the ability of the Government of Pakistan to work with the U.N., as it presently has indicated it is willing to do

so, in distributing the food supplies, its ability to create some stability, would be seriously jeopardized.

We believe that the most constructive role we can play is to continue our economic assistance to West Pakistan [Government of Pakistan] and thereby to be able to influence the course of events in a way that will deal with the problem of hunger in East Pakistan, which would reduce the refugee flow into India and which will, we trust, in the future look toward a viable political settlement.[1]

We are not going to engage in public pressure on the Government of West Pakistan [Government of Pakistan]. That would be totally counterproductive. These are matters that we will discuss only in private channels.

QUESTIONS

THE PRESIDENT'S TRIP TO CHINA

[2.] Q. Mr. President, can you tell us any more about your forthcoming trip to China, when it is likely to occur, and can you give us your assessment of what effect you think this will have on ending the war in Vietnam?

THE PRESIDENT. As far as the timing is concerned, I cannot add to what I said in the original announcement. It will be before May 1. The time will be worked out sometime within the next 2 to 3 months, I would assume, and a considerable amount of preparatory activity must take place, setting up the agenda, setting up the number in the official party. These are matters, of course, that must be discussed and worked out before the time of the visit is finally announced.

Second, and I know a number of you are interested in who is going, that is a matter still to be decided. It was raised by Dr. Kissinger and by Premier Chou En-lai in their conversations and will be worked out by mutual agreement.

As far as our party is concerned, it will be a small working party. The only ones that presently are definitely going are, of course, the Secretary of State and Dr. Kissinger and myself. Beyond that, whatever others will be added will be determined by mutual agreement between the parties concerned.

Now, as to the effect the visit will have, and the conversations will have, on Vietnam, I will not speculate on that subject. I will only say that as the joint announcement indicated, this will be a wide-ranging discussion of issues concerning both governments. It is not a discussion that is going to lead to instant détente.

What it really is, is moving—as we have moved, I believe, in the situation with regard to the Soviet Union—from an era of confrontation without communication to an era of negotiation with discussion. It does not mean that we go into these meetings on either side with any illusions about

[1] The flow of refugees and the growth of an insurgency movement in East Pakistan seeking secession from Pakistan increased existing tensions in the border area of India and East Pakistan, and led finally, in late November 1971, to open warfare between the Pakistani Army and the Indian Army which had crossed into East Pakistan in aid of the insurgents.

On December 7, the United Nations General Assembly passed a resolution calling on India and Pakistan to institute an immediate cease-fire and to withdraw their troops from each other's territory. A statement by Press Secretary Ronald L. Ziegler on the resolution was released December 12 and is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 7, p. 1656).

the wide differences that we have. Our interests are very different, and both sides recognized this, in the talks that Dr. Kissinger had, the very extended talks he had with Premier Chou En-lai. We do not expect that these talks will settle all of those differences.

What is important is that we will have opened communication to see where our differences are irreconcilable, to see that they can be settled peacefully, and to find those areas where the United States, which today is the most powerful nation in the world, can find areas of agreement with the most populous nation in the world which potentially in the future could become the most powerful nation in the world.

As we look at peace in the world for the balance of this century, and for that matter even in the next century, we must recognize that there cannot be world peace on which all the peoples in the world can rely, on which they have such a great stake, unless there is communication between and some negotiation between these two great super powers, the People's Republic and the United States.

I have put this in general terms because that is the understanding of the People's Republic, Premier Chou En-lai, and it is our understanding our agenda will be worked out at a later point; before the trip it will be very carefully worked out so that the discussions will deal with the hard problems as well as the easy ones.

We expect to make some progress, but to speculate about what progress will be made on any particular issue, to speculate, for example, as to what effect this might have on Vietnam, would not serve the interests of constructive talks.

ALL-ASIAN CONFERENCE ON VIETNAM

[3.] Q. Mr. President, may I ask a related policy question on Vietnam?

THE PRESIDENT. Sure.

Q. There have been some suggestions, including some indirect hints from China, that a negotiating forum involving a conference, an Asian conference to be held in Asia, primarily with Asian participants but with the United States as well, might be a better forum for negotiating a settlement in Vietnam. Can you speak to that?

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Bailey [Charles W. Bailey 2d, Minneapolis Tribune and Minneapolis Star], the question of whether there should be an all-Asian conference, with the Government of the People's Republic participating, as you know, has risen several times over the past few months, and was raised before our announcement was made.

As far as we are concerned, we will consider any proposal that might contribute to a more peaceful situation in the Pacific and in the world. However, at this point there is no understanding between the United States and the People's Republic as to whether or not out of this meeting should come that kind of proposal.

Let me say on that score, there were no conditions asked for on either side, and none accepted. There were no deals made on either side or accepted, none offered and none accepted. This is a discussion which will take place with both sides knowing in advance that there are problems, but with both sides well prepared. This is the secret of any successful summitry.

As you know, parenthetically, I have always taken somewhat of a dim view of

summitry when it comes in an unprepared form. But both sides will be well prepared, well in advance, on all points of major difference, and we will discuss any points of difference that could affect the peace of the world.

THE SOVIET UNION

[4.] Q. Mr. President, is there any diplomatic reason why you might not visit the Soviet Union before going to Peking? It has been suggested and speculated upon.

THE PRESIDENT. In view of the announcement that we have made on Peking, the visit to Peking will be the first visit that I will make. Obviously, it takes a great deal of time to prepare a visit, and to attempt now to—and the Soviet Union, I am sure, feels exactly the same way—to attempt to rush around and have a summit meeting in Moscow before we go to Peking would not be in the interest of either country.

I would add this point, too: When Foreign Minister Gromyko was here, we discussed the possibility of a possible summit meeting, and we had a very candid discussion. He agreed and said that his government leaders agreed with my position, which was that a meeting at the highest level should take place and would be useful only when there was something substantive to discuss that could not be handled in other channels.

With regard to the Soviets, I should also point out that we are making very significant progress on Berlin. We are making good progress on SALT. Discussions are still continuing on the Mideast, although there I will not speculate about what the prospects for success are in view of the fact that Mr. Sisco [2] is presently in the area exploring with the governments concerned what the possibilities of some interim settlement looking toward a final settlement may be.

Having mentioned these three areas in which we are negotiating with the Soviet Union, I will add that if the time comes, as it may come, and both sides realize this, then the final breakthrough in any of these areas can take place only at the highest level, and then there will be a meeting. But as far as the timing of the meeting before the visit to Peking, that would not be an appropriate thing to do.

STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION TALKS

[5.] Q. I was thinking of such a thing as a settlement on the SALT talks.

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Theis [J. William Theis, Hearst Newspapers and Hearst Headline Service], when I said there was good progress being made on SALT, it is still a very technical and sticky problem for both sides because it involves our vital interests. Let me emphasize that in SALT, both sides are asked to make an agreement which limits them. This is not unilateral. We, on our part, will be having very severe limitations with regard to our defensive capability, with ABM. They, on their part, will have limitations on their offensive capability, their buildup of offensive missiles.

Neither side can make those decisions lightly, without very, very basic discussions, but the fact that we have at the highest level committed ourselves to working toward an agreement simultane-

[2] Joseph J. Sisco, Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs.

ously this year on both those issues, and the fact that since the talks at Helsinki began that we have made progress, gives hope that we are going to make an arrangement.

But to speculate that maybe we are going to get that done before we go to Peking, I think, would be ill-advised.

PARIS PEACE TALKS

[6.] Q. Mr. President, why have you not accepted the Vietcong proposals after all these weeks of probing, or given some formal reply?

THE PRESIDENT. I have noted some criticism in the press about the fact that Ambassador Bruce had to leave August 1. Incidentally, I am most grateful that he stayed an extra month, because his doctor got hold of me and said he should have left July 1. But, in any event, his having left August 1, and Mr. Porter not being able to arrive of the latter part of August, there has been some speculation, in fact there is—and I understand this—criticism in the press and the Senate and the House that the Administration is not interested in negotiating a settlement, that we are not considering the various proposals that have been made by the VC and the North Vietnamese.

Now, just so the members of the press will not get out on a limb with regard to predicting what we are or are not doing, let me make one statement, and then I will go no further.

We are very actively pursuing negotiations on Vietnam in established channels. The record, when it finally comes out, will answer all the critics as far as the activity of this Government in pursuing negotiations in established channels. It would not be useful to negotiate in the newspapers if we want to have those negotiations succeed.

I am not predicting that the negotiations will succeed. I am saying, however, that as far as the United States is concerned, we have gone and are going the extra mile on negotiations in established channels. You can interpret that any way you want, but do not interpret it in a way that indicates that the United States is missing this opportunity, that opportunity, or another one, to negotiate.

SOUTH VIETNAM ELECTION

[7.] Q. Mr. President, one of the points being mentioned in the comments on the negotiations is the election in South Vietnam this fall. Is that a factor that does have some bearing on the pace of the negotiations?

THE PRESIDENT. It has certainly in terms of the North Vietnamese. As you know, the stumbling block for them in negotiations really is the political settlement. As they look at the election this fall, they feel that unless that election comes out in a way that a candidate they can support—or at least that they are not as much against as they are President Thieu—but unless it comes out that way, it will be very difficult for them to have a negotiated settlement.

With regard to the elections, let me emphasize our position. Our position is one of complete neutrality in these elections. We have, under Ambassador Bunker's skillful direction, made it clear to all parties concerned that we are not supporting any candidate, that we will accept the verdict of the people of South Vietnam.

I have noted, for example, that President Thieu has invited observers to come

71-234—72——57

from other nations to witness the election. I hope observers do go. I think they will find, I hope they will find, as they did when they observed previous elections in Vietnam, that by most standards they were fair.

As far as observers from this country are concerned, we have, of course, several Members of the Senate and others that have indicated a desire to go. We, of course, have no objection to that. We want a fair election, and we, of course, have some observers on the scene in the person of the Ambassador and his staff who will watch that election.

THE STOCK MARKET AND THE ECONOMY

[8.] Q. Mr. President, the last time you gave some stock market advice to us, it turned out pretty well. What would you do now, buy or sell?

THE PRESIDENT. With regard to the stock market, I suppose my advice should not be given much weight because I am not in the market. It is so easy to make predictions where your own assets are not involved.

I will say this: I would not sell the United States economy short at this point. And long term, I would not be selling my investments in the American economy, whether it is in stocks or real estate or what have you, selling them in a panicky way.

The stock market has come up, even at its present level of 850, 230 points since I made that prediction. I can only say that my long-range prediction for this economy is still what I said at the first of this year.

At the first of this year, when the very same people had written—and I have read the news magazines and business magazines, and not, of course, any of the columns you have written this week—but I have read all the rest this week, and the gloomy predictions about the economy: its going down, nothing good about it. I read them also for November of last year, exactly the same gloominess, the same words, and so forth.

I said then, and all of you were present then, I thought 1971 would be a good year for the economy, and 1972 would be a very good year. I stand by that. When we look at, for example, the first half of this year, it is not what people say about the economy, it is what they do about it that counts.

GNP is up a record $52 billion. Retail sales now, in June—and the first indications as far as July are concerned, it will stay at this level—are at record highs. Consumer spending is at a record high. Construction, particularly in housing, is near record highs. Inventories—and this is another indication of what will happen to the future for those who may be thinking of investing their money in businesses—inventories are abnormally low in view of the high level of retail sales.

Now what this tells me is that there is a lot of steam in the boiler in this economy, and you cannot continue to have high retail sales and low inventories without eventually starting to rebuild. Therefore, my projection for the balance of this year is that the economy will continue to move up as it has moved up in the first half.

That doesn't mean that there will not be aberrations in the monthly figures. It does mean, however, that the economy has a great deal of strength in it. This is a period when it is absorbing almost 2 million people who have been let out of defense plants and the Armed Forces and is absorbing that with a lower rate of un-

employment than was the case in 1961, 1962, 1963, which were the last 3 peacetime years before Vietnam when the unemployment rate, as you recall, averaged 6 percent.

ECONOMIC POLICY

[9.] Q. Mr. President, in that connection, to continue that, does that mean that you are still resolutely opposed to any incomes policy or, specifically, wage-price controls?

THE PRESIDENT. I think, Peter [Peter Lisagor, Chicago Daily News], it is well to identify incomes policies and wage-price controls for what they are and what they are not, because, as a matter of fact—and this gives me an opportunity to set the record straight with regard to some greatly blown up differences that I am supposed to have with my very good friend Arthur Burns, and perhaps you were too polite to ask that direct question——

Q. Well, I will ask it. [*Laughter*]

THE PRESIDENT. I thought that would be the followup, so I anticipated it. Let me get at it this way:

Arthur Burns, in terms of monetary policy and in terms of fiscal policy, has followed a course that I think is the most responsible and statesmanlike of any Chairman of the Federal Reserve in my memory. In other words, you have seen an expansionary monetary policy, and that is one of the reasons we have had an expansionary economy in the first 6 months of this year.

He has also stood firmly with this Administration in its responsible fiscal policy, resisting, for example, spending above what the economy would produce at full capacity. He has strongly supported me in those efforts.

That brings me to an area where he has taken a very unfair shot. Within this Administration, the Office of Budget and Management, on a reorganization plan 2 months ago, recommended that the Chairman of the Federal Reserve, because he basically is our central banker, should be raised to the same status as the central bankers abroad. I enthusiastically approved the idea. However, when the matter was raised with Dr. Burns by my associates, he indicated that neither he nor any other individual in a high position in Government should take a salary increase at a time that the President was going to have to take some strong measures, as I am going to take, to limit salary increases in other areas of Government, including, for example, blue-collar workers.

So, consequently, while there is not any question but that the Federal Reserve position will eventually be raised to the Level I position that was recommended, Arthur Burns—and, incidentally, George Shultz, who is also on this list as a recommendation of the Ash Council—Arthur Burns and George Shultz, being the responsible men that they were, asked that there not be an example set by them of a pay increase which would make it very difficult for us to deal effectively and responsibly with pay increases in other sectors of the Government. So we find that Burns agrees—that I agree with Burns, let's put it that way. I agree with Burns very strongly on his monetary policy, on his fiscal policy, the question that he has raised with regard to an incomes policy.

But when we talk about an incomes policy, let's see what he is not for. He is

unalterably opposed, as I am, to the Galbraith [3] scheme, which is supported by many of our Democratic Senators I understand, of permanent wage and price controls. Permanent wage and price controls in America would stifle the American economy, its dynamism, its productivity, and would be, I think, a mortal blow to the United States as a first-class economic power.

On the other hand, it is essential that Government use its power where it can be effective to stop the escalation or at least temper the escalation in the wage-price spiral. That is why we moved on construction, and we have been somewhat successful, from 16 down to 9 percent. That is why we moved to roll back an oil price recently.

As far as the two recent settlements, the one in the railroads and the one in steel, on the plus side, the fact that they were settled was positive; the fact, too, that in the case of railroads, they spoke to the problem of productivity by modification of work rules, and the fact that the steel settlement also spoke to the problem of productivity by setting up productivity councils, that was constructive.

On the other hand, I would be less than candid if I were not to say, and I know that the leaders of the rail industry and the leaders of the steel industry know this, that this kind of settlement where a wage increase leads to a price increase, and particularly in steel where the industry is already noncompetitive with foreign imports, is not in the interest of America; it is not in the interest of labor; it is not in the interest of industry.

Dr. Burns, without being completely specific, has only suggested the idea should be considered. That is why Secretary Connally said we welcome the move by several Republican Senators to hold hearings with regard to the setting of wage-price supports. That is why Dr. Burns has said that we should move to attempt to temper these increases.

The problem here is, how can we move without putting the American economy in a straitjacket? In other words, as Secretary Connally raised in his statement this morning, "Are we to have criminal penalties?" Are, for example, the wage-price guidelines to affect all the industries down to the corner filling station or the grocery store or the meat market, as the case might be, or will they affect only major industries?

As far as this Administration is concerned, I can say this: I have asked the Secretary of Labor to bring to my attention every major wage-price negotiation which may be coming up in the future, and I will use the power of this office to the extent it can be effective to see that those negotiations are as responsible as possible.

On September 21, we will have a meeting of our Productivity Commission, and subject A in that meeting will be this same problem. Because as we look at America's trade balances, which have deteriorated over the past 10 years—but as we look at America's competitive position, it is essential that American industry and American labor sit down together and determine whether, at a time when we are in a race, we no longer can be number one simply because we were that big and that strong after World War II, whether we determine we are going to get out of the race or whether we are going to tighten our

[3] John Kenneth Galbraith, prominent economist, author, and professor at Harvard University.

belts and be responsible in wage-price decisions so that we can continue to be competitive in the world.

That speaks to the problem of an incomes policy, this meeting that we will have. The only question of difference between Arthur Burns—and some Senators have raised this question—is: What is the degree to which, in tackling these individual wage settlements, we have compulsion, we have criminal penalties. I don't think they want compulsion or criminal penalties.

Then the question is: How far will persuasion go? Our record shows that in most countries abroad that have tried it, except for very small countries that are tightly controlled, persuasion alone will work for only 3 or 4 months.

So as far as we are concerned, I am glad to consider recommendations for tackling the problem. I will tackle them, and I am serving notice now that we are going to take up the problem with the Productivity Commission. We are going to look at each individual settlement in major industries where there is going to be wage-price negotiations and use the influence we can to keep them in line, and, in addition to that, we will consider a recommendation on wage-price boards. But I will reject it if I find—and I have yet to find any recommendation that did not have this ingredient in it—if I find that it would impose a new bureaucracy with enormous criminal powers, to fasten itself on the American economy. That, I think, would do far more harm than good.

THE STEEL INDUSTRY

[10.] Q. In the same line, to follow up that question, if the settlement in the steel industry and particularly the raise in prices which was recently announced is not good for the country and not good for labor and management, why do you not call in the leaders of the steel industry and use your influence to get them to change the increase in prices and then, if necessary, other parts of the settlement which are so inimicable to the country?

THE PRESIDENT. Calling in the steel industry and getting them to change would not be effective. As you may recall, in one instance earlier this year, we were able to get a steel rollback. That had a temporary beneficial effect. But at a time that the steel industry has negotiated a settlement of this nature, at a time when its profits at 2½ percent are the lowest of any major industry, to tell the steel industry that after they have negotiated a settlement they must roll back their price and run at a loss is simply unrealistic. They are not going to do it.

The longer term answer here is for the steel industry—and this is what we have addressed ourselves to—and the labor to recognize that now that they have had their settlement, now that labor has gotten a good increase, an increase consistent with aluminum and cans and others, now that steel found it necessary to raise prices, that this may be good temporarily for both but in the long run it will simply mean less steel sold and less jobs. And that is why we are zeroing in on the productivity side because increases in productivity can be the only answer where a wage increase of this magnitude takes place.

WAGES FOR GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

[11.] Q. Mr. President, a minute ago you mentioned something about doing something about wages for Government employees.

THE PRESIDENT. Yes. One of the problems, difficult problems that I confronted last year and that I will confront again this year, is a recommendation to increase the wages for blue-collar workers within the Government. I have examined that situation, and I have determined that an increase in the blue-collar wage scale would not be in the interests of our fighting the inflation battle.

Speaking to the same point, we have a situation with regard to the Congress and some of its appropriations bills. We are trying to keep our budget within the full employment limits for 1972.

The Congress already has exceeded our budget by $5.4 billion. That includes mandatory spending, which they have imposed upon us, and additions to the appropriations bills. Before they get through with the appropriations process I hope that comes down.

But that will be highly inflationary unless the Congress speaks to that problem more effectively. What I was indicating, in other words, Herb [Herbert Kaplow, NBC News], was that I am indicating in advance the decision that I do not intend to approve the wage increase relative to the blue-collar workers in the Government. Under those circumstances, I could not, of course, approve an increase in salaries for people as underpaid basically as Dr. Burns is, considering what he could get on the outside, or Dr. Shultz is, considering what he could get on the outside.

Q. How many people are there in the blue-collar area?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't have that but it is a significant number. Incidentally, I think it is an equitable decision because they have had some substantial increases in the past. It is a question of whether we just continue for a short time.

WAGE-PRICE GUIDELINES

[12.] Q. Sir, you also mentioned guidelines in a manner that suggested that you might accept the concept of numerical guidelines. Did you mean to suggest that?

THE PRESIDENT. No. What I meant to say was that my study of the situation indicates that guidelines in this country have always failed; they have never worked. Guidelines in other industrial countries, including Canada, for example, and Britain, have worked only for a short time and then have fallen because guidelines basically connote voluntary compliance and voluntary compliance goes on only for a brief time.

Now, as far as what I am saying, it is that our approach at this time is a selective one to take those particular industries that are coming up for bargaining and to use our influence as effectively as we can to see that those settlements are responsible.

Secondly, that as far as a wage-price board is concerned, that it would be considered favorably only if the hearings that are going to be taken in this field, only if the hearings can convince me that enforcing an incomes policy could be accomplished without stifling the economy.

It is the problem, in other words, of enforcement, because I come back to this fundamental proposition: I have yet to find except for the extremists on the left—and I don't say this in a condemning way; it is only an observation—the extremists on the left of the economic spectrum have always favored a totally Government controlled economy.

They believe that. I don't believe it. They believe that we should have permanent wage and price controls and that

Government should determine what wages should be and what prices should be. I do not believe that. Dr. Burns does not believe that, if you have read his speeches over the years. He is a strong opponent of that.

The question is: How can we address ourselves to the problem of wages and prices without having those mandatory criminal penalty features which would lead us to something we all are trying to avoid. This is why this is a matter for discussion. It is not one yet for decision, but I will continue to work on individual settlements as I have said.

Q. Mr. President, would it be fair to say, then, that in view of what you said there and what you said earlier that you will consider recommendations of the wage and price board, that you are giving renewed and perhaps more favorable consideration to some form of wage-price board, assuming that they don't have penalties?

THE PRESIDENT. No. I am saying that I shall continue the policy of moving aggressively on individual settlements on a case-by-case basis. Second, I will address this particular problem in a meeting with the major leaders of American industry and American labor at the Productivity Commission meeting on September 21. Third, with regard to wage-price boards, I have still not been convinced that we can move in that direction and be effective. However, Secretary Connally, in his statement this morning, raised all the questions that should be raised on that. As far as we are concerned, we have an open mind in terms of examining the various proposals to see if there is a new approach which we may not have thought of.

I have serious doubts that they will find such a new approach, but I do want to indicate that we will examine it because we all agree that the wage-price spiral is a significant danger to this expanding economy. The question is, what do we do about it, without going all the way to a totally controlled economy.

PROGRESS AGAINST INFLATION

[13.] Q. Mr. President, Dr. Burns, before the Joint Economic Committee, said he didn't think we were making much progress against inflation. Do you think we are?

THE PRESIDENT. I read Dr. Burns' statement quite carefully. What he was saying is what I would say. I would say this with regard to inflation; I would say it with regard to unemployment: I am never satisfied and never will be satisfied, and anybody in the free economy is never satisfied and should never be satisfied, with anything except perfection. That doesn't mean that we are going to reach perfection.

Now with regard to inflation, I will just point to the numbers. Inflation, which, of course, was boiling along when we came into office in January of 1969, reached its peak in 1970, 6 percent. Then the CPI [Consumer Price Index] dropped to 4 percent in the first 6 months of 1971. Now 4 percent is still too high, but that is progress.

The GNP deflator—which of course goes far beyond the Consumer Price Index, as you know; the GNP deflator covers all, the whole spectrum of the economy—in the first 6 months of 1971, was the lowest in 3 years. That is progress—not enough, but it is progress.

In the last month the CPI was higher than the average it has been for the first 5

months. But we all know these month-to-month variations are not what count. My view is that we are making progress against inflation, but it is going to require continued strong policies on the part of the Administration with the cooperation of the Congress in limiting our budget expenditures to full capacity or full employment revenues. That is the battle we will continue to wage, and it will also need cooperation from labor and management in limiting the wage-price spiral.

On the unemployment front, we have a somewhat similar problem, as I pointed out a minute ago. The last 3 peacetime years before the Vietnam war expenditures began to hypo the economy were 1961, '62, and '63. Unemployment in those years averaged 6 percent. We, at this point, have brought unemployment below 6 percent, not as much as we would like. It reached its peak in January. It was 6.2. What the figures will be for this month you will know on Friday. I don't know what they are myself. I will read them as you do and that is the way it should be with the BLS [Bureau of Labor Statistics] figures.

But in any event, the unemployment curve is down; 6.2 was the high; we are now below 6 percent. I believe that it will continue, with monthly aberrations, on a downward course through the balance of the year.

I believe that as we go into 1972, I still stick with my prediction that we shall see unemployment continue to move downward and that 1972, for that year, will be a very good year.

I would point out one final thing on the unemployment facts, as I have often pointed out: As of this morning—I looked at the numbers—over 2 million Americans have been let out of the armed services and out of defense plants since we started to wind down the war in Vietnam.

If they were in the services or in the defense plants at the present time, unemployment would be 4.3. But the other side of that coin is that casualties when we came in were 300 a week. This week, last week, they were 12.

I just think the price is too high to pay. We believe that our goal of a new prosperity, of low unemployment, but with peace and not at the cost of war, is one that Americans are willing to work toward.

We are going to achieve that goal. Getting back to our stock market question, I will simply say this: Everybody else has been prophetic about the future. I think the prophets who presently say that the American economy is on the skids, that we have made no progress on inflation, that the economy is not moving up, who ignore the $52 billion increase in GNP, who ignore the increase in retail sales, who ignore the strong, positive elements in the economy, I think by the end of this year that they are going to look bad so I will go out on the limb to that effect, but by the end of this year I might look bad.

Let's just hope that they do rather than myself, because all of us are involved.

CASUALTIES IN VIETNAM

[14.] Q. On the casualties, Mr. President, do you think that the figures of 12 per week and so forth in that category, are they an aberration or does your policy envision them to continue to decline during this year?

THE PRESIDENT. No, they are not an aberration. They are the result, frankly, of first an American withdrawal. American forces in Vietnam today, as you car

tell from reading the reports, are in defensive positions. We are frankly just defending the areas in which we have responsibility, and there are less of them. Consequently, our casualties go down for that reason.

Second, however, they are down for another reason. The enemy doesn't have the punch that it had because the other point to look at is that South Vietnamese casualties are also substantially down from what they were. What has happened is that the two operations, Cambodia and Laos, so very severely disrupted the enemy's ability to wage offensive actions that for both Americans and South Vietnamese the level of fighting is down.

There again will be aberrations up and down, I would assume. Nobody can predict that. But the war is being wound down and, as far as Americans are concerned, we trust it will continue to go down.

HELEN THOMAS (United Press International). Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: The President's eighteenth news conference was held at 11:36 a.m. in the Oval Office at the White House on Wednesday, August 4, 1971.

251 Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report on the International Educational and Cultural Exchange Program. *August* 5, 1971

To the Congress of the United States:

I transmit herewith the annual report on the international educational and cultural exchange program conducted during Fiscal Year 1970 by the Department of State under the Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act of 1961 (Public Law 87–256, the Fulbright-Hays Act). In the 1970 Fiscal Year, this program provided 4,638 outstanding scholars and leaders in the professions, the arts and public life with intensive exchange experiences which linked the United States with 123 other countries and territories.

The major part of this report is devoted to a review of a little known but increasingly important aspect of this program, the complex of activities designed to provide foreign students with broader opportunities to participate in the life of this country. Such activities mean that students who seek training in the United States are afforded not only the best possible educational experience but also a better chance to become acquainted with our people, our customs and our institutions. These efforts are directed to foreign students who come here without Government sponsorship, as well as to that group—about 5% of the total—who receive United States financial support.

In common with many other countries, the United States now has a large number of students who come from foreign countries—well over 135,000—although they constitute a far smaller percentage of the total student population than they do in major European universities.

These students present the United States with an exceptional opportunity. Not only do they enrich the international dimension of education for American students, but they also provide outstanding talent for our research and teaching programs. Moreover, many among them will become tomorrow's leaders in many

71-234—72——58

fields in their home countries.

The professional and personal ties which these students form while they are studying here and the insights they gain into our way of life will help shape their future perceptions of America. Their experience here today can have a major impact on the quality of communication between their societies and ours tomorrow. Public and private programs which enhance the experiences of these potential leaders can do a great deal to build the human foundations for a more peaceful world.

I commend this report to the thoughtful attention of the Congress.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
August 5, 1971

NOTE: The report, entitled "Leaders for Tomorrow—?; A Review of U.S. Programs for Foreign Students" (34 pp. plus addenda), was published by the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, Department of State.

252 Statement on Signing Executive Order Establishing the National Business Council for Consumer Affairs. *August* 5, 1971

IN RECENT months I have been gratified by the increasing desire of the business community to take a more active role in meeting the concerns of the American consumer. These businessmen recognize that the concerns are widespread and often spring from valid complaints. They also share my belief that neither the Government nor the consumer movement can alone solve these problems, but that we must also rely upon the traditional goodwill and sound practices of the business community.

Because of this growing interest, I have today signed an Executive order [11614] creating the National Business Council for Consumer Affairs and have called upon a number of leaders from the business community to serve as its members. The wholehearted response of these distinguished businessmen and women to join with us in this effort is an indication of the resolve of American business to take a leading role in assuring equity in the marketplace.

The Council will allow businessmen to communicate regularly with the President, the Office of Consumer Affairs, the Federal Trade Commission, the Justice Department, other Government agencies as appropriate, and private organizations which are directly concerned with consumer affairs. This dialogue, in a forum involving all consumer product and service industries, will provide greater awareness and sensitivity for both consumer concerns and responsive corporate action.

I am pleased that Mr. Robert E. Brooker and Mr. Donald S. Perkins have agreed to serve as Chairman and Vice Chairman, respectively, of the National Business Council for Consumer Affairs.

253 Statement on Signing Bill Extending Special Assistance to Depressed Rural Areas. *August* 5, 1971

IT IS essential that we encourage and maintain balanced economic growth in rural areas, especially in those regions where special assistance is needed. The enactment of S. 2317, which I have today signed, contributes significantly to this effort.

This bill provides for the extension of two acts: the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965 and the Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965. It extends for 2 years the Economic Development Administration (EDA), and the title V regional action planning commissions, while also expanding the special impact area criteria for the purposes of EDA eligibility. It provides for a 4-year extension of the Appalachian Regional Commission (ARC), and extends the Commission's highway program until June 30, 1978.

The experience, leadership, and example of the Appalachian Commission has been an important part of the basis for my proposal for a $1.1 billion program of rural community development special revenue sharing. The work of the Appalachian Commission has shown how effective regional cooperation and local initiative can be in planning and developing the economy of a depressed area.

It is both appropriate and necessary that the work of the Appalachian and other existing regional commissions, as well as the programs of EDA, be continued in the interim until the more comprehensive program of rural revenue sharing can be enacted. I again urge the Congress to enact my general and special revenue sharing proposals.

This Administration supports a program which will assure sound economic development rather than stopgap measures. This bill will focus on the areas which need concentrated assistance instead of diffusing economic development assistance. This Administration will resist the use of any criteria which would divert assistance from those areas of the country that need it most. We will also resist the temptation to endorse patchwork and shortrun proposals to remedy economic distress. Such measures tend to treat the symptoms rather than the basic causes of unemployment.

I am gratified that the Congress has also passed a responsible appropriations bill to finance the Economic Development Administration's programs and has moved to final consideration of the bill containing funds for the Appalachian regional development program. Together with the recent passage of the Emergency Employment Act of 1971, these actions are a positive and reasonable response to my request that we provide a balanced national effort for economic assistance, rather than embarking on an ineffective and excessively costly new program for accelerated public works.

NOTE: The President signed the bill in a White House ceremony attended by Governors Arch A. Moore, Jr., of West Virginia and Louie B. Nunn of Kentucky, as well as Members of Congress and government officials.

As enacted, S. 2317 is Public Law 92-65 (85 Stat. 166).

254 Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report on the National Wilderness Preservation System. *August* 5, 1971

To the Congress of the United States:

Today I am transmitting the 7th Annual Report on the status of the National Wilderness Preservation System. The Report spells out the substantial progress which has been made in the Wilderness System, a System which now encompasses more than 10.1 million acres—an increase of over 200,000 acres in the last year.

On April 28, 1971, I transmitted fourteen new wilderness proposals to the Congress. If approved, these proposals would enlarge our Wilderness System by an additional 1.8 million acres. Again, I urge quick and favorable congressional action on these proposals as well as on thirteen other proposals which are also before the Congress and which would add over a million acres to the System. Wilderness designation of all these areas is vital if we are to preserve their natural environment for future generations of Americans.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
August 5, 1971

NOTE: The report is entitled "Seventh Joint Annual Report of the Secretaries of Agriculture and the Interior Concerning the Status of the National Wilderness Preservation System" (6 pp. plus appendixes).

255 Remarks to Delegates to the Girls Nation Annual Convention. *August* 6, 1971

I WOULD like to say a word about the role that you can play as young ladies and as women in the years ahead.

Let me be quite candid. You know, there is a lot of debate going on these days about Women's Lib, and, frankly, men disagree about it. Most of them perhaps disagree very strongly; but on another side are the strong advocates of Women's Lib. And among the women, you know, there is also disagreement.

Well, like all ideas and all movements, it has many good factors and some which perhaps are questionable. But I think what is really important is to get the role of women in America and the world today in its proper perspective. The way I would put it is this.

First, the role of women is tremendously important from a political standpoint, because all election statistics presently show that there are more women who are potential voters than there are men. So, any candidate for office had better get along well with women.

The second point, in terms of the role women can play in our society, is that many have very active and responsible roles in the Government of the United States. Women today are Members of the Congress; one is a Member of the Senate. And both political parties are making a major effort to enlist women in government positions at the local level, at the State level, and, of course, at the Federal level.

Now, there is one very selfish reason for doing that, for purposes of political

cosmetics. In order to show that you are for women, the argument goes, you have got to appoint women to government positions or see that they are elected.

But that is not the most important reason. The most important reason is that in any society there are only a limited number of people who have capacities for leadership. That doesn't mean that other people are not people worth our respect, who do not have dignity, and who do not make great contributions. But all of the analyses of societies—and this is true of the American societies and the societies in all other parts of the world—show that around 5 to 6 percent is usually the proportion of the people who have real capacities for leadership.

Yet leadership is an enormously important ingredient for the success of any society. Without good leaders, you can't make it.

So where do you find them? Here we come to the key point. Leadership does not come in colors. It may be white or black or brown. One thing you must learn as you travel around the world as I have done, is that an individual's religion, his political philosophy, his racial background is no indication of whether he or she is a leader.

Neither does leadership come in terms of whether one happens to be a man or a woman. It is true that around the world today most people in political leadership are men. That has been the tradition, and only recently have women gotten the vote and begun to be recognized as leaders. Nevertheless, there are in the world women who have great capacity for leadership—and their capacity is recognized.

The story of India, the most populous democratic nation in the world, is, of course, well known to you. When Mrs. Gandhi first got the job as Prime Minister of India everybody thought (with some reason) that she got it because she was the daughter of Nehru, who was sort of a folk hero. My wife and I remember meeting her back in 1953; she was very attractive and very intelligent, and we were not surprised when she got that position after Nehru died.

But then they had an election in India, and she was elected. Now people may disagree with Mrs. Gandhi. Many people may say, "Why should a woman have the job?" But 400 million people who live in that country apparently felt she should, because she won that election. They selected her not because she was a woman, but because she had capacity for leadership.

Then in a very small country we see a different thing. Take Golda Meir in Israel. Now, I would say, having met her on several occasions and knowing, also, the enormous competition in that country, which perhaps has as many leaders as you could possibly find in any small country of 2 million, she would win in any event, not because she is a woman, but because she is a very strong, vigorous advocate of her point of view. And that is why she is the leader of her country.

The point is this, basically: In the United States today we have got to have the best people in positions of leadership. We have got to look beyond all of the usual tests that we make, and if a woman has that capacity, we want her. We want women in the House; we want them in the Senate; we want them in government positions; we want them in elected positions everywhere. That is one of the reasons why Girls Nation is so important, because it is eliciting from the girls of

America the very best and saying to them, "If you want to go into politics, do it, because you are going to have a chance."

I can assure you if you do, you will have a chance. You will have an equal chance. You will not be discriminated against. That, at least, is my opinion. If you want to go into business, the professions, various other activities, the same thing.

Wherever a woman has the capacity, she can make it. You know you all compete with boys in school, and you do very well. I have seen the grades that you get, and the girls do very well.

I expect out of this group that some may end up in the Congress, State legislature, city council, school boards. Maybe, who knows, years ahead, maybe in this office. It can happen; it should happen; and America will be better for it—because we did not limit our search for leadership simply to half the population, the men. We went through the whole population, to everybody. We did not limit our search for leadership to the big States, or to certain religions, certain races, or the rest. We looked to all of America. That is the essence of America, that we look every place for our leadership.

Now, let's come to another phase of leadership. A woman has this advantage over a man: that she can exert leadership without ever being elected to office, without ever holding a position. I refer to the influence that a woman can have in her home, the influence that she has over her children, the influence, of course, that she has over her husband.

When I think back, I remember especially the influence of my mother, as you of course remember the influence of yours. My mother had perhaps more influence on me than my father. I think it rather works that way. Not always, but the mother often influences the boy, and the father may influence the daughter more. I am not sure Mrs. Nixon agrees with me with regard to our daughters [*laughter*]—but I know that the mother can have an enormous influence in finding and encouraging the leadership of her children.

Now a word about the wife's influence. I have met most of the great leaders of the world, and most of the first ladies of the world, since World War II, and I can assure you the first ladies of the world have an enormous impact on their husbands and on world affairs.

Looking around the world, some of the most gracious people, some of the most effective people in the world have been the women that I met. For example, one of the countries that Speaker Albert, with whom I had breakfast this morning, is going to visit this month is the Philippines. The Philippines has a very dynamic man as its President, Marcos. He was a war hero in World War II, vigorous and strong and so forth—but if you think he is strong, you should see his wife. Mrs. Marcos, a beautiful woman, attractive, persuasive, came here last fall. She was talking to us about the need for more sugar quotas for the Philippines—both to the Speaker and to me, we found as we compared notes. She was talking also about the need for many other things, such as an REA. Anybody from farm areas here? You know what the REA is. She said, "We need an REA in the Philippines. What can you do to help?" I can tell you that Mrs. Marcos had as much influence in her private visit to the United States as even her husband did when he came publicly. So you can imagine the

influence she must have on her husband in addition to the influence she had with us.

I could name many others of the great leaders. Madame Chiang Kai-shek, who is one of the great ladies of the world. Or I think, in another and completely different vein, of Queen Elizabeth, her grace and poise as she presides as the Queen of England. I think of the Queen of Thailand—people often ask who is the most beautiful woman whom you have seen as you have traveled around the world and here again—I don't want to pick one over the other, but I have seen none more beautiful than she is. I was not surprised that Miss World came from Thailand 3 or 4 years ago. But here is a woman who has enormous influence on her husband, the King, who does not have great power but has great influence because of his position and she herself with her grace, her style, her poise, has an influence on that country.

Perhaps the strongest leader of our time, whether we agree with him or not, was de Gaulle, the last of the great World War II leaders in Europe. You remember he died last year, and everybody saw this great, strong, impressive man, a man who could talk for an hour without a note and it would be just as if he had dictated it. His wife, when you first saw her, was not impressive. De Gaulle was a huge man, tall, who walked as a soldier does, and his wife seemed rather small compared to him. But his wife, once you talked to her and knew her, was a woman who came from the soil of France. She had enormous spiritual and religious strength and qualities. Anyone who knew de Gaulle knew that there were very few people who ever got close to him. He was a man who did things almost totally alone, but the one person in all of his life who probably had the greatest influence on de Gaulle was Madame de Gaulle, his wife—this quiet and simple, yet very impressive and intelligent, woman, talking to this great man.

So, I have come full circle, and I come back to you. You are growing up in a period when America faces many great challenges and competition through the world. America has got to do its best. We have got to have the best of all of our people. We cannot afford to have any group of Americans left out. We cannot afford to fail to tap the human resources of this country. We need the men; we need the women; we need people from all sections of the country. We can't have the North fighting the South, the East fighting the West, or the cities fighting the country.

That is what we need, and above everything else I am convinced that you will play a role. Some of you may be tempted to think, "Unless I play a role of spending my whole time in politics or business, in other words, unless I become like a man"—and this is what our Women's Lib people might say—"then I really haven't done my share."

Don't you believe it. There are millions of women in this country who, without ever running for office, without ever becoming involved in business full time, have an influence on the country as homemakers, as wives, and as mothers, that is perhaps far greater than most of the men.

Don't ever downgrade that. It is terribly important, and I just know as I look at this group that you are going to be fine Americans in the years ahead. If you run for office, you are probably going to do

pretty well. And whether you run for office or not, certainly in the capacity that you have in the homes you build, you will have an influence that will mean that the young people in the next generation, that you will help to raise, will be a generation that will be proud of America and be very worthy of America.

That is what Girls Nation can do for you, and it is what you can do for this country.

NOTE: The President met at 10 a.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House with the representatives from Girls Nation, an organization sponsored by the American Legion Auxiliary.

He spoke to them informally on a number of subjects. Those of his remarks which dealt with the role of women in our society were later issued as being of general interest.

256 Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report of the Council on Environmental Quality. *August* 6, 1971

To the Congress of the United States:

The First Annual Report of the Council on Environmental Quality, which I submitted to the Congress one year ago, described our principal environmental problems and set out in broad outline the directions in which I felt we should be moving. Now, as I submit to the Congress this second annual report, I am pleased to be able to say that we have made considerable progress towards achieving our environmental objectives during the past 12 months.

During the past year we have launched many initiatives to implement the broad recommendations contained in the first annual report. At the Federal level we have proposed sweeping legislative programs to the Congress, we have taken vigorous actions within the executive branch, and we have achieved increasingly effective cooperation with other nations. The States have likewise moved to meet environmental challenges with wide-ranging institutional changes and more effective laws.

While we still have a long way to go before we meet our ultimate objectives, it is important to emphasize that we are making substantial progress. For example, there is evidence that the air in many of our cities is becoming less polluted, although the data is still incomplete. Total emissions from automobiles and the use of persistent pesticides are going down. On the other hand, there is no basis for complacency, as the level of total pollutants in our environment is still rising.

We will continue to face difficult obstacles as we work to make our surrounding more liveable and more enriching. But even now we are demonstrating that our institutions can be made responsive to the need for environmental reform and that the quality of our environment can be substantially improved, if only we go about that task with sufficient will and sufficient energy.

1. Reforming Institutions—The First Step

The barriers to long-range progress in the field of environmental improvement are serious and complex and varied. Some are technological, some are economic,

some are social, some are political. But among the most substantial barriers to progress in this area are those which are institutional in nature.

In my environmental messages of 1970 and 1971 and in my message accompanying the Council's first annual report, I emphasized the pressing need to reform the machinery through which government carries out its environmental programs. These reforms have been progressing rapidly at the Federal level. In the Executive Office of the President, environmental policy is now being developed by the Council on Environmental Quality, a group which has been working effectively to broaden our perspectives and sharpen our insights concerning the underlying causes of environmental problems and the best methods of solving them. The Council is also responsible for coordinating all Federal environmental programs and for seeing that environmental values are given full consideration by all Federal agencies as they make their own policy decisions.

To administer and enforce our pollution control laws, we have established a new Environmental Protection Agency, giving new muscle—on a day-by-day basis—to our commitment to a cleaner environment, EPA brings together under unified direction our air and water pollution programs and our efforts in the fields of solid waste management, noise abatement, pesticide regulation, and radiation standard-setting. Already, during the first half-year of its existence, EPA has provided vigorous new leadership in all these areas. Together, the Environmental Quality Council and the Environmental Protection Agency provide a forceful institutional team for Federal environmental actions.

Finally, I have recommended to the Congress a new Department of Natural Resources with unified responsibility for energy, water and natural resource programs. Pollution control is not the only solution to the difficulties of our environment. We must also provide wide and coordinated management of all our natural resources so that man can live and work in greater harmony with the natural systems of which he is a part. I consider the Department of Natural Resources an integral element in our reform program and I again urge the Congress to approve this high priority proposal.

State governments are likewise moving boldly. From New York to Illinois to the State of Washington, the machinery for policymaking and for administration of environmental programs has been reformed and strengthened. As expected, the diversity of our country has been reflected in the many unique and innovative approaches that various States have taken to meet environmental challenges. Vermont, for example, has already adopted a program of State-wide land use authorities and it plans to supplement its water pollution controls with effluent charges. New York, Washington and Illinois have created new agencies and combined old ones in an effort to relate more effectively the functions of government to the problems of the environment. Other States are also moving to approach environmental issues in a new way.

2. Federal Decision-Making—The New Ground Rules

The National Environmental Policy Act requires that Federal agencies take environmental factors into full account in all their planning and decision-making. It requires agencies to describe in writing the

environmental impact of their major decisions—along with alternatives to these decisions—and to make these assessments public. This process has fostered a wide range of basic reforms in the way Federal agencies make their decisions. And while some agencies still have considerable room for improvement in the environmental field, many are doing an excellent job of responding to environmental concerns.

It is critically important that these new environmental requirements not simply produce more red tape, more paperwork and more delay. Nor is there any reason why this should happen. In fact, the efficiency and responsiveness of Government is enhanced when environmental considerations are an integral part of decision-making from the time when a project is first considered and not merely added as after-thoughts when most matters have already been decided.

In some cases, of course, environmental considerations will require the modification or termination of a project. This is why, for example, I ordered a halt to further construction on the Cross Florida Barge Canal, despite the fact that some $50 million had already been spent on this project. I concluded, after receiving the advice of the Council on Environmental Quality, that the environmental damage which would result from its completion would outweigh its potential economic benefits.

In the final analysis, the foundation on which environmental progress rests in our society is a responsible and informed citizenry. My confidence that our Nation will meet its environmental problems in the years ahead is based in large measure on my faith in the continued vigilance of American public opinion and in the continued vitality of citizen efforts to protect and improve the environment.

The National Environmental Policy Act has given a new dimension to citizen participation and citizen rights—as is evidenced by the numerous court actions through which individuals and groups have made their voices heard. Although these court actions demonstrate citizen interest and concern, they do not in themselves represent a complete strategy for assuring compliance with the Act. We must also work to make government more responsive to public views at every stage of the decision-making process. Full and timely public disclosure of environmental impact statements is an essential part of this important effort.

3. The World Community—New Cooperation

In transmitting my second annual "Foreign Policy for the 1970's" message to the Congress, I said: "We know that we must act as one world in restoring the world's environment, before pollution of the seas and skies overwhelms every nation." I continue to believe that this challenge presents a great opportunity for United States leadership in international affairs.

The environmental concern that has been growing in this country has its counterpart in other nations. We have been encouraged to find that other governments are now acting to improve and expand their environmental activities and we have moved to cooperate with such activities whenever possible.

With Canada, for example, we are working to clean up the Great Lakes—and our joint efforts there may well become a model for regional cooperation in other areas of the world. With other na-

tions, such as Japan and Mexico, we have also developed bilateral environmental initiatives. Within NATO's Committee on the Challenges of Modern Society we have reached agreement on the control of oil discharged by ships on the high seas. And in other international bodies—including the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, the Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization and the Economic Commission for Europe—we are actively engaged in similar efforts.

The United States is playing an active role in the preparation for the 1972 United Nations Conference on the Human Environment. This Conference will bring the nations of the world together for the first time to develop global programs for environmental protection. It is our hope that this gathering will produce an important agreement on marine pollution, as well as the beginning of an effective international environmental monitoring effort. The Conference will provide an important opportunity for bringing all nations into the attack on the environmental problems of modern society and it will offer an especially important opportunity for helping developing nations cope with the environmental problems associated with industrialization and urban growth.

4. The Congress and the Executive—A Partnership for the Environment

It is vitally important that the Congress and the administration work together to develop better environmental legislation, repairing old laws and creating new ones. I am pleased and gratified that many of the environmental programs which I have proposed to the Congress have been approved and are now being implemented.

The Congress presently has before it a number of separate bills and treaty actions which I discussed in my environmental message of February 8, 1971. In my judgment, these proposals represent the most wide-ranging and comprehensive legislative program for the environment in our entire history.

They include:

Measures to strengthen pollution control programs

—Charges on sulfur oxides and a tax on lead in gasoline to supplement regulatory controls on air pollution.

—More effective control of water pollution through a $12 billion national program and strengthened standard-setting and enforcement authorities.

—Comprehensive improvement in pesticide control authority.

Measures to control emerging problems

—Regulation of toxic substances.

—Regulation of noise pollution.

—Controls on ocean dumping.

Measures to promote environmental quality in land

—A national land use policy.

—A new and greatly expanded open space and recreation program, bringing parks to the people in urban areas.

—Preservation of historic buildings through tax policy and other incentives.

—Substantial expansion of the wilderness areas preservation system.

—Advance public agency approval of power plant sites and transmission line routes.

—Regulation of environmental effects of surface and underground mining.

Further institutional improvement
—Establishment of an Environmental Institute to conduct special studies and recommend policy alternatives.
Toward a better world environment
—Expanded international cooperation.
—A World Heritage Trust to preserve parks and areas of unique cultural value throughout the world.

This program is designed both to reinforce existing efforts and to attack newly emerging problems such as noise pollution and the dispersion of toxic substances. One particularly important feature of this package of proposals is that it is geared to meet problems, such as ocean dumping, before they reach crisis proportions. It also seeks to supplement our present regulatory approaches by creating new economic incentives for the reduction of pollution. In addition, it emphasized strengthened efforts by State government.

Some of these initiatives already have been the subject of congressional hearings, but none have yet been approved by the Congress. I again urge the Congress to act expeditiously and favorably on these important measures. The problems will not wait and we dare not drag our feet as we move to meet them.

Even while this administration has been asking the Congress for strengthened enforcement authority, we have also been taking a number of other actions to crack down on pollution by using existing authority. In the course of this effort, we have moved against a wide range of polluters, including cities and towns, companies and individuals.

Operating under authority granted by the Refuse Act, for example, I have instituted a program requiring a permit for all industrial discharges into the Nation's waters. The issuance of such a permit is conditioned upon assurance that water quality standards will be achieved. I believe this mechanism represents an important new tool for achieving our national water quality objectives.

We are also requiring that Federal agencies spend the necessary funds to avoid pollution as a result of their own activities and, where necessary, to provide abatement facilities. Some 250 million dollars is included in my 1972 budget request for this purpose.

I have also consistently urged a stronger effort to encourage the better conservation and management of our natural resources. As one step in this effort, we have redirected Government procurement policies to encourage the increased use of recycled paper. And we are actively considering other, similar changes in procurement policy. Meanwhile, to help keep the evidence of our history intact for future generations, I have issued an Executive Order [11593] requiring the protection of historic properties by Federal agencies.

5. A Sense of Realism

All of these actions will help make our country a better place to live. But we should not expect environmental miracles. Our efforts will be more effective if we approach the challenge of the environment with a strong sense of realism. We should not be surprised or disheartened, for example, if some problems grow even more acute in the immediate future.

We must recognize that the goal of a cleaner environment will not be achieved by rhetoric or moral dedication alone. It will not be cheap or easy and the costs will have to be borne by each citizen, consumer and taxpayer. How clean is *clean enough* can only be answered in terms of how

much we are willing to pay and how soon we seek success. The effects of such decisions on our domestic economic concerns—jobs, prices, foreign competition—require explicit and rigorous analyses to permit us to maintain a healthy economy while we seek a healthy environment. It is essential that we have both. It is simplistic to seek ecological perfection at the cost of bankrupting the very tax-paying enterprises which must pay for the social advances the nation seeks.

We must develop a realistic sense of what it will cost to achieve our national environmental goals and choose a specific level of goal with an understanding of its costs and benefits. One of the strengths of the accompanying report, in my view, is that it sets out—clearly and candidly—both the costs and the benefits of environmental protection as they are now understood.

The work of environmental improvement is a task for all our people. It should unite all elements of our society—of all political persuasion and all economic levels—in a great common commitment to a great common goal. The achievement of that goal will challenge the creativity of our science and technology, the enterprise and adaptability of our industry, the responsiveness and sense of balance of our political and legal institutions, and the resourcefulness and the capacity of this country to honor those human values upon which the quality of our national life must ultimately depend.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
August 6, 1971

NOTE: The text of the message is printed in the report entitled "Environmental Quality: The Second Annual Report of the Council on Environmental Quality—August 1971" (Government Printing Office, 360 pp.).

The President signed the transmittal message in a ceremony in the Oval Office at the White House.

On the same day, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing on the report by Russell E. Train, Chairman, and Dr. Gordon J. F. MacDonald and Robert Cahn, members. Council on Environmental Quality.

257 Remarks on Arrival at Manchester, New Hampshire. *August* 6, 1971

MRS. NIXON and I would like to express our very warm appreciation to all of you for this wonderful welcome to New Hampshire, and to tell you that we have many pleasant memories of this State going back over many years. But I think today, on this magnificent day, to find these thousands of people at the airport welcoming us on this visit will perhaps be the memory that will stay with us longer than ever. Thank you very much for coming to the airport.

Now, could I also say that on this occasion I am so happy to have the Governor of the State welcome us, and I know you will want to give him a hand, Governor Peterson.

We have brought with us the two Senators from the State of New Hampshire: my old friend who came to the Senate the year that I did, Norris Cotton, Senator Cotton. Come on, Norris.

Just to keep the bipartisan nature of this meeting, we also are very happy to

have the junior Senator from the State of New Hampshire, Senator Tom McIntyre, Tom.

And Manchester's own, Lou Wyman.

Our other Congressman from the State of New Hampshire, Congressman Cleveland, who was here to to greet us.

Now, we have a number of other distinguished guests. You saw Mrs. Nixon a moment ago. I wonder if Julie is here. Oh, yes.

I would like—before going on with my remarks which will be very brief, but I think appropriate for the occasion—to thank all of the musical organizations that are here. You know, I have been, before I was President, the national chairman of the Boys' Clubs of America; it is a wonderful organization—and to have The Muchachoes [1] from the Boys' Club. Let's give them a hand, over here.

I remember that we had a wonderful reception where we shook hands with 3,000 people at the St. Augustine Church in Manchester, so we have the Black Knights [2] from St. Augustine's Church over here.

This is a new one. I haven't seen this. How about The Gazebos [3] from the Manchester Park? Well, we want to thank all of you for coming.

Now, a word about our visit to New Hampshire and our memories of this State. First, I recall that it was on February 2, 1968, that Mrs. Nixon and I came to New Hampshire. We came then with our two daughters, Tricia and Julie. And on that occasion, we came for the purpose of participating in the New Hampshire primary. When I made a speech that time in New Hampshire, there was a huge crowd. And one of those who welcomed me pointed out, "You know, the trouble is that every presidential candidate comes to New Hampshire in the primary and then we never see him again until 4 years later."

So I made a promise. I said at the beginning of the speech, "Win or lose, I will be back to New Hampshire before 4 years." So here I am. I am glad to be back.

Speaking of winning or losing, I know there are a lot of people here from Nashua. I remember that one of the most pleasant meetings that we had in that primary period was the Junior Chamber of Commerce annual dinner in Nashua. Some of you perhaps may have attended it.

There were two guests of honor that night. I was one; I had to make a speech. And the other was Greg Landry. I recall that on that occasion I made a prediction that Greg Landry, who had just been drafted by the Detroit Lions, was going to make it in the big time. Well, he did go on, as you know, to become one of the great stars in the National Football League, and I must say that I am very proud to have gone up the same way that Greg Landry has gone up.

One change has occurred in our family—as a matter of fact, two—since we were here. Tricia was married, and there was a small audience looking at it, I understand, on television, and we were there to see her in New York just a couple of days ago; and Julie, who was with us in 1968 on that occasion, and who was then attending Smith College, has also been married. Her husband, David, not following his grandfather's advice or his

[1] The Muchachoes Drum and Bugle Corps.

[2] The Saint Augustine's Black Knights Drum and Bugle Corps.

[3] A band from the Manchester Parks and Recreation Department.

father's advice, both of whom were proud members of the United States Army, has joined the Navy and now is a Navy ensign and, having served with the Sixth Fleet, is back in Florida. Julie and David are here with us today. I think you would like to see them. Come up here, Julie and David.

Julie, incidentally, is going to follow in her mother's footsteps, and she is going to be teaching next year in the second grade. I must say, if she can handle those second graders, that will prove that she is really able to handle anybody.

One other thing on a personal note that I would like to say: On July 3 I had a very great honor—and, of course, the President has so many great honors—on that occasion we initiated, as you may recall, the Bicentennial Era for the United States of America, because just 5 years from last July 4th the United States will be 200 years old.

So on July 3, in the Archives Building, the Chief Justice of the United States, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and the President, I, participating in this particular program, initiated this Bicentennial Era.

On that occasion I made a little speech. I said several things in the speech that I thought were worthwhile. But I want you to know that that section of the speech that got the most reaction, the most letters from clear across this country, was a quotation from a talk that had been made by the valedictorian of a high school class right here in New Hampshire, Cynthia Frink. She is here. She is going on to Smith College, which is the college that Julie attended. I think all of New Hampshire and all of America can be proud of this fine, young American for that wonderful speech she made when she graduated from high school. Here is Cynthia.

Incidentally, I was interested to know that Cynthia is working in a supermarket to get ready and earn some expenses for college, which reminds me that when I was her age I was working in a grocery store. So we were both starting the same way. Who knows, this might be the first woman President that you have just seen right here.

Now, one final word, if I could, to all of you here. I am so glad to see everybody here, of course, particularly happy to see so many old friends that we have met on other occasions, on other visits, and particularly happy that so many young people could be here. I know that school is out and, consequently, you have an opportunity to come to affairs like this that you would not normally have.

We look at America today and its role in the world, and I know that many are worried about that, because when you listen to television and you read your newspapers, naturally what makes news is what is wrong with America, and what is wrong with what we do in the world. And that is legitimate. When anything is wrong, we ought to point it out.

But just let me say, if I may paraphrase what Cynthia Frink tried to say, and said so very, very well in that valedictory speech, let me tell you that at this time in America's history, on a day like this, with thousands of people out in the State of New Hampshire on this beautiful day, people, young people, older people, Democrats, Republicans, people of all walks of life—let me say that when I look over a crowd like this, when I hear and feel your warm welcome, I just want to say this is not an ugly country; this is a good country. It is a beautiful country, it

is a great country, and I am proud to be here right in the heart of this country, in New Hampshire.

As I think of the future, I think a bit of the past. When I came to New Hampshire on February 2, 1968, over 300 Americans a day were being killed in Vietnam, and there was no end in sight in that war. The casualties in Vietnam—I mean 300 a week, I meant to say—the casualties in Vietnam this past week were 14. That is too many, but we now are reaching the point when not only have we cut the casualties from 300 a week to 14 a week and 12 a week, but when we can see that the American involvement in that war, which has been so long and so difficult, will come to an end, and America can be at peace with every nation in the world. This is what we are doing, and this is what we plan for the young people of America.

But even more important, may I say to all of the young people here today, the new generation, the next generation, and to your parents, my generation, that our interest goes far beyond simply ending a war that we are in. It goes far beyond simply having peace for the next election or the next 5 years.

As I look back over the history of this country, over the past century, America has been in four wars; we have had a war every generation. There has not been a generation without a war. We can be proud of our role because we have fought every one of those wars, we have fought it with sacrifice, with bravery, and we have not gotten an acre of territory or anything out of it. We have fought always for the freedom of others; we have fought for peace, not to break the peace.

But, on the other hand, I think it is time that we develop in America a foreign policy in which Americans can have peace for a generation and not have it broken by war, in which we can develop a policy in which we can have prosperity based on peace and not at the cost of war. That is what we want for America, and that is what we are working for in this Nation today.

That is the reason why in our foreign policy—and some will be critical of it, and I understand that—that we look not only to keeping America strong, which we must; we look not only to finding a way to end the war in Vietnam, which we are doing in a way that will contribute to a lasting peace rather than in a way that will encourage those who might start another war; but we must also look far down the road, 25 years from now when these young people will be standing in this place, or in the place of the Congressmen and the Senators, and we want that to be a world in which there is the better chance for peace.

That is why I am taking a long journey in a few months, a journey that will take me to a land in which 800 million people live. I take this journey for this purpose—I take it for the purpose of ending the isolation of 800 million of the most able people in the world from the rest of the world, because, my friends, let me tell you: Unless that is done, we will have a tremendous threat to the peace of the world which I do not want to see be borne by these young people that are here.

So to all of you, let me say: The President of the United States, Senators, Congressmen, Democrats or Republicans, all share one great goal. We want peace in our time, but we want peace in your time, you, your young people as well. We are working for it. We want a world that is

open, in which all peoples of the world will have a chance to know other peoples of the world. We are working toward that.

I pledge to you as I return to New Hampshire after seeing you on February 2, 1968, that we have made great progress toward that goal by winding down the war we are in, by opening new negotiations with those who might be involved in conflict in the future. I believe that in the end, that you, as Americans, as Democrats or Republicans, will look at this policy, and I hope that you will be able to say it was a policy that we supported and that we can applaud, because it did not look just simply at what we are going to do today, tomorrow, or next year, but it thought of our children, and of building a better world for them than we have had.

My friends, we can have a peaceful world. We can have it for a generation, and we can have these young people with jobs that are based not on the lives and deaths of our boys abroad, but on their working for peace at home.

That is what we want, and that is what I believe in.

Thank you very much for coming out.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:10 p.m. at Grenier Field.

258 Remarks in Nashua, New Hampshire. *August* 6, 1971

Mr. Mayor, ladies and gentlemen:

I want to tell you how much Mrs. Nixon and I appreciate this very warm welcome that you have given to us in Nashua on this beautiful day.

I was just telling the mayor that despite my many visits to New Hampshire, most of which have been political in the past—this, of course, is nonpolitical, as you know—in any event, on previous visits I have come to Nashua perhaps four or five times.

This is the first time I have ever seen the city in the daytime. I want to tell you what I told the mayor: It is a beautiful city. The streets are clean. The people are up-beat. I like Nashua, and I know you like Nashua, and I am glad to be here with you all.

Incidentally, when I saw this crowd I thought there was a little mistake. I thought you were expecting Greg Landry, or somebody like that.

But we do want you to know that we have so many pleasant memories of our visits to New Hampshire through the years. Most of all, whether you happen to be Republican or Democrat or Independent, I can assure you that for the President of the United States to come to one of the great States of the Union, to come to this beautiful city, with all of the American flags flying—and I saw them along the road—it makes you realize that this is truly a very great country, with people who differ on many things, but who have respect for this country, respect for the office of the Presidency, and who are going to make it a more beautiful country in the years ahead.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke shortly after 3 p.m. at the city hall.

Dennis Sullivan was mayor of Nashua.

259 Statement About Actions To Improve the Quality of Care in Nursing Homes. *August* 6, 1971

THE VAST majority of Americans over 65 years of age are eager and able to play a continuing role as active, independent participants in the life of our country. Encouraging them to play this role—and providing greater opportunities for them to do so—is a cornerstone of this Administration's policy concerning older Americans.

For almost one million of our 20 million senior citizens, however, a dignified and humane existence requires a degree of care from others that can usually be found only in a nursing home or extended care facility. For those who need them, the nursing homes of America should be shining symbols of comfort and concern.

Many of our nursing homes meet this standard most admirably. Day after day and year after year they demonstrate the capacity of our society to care for even the most dependent of its elderly citizens in a decent and compassionate manner. It is the goal of this Administration to see that all of our nursing homes provide care of this same high quality.

Unfortunately, many facilities now fall woefully short of this standard. Unsanitary and unsafe, overcrowded and understaffed, the substandard nursing home can be a terribly depressing institution. To live one's later years in such a place is to live in an atmosphere of neglect and degradation.

In my speech to the regional convention of the National Retired Teachers Association and the American Association of Retired Persons in Chicago on June 25, I pledged action to meet this challenge. Members of my Administration have been vigorous in their development of specific plans to carry out that pledge. Today I am announcing certain decisions which we have already made in this important area.

A Plan for Action

Nursing homes presently receive over $1 billion or 40 percent of their total income from the Federal Government—most of it through Medicare and Medicaid payments. (An additional $700 million comes from the States and localities, and $900 million comes from private sources.) As I emphasized in my Chicago speech, "I do not believe that Medicaid and Medicare funds should go to substandard nursing homes in this country and subsidize them." This is not only a matter of personal belief, it is also the law of the land—and has been since 1965.

The reason that many substandard facilities have often continued to receive such payments are many and complex. It has been difficult to enforce the law that requires participant homes to meet certain standards. In the final analysis, however, there can be no excuse for lax law enforcement—and I therefore am taking a number of steps to improve enforcement efforts.

1. I am ordering that the Federal program for training State nursing home inspectors be expanded so that an additional 2,000 inspectors will be trained over the next 18-month period. The major responsibility for surveillance and regulation in the field is now carried out by State governments, and this action will enable them to increase their effectiveness most significantly.

One of three places in the country

where such training is now provided is the W. K. Kellogg Center for Continuing Education at the University of New Hampshire in Durham. This program trains people not only to inspect nursing homes but also to provide technical assistance and consultative services which can help improve these facilities. This New Hampshire program is funded through a grant from Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and it is our intention to establish similar programs in other areas of the country. This expansion effort will cost approximately $3 million.

2. Toward this same end, I am asking the Congress to authorize the Federal Government to assume 100 percent of the necessary costs of these State inspection teams under the Medicaid program. This will bring the Medicaid law, which now requires the States to pay from 25 to 50 percent of these costs, into line with the Medicare law, under which the Federal Government pays the entire cost for such inspections. Again, State enforcement efforts would be significantly enhanced by this procedure.

3. I am ordering that all activities relating to the enforcement of such standards—activities which are now scattered in various branches of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare—be consolidated within the Department into a single, highly efficient program. This means that all enforcement responsibility will be focused at a single point—that a single official will be accountable for success or failure in this endeavor. I am confident that this step alone will enormously improve the efficiency and the consistency of our enforcement activities.

4. I am requesting funds to enlarge our Federal enforcement program by creating 150 additional positions. This will enable the Federal Government more effectively to meet its own responsibilities under the law and to support State enforcement efforts.

5. I have directed the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to institute a new program of short-term courses for physicians, nurses, dieticians, social workers, and others who are regularly involved in furnishing services to nursing home patients. Appropriate professional organizations will be involved in developing plans and course materials for this program and the latest research findings in this complex field will also be utilized. In too many cases, those who provide nursing home care—though they be generally well prepared for their profession—have not been adequately trained to meet the special needs of the elderly. Our new program will help correct this deficiency.

6. I have also directed the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to assist the States in establishing investigative units which will respond in a responsible and constructive way to complaints made by or on behalf of individual patients. The individual who is confined to an institution and dependent upon it is often powerless to make his voice heard. This new program will help him deal with concerns such as accounting for his funds and other personal property, protecting himself against involuntary transfers from one nursing home to another or to a mental hospital, and gaining a fair hearing for reports of physical and psychological abuse.

7. I am also directing the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to undertake a comprehensive review of the use of long-term care facilities as well as the standards and practices of nursing homes and to recommend any further remedial

measures that may be appropriate. Such a review is badly needed. Study after study tells us—compellingly—that many things are wrong with certain nursing home facilities, but there is not yet a clear enough understanding of all the steps that must be taken to correct this picture.

Of course, I am also looking to the White House Conference on Aging, which meets this December, to offer specific recommendations regarding this same difficult question.

8. Finally, I would emphasize my earnest hope that all these efforts will bring about the improvement of existing substandard homes rather than their abolition. The interests of the elderly are far better served when a home is reformed and renewed than when a home is eliminated. But let there be no mistaking the fact that when facilities fail to meet reasonable standards, we will not hesitate to cut off their Medicare and Medicaid funds.

We are particularly hopeful that our efforts will bring reform, since any reasonable expenses incurred as a result of improving care can often be financed under the existing Medicare and Medicaid programs. We are fully prepared to budget the necessary funds to meet reasonable cost increases which result from such improvements.

The Federal Government stands ready to help in this great reform effort in other ways as well. Under the Hill-Burton Act, for example, we are able to provide loan guarantees and direct loans for the modernization of old nursing home facilities and the construction of new ones. The Federal Housing Administration also provides help in this field by insuring mortgages to finance construction or rehabilitation of nursing homes and intermediate care facilities. And the Small Business Administration also guarantees loans and makes direct loans to assist proprietary nursing homes in constructing, expanding, or converting their facilities, in purchasing equipment or materials, and in assembling working capital.

In addition to all of these efforts, the Administration is working in a number of other ways to improve the life of all older Americans—whatever their place of residence. Some of our strongest initiatives to help older people—including major reforms in both the welfare and social security systems—are contained in the legislation designated H.R. 1 which is now pending in the Senate. I would emphasize again, the passage of this legislation could make a major impact for good in the lives of older Americans, including those who need to live in nursing homes and extended care facilities.

As we work to improve the quality of life for the elderly—and especially for those who must rely on the care provided in the nursing homes of our country—we should not expect overnight miracles. The problems we face have developed in too many places over too long a time. But we can expect that our efforts will result in significant and continuing progress. With the cooperation of the Congress, the State governments, and the nursing home industry, we can truly transform substandard nursing homes so that the very best nursing homes of today will be the typical nursing homes of tomorrow.

NOTE: The statement was released at Nashua, N.H.

On the same day, the White House released a fact sheet on nursing homes.

260 Remarks to Patients and Staff at Greenbriar Nursing Home, Nashua, New Hampshire. *August* 6, 1971

Governor Peterson, Senator Cotton, Senator McIntyre, Congressman Cleveland, Congressman Wyman, and ladies and gentlemen:

I have just had the opportunity to visit a number of the patients in this nursing home, and also, just as important, to meet a great many members of the staff. You see representatives of both groups here, with the members of the staff behind.

In my brief remarks I would like to tell you why, first, we came to this, of all of the thousands of institutions of this type around the country that we could have selected. This institution has been selected as among the top 10 percent in all of America in terms of quality, in terms, also, of the services that are provided for the funds that are provided by those who are the patients.

We selected one of the best to come to because, by selecting the best, we want it to be an example for others throughout the Nation. Some of you may recall that in Chicago, in speaking to the American Association of Retired Persons a few weeks ago, I referred to the fact that there were many institutions of this type for older people and disabled people that were a disgrace, and that it was absolutely essential that the Federal Government do everything that it could through its programs to upgrade them, upgrade them so that people in the last years of their lives who live in places like this, institutions like this, could have a good life and not a life of hopelessness and desperation.

We have that program now initiated. I have issued a major statement here today in Nashua concerning the new initiatives that the Administration is taking to use the power of the Federal Government, through inspection and through the programs where we provide financial assistance, to see to it that these institutions throughout the country have a higher standard than they presently have.

So we have come to one of the best to show what can be done, not only with money but also, particularly, what can be done with regard to the personnel.

As I went through this building, and as Mrs. Nixon went through it, we were very inspired to meet those who are the patients here. Here are some of them back here. They are in wheelchairs. You would think that they would have a hopeless, despairing attitude about life, but as a matter of fact, I went in to cheer them up; they cheered me up, because they feel that they have good care, and also they have an optimistic attitude about life.

Now, there is a reason for that. One, because of their own character, which comes from this New England soil in which most of them have grown up, but also, the other reason is because the nurses and all the others who work in this institution are proud to work here, and because they do not treat these patients as a burden. As they go from one to the other, they try to make each day a happier day for them.

Accompanying me on this trip today in addition to the distinguished Members of the Senate and the House of Representatives, and the Governor who is here, is the wife of one of the most powerful men

in Washington, the Director of the Office of Budget and Management, Mrs. George Shultz. She is from New Hampshire. She was a nurse. And she set an example in her own life of what nursing can mean and what it can do.

In speaking today about what the Government will do—the Federal Government—to upgrade our nursing homes for the elderly, upgrade them so that, as near as possible, they can be as fine as this one, let me say, we can build finer buildings, we can provide more money; but what really counts are the people who work here, the nurses, the supervisors, and people up and down the line, because the fine buildings, and the good view and the good weather that we had today would mean nothing if you had a sourpuss coming in that room every day to say good morning to you.

I simply want to pay tribute to the wonderful nurses, thousands of them—thousands I will never meet—who dedicate their lives to this profession and who make the people they work with a little happier because they are there.

Let me say, finally, I speak with somewhat a personal feeling here because my mother, in the last year of her life, had had a disabling stroke, and she was in a rest home during that period. When I went to see her, I couldn't tell whether she recognized me or not. I always rather thought she did. But I am always grateful and will always be grateful for the fact that the nurses that were in that room treated her with such love and such attention. I will never forget it.

So today I think all of us who are fortunate enough to be well, and walking, and who have our mothers or our grandmothers or, as the case might be, some other relative who may be in a home like this—all of us want to extend our appreciation and our thanks to those who maintain such institutions as this, to those who, in addition to simply providing the food, sometimes the clothing, sometimes the rooms, all these material things, provide something that money cannot buy: affection, caring, really wanting to see that the individuals who are here have a better day and a better life by reason of what they are able to provide in raising their spirits.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4 p.m.

261 Remarks on Arrival at Bangor, Maine. *August* 6, 1971

Governor Curtis, Congressman Hathaway, and all of you who have come out to the airport to welcome us to Maine and given us such a wonderful welcome here at Bangor:

I can't tell you how pleased we are to see you. As we circled the airport in what is now the Spirit of '76—it used to be Air Force One[1]—we saw all those cars parked. We thought of how long it took you to walk here and how long you have

[1] On July 30, 1971, in a ceremony at Andrews Air Force Base, Md., the President redesignated Air Force One as the Spirit of '76, as a symbol of the American Revolution Bicentennial.

been standing here. Thank you very much for coming.

Governor Curtis, of course, is here to welcome us, and Congressman Hathaway, and then, also, I have two members of our family who are here. When we told them we were coming to Maine they said they wanted to come. I will say a word about one of them in a moment. But Julie and David Eisenhower are here.

Now, Governor, if you don't mind, before your own very fine people here in Maine, could I reminisce a bit about Maine in a very nonpartisan way, if you don't mind? I see so many young people here, and so I will remind you of our first visit and our second and our third.

Our first visit, as a matter of fact, was back in the year 1942. In that year, just before going overseas, we had a little time off, we had a vacation period. So, my wife and I came up to Maine. A friend said the best place to go in Maine—now incidentally, anybody from any other place in Maine, remember, the friend said it was the best place in Maine—he said, Kennebunk Beach. So, we went to Kennebunk Beach and Kennebunkport and stayed in a little place in Goose Rocks. Do you know where that is? It that still there? Right. We had wonderful water there, and I will never forget, there was a little restaurant on what is called Cape Porpoise. We have been back since and that is gone, the restaurant is gone. They have a lighthouse there at the present time, or a Coast Guard station.

One thing that that has done, it has cost me a lot of money since then, because my wife became so attached to boiled Maine lobster that I have to buy it ever since. To show you that that runs in the family, just night before last we were up in New York, and we had an opportunity to visit our daughter, Tricia, and her husband, Eddie Cox. And what did they serve but Maine lobster. So we did that, too.

That was the first trip, we remembered that vacation. Little did we know that we would be returning again in another capacity.

I returned as a Congressman and made a couple of speeches. Years ago, your predecessor, Charlie Nelson,[2] of course, had one of the districts there, since deceased.

But then, in the year 1952, Maine at that time—the Governor and all the political people will remember—used to have its elections early, your Congressional elections, in September. And so, all the candidates, the national candidates, the candidates for President and Vice President, they would all come to Maine because that was the test to see whether as the Nation went how ever Maine went.

So, I came there, and for 4 days my wife and I traveled all over Maine. I was a Senator then, nominee for Vice President. I will never forget the wonderful people that we met on that occasion.

Now we come to what all the young people will understand. In 1954, after I was elected Vice President, I wanted to take a vacation. So, we went to Ogunquit, Maine, on that occasion. And our two daughters were with us. At that time, Tricia was 8 and Julie was 6. They fell in love with the Maine water and Maine lobster, and that has cost me more ever since.

So, those were the occasions that we remember through the years, and, of course, other visits as well.

---

[2] The late Charles P. Nelson, United States Representative from Maine 1949–57.

I just want to say this one thing with regard to this State, what this State means to us and what also it means to the Nation. First, to us, like millions of Americans—and we come from clear across in California—it is a great vacation State. And I am glad we can spend a weekend here on Minot Island. I am going to try that water. They say it is cold, but no colder than California water.

Second, it is also a State with the great political tradition. And I would say this—I speak as a Republican—I would say this in behalf of both Republicans and Democrats: Maine can be proud of the fact that in the Senate, in the Congress, at the national level, it has produced not just Senators and Congressmen who represented Maine, and their parties but Senators and Congressmen who had a national reputation. I will name two, and just to put it in the proper order, first the senior Senator, of course, from Maine, Margaret Chase Smith. I am very proud of her. Then, of course, Maine can be very proud of the Democratic nominee for Vice President in the year 1968, and a man who might be the nominee, they say, for something in 1972, Ed Muskie.

Now, having gotten the bipartisan thing in, I will not say something partisan, but let me say something that I think we all believe. When we first came to Maine it was at the beginning of World War II, and since then we have had three wars: World War II, Korea, and then Vietnam.

I see representatives of the VFW here. I see representatives of the American Legion. We have, of course, a National Guard band. That reminds us of what our men have been through and how much they have sacrificed.

Then through the years, as I have returned, whether we are Democrats or Republicans, and whatever our differences about what foreign policy should be, I think we can say this: We can be proud of the fact that the United States of America as a nation, wherever we have fought in wars, we have never fought to destroy freedom; we have fought to help others keep their freedom. We have never fought to break the peace; we have fought to keep the peace. We are a peaceful nation. We want peace, and we are going to get it. We are going to have peace for America in this generation and the years ahead. That is why I can report to you that we are ending the war in which we have been engaged. It will come to an end, and it will come to an end in a way that will contribute to a lasting peace.

Beyond that, I will be taking a journey—a long journey in a few months. The purpose of that journey really is not about our generation, the generation represented by the Governor and the Congressman and the rest. But it is really about this generation. I see them here, the young. What are they going to have 25 years from now? Are they going to look back, as we do, on three wars in one generation or are they going to look back on a generation of peace?

Let me tell you: We cannot have a generation of peace unless this is a world in which nations that might be antagonists have a chance to know each other, to talk to each other. It doesn't mean we will always agree. But it is essential that the United States of America, the most powerful nation in the world, have communication with other nations in the world that might threaten the peace of the world. Let us keep our strength; but from that position of strength, let us negotiate with other nations so that we can see to it that this young generation will

not grow up in a period of war, but in a period of peace for a whole generation.

That is what we want.

Incidentally, I think Senator Muskie and Margaret Smith could have made that very same speech and got the same reaction from you here.

So, with all of that, thank you again for your wonderful welcome. I know that Mrs. Nixon and I and David and Julie would like to meet some of you, so if we can, before we go to the helicopter, we would like to move down this line and greet a few of you.

Incidentally, is the water warm enough to swim in? Okay.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 5:42 p.m. at Bangor International Airport.

262 Statement Following Splashdown of Apollo 15. *August 7, 1971*

APOLLO 15 has returned safely to earth.

It brings with it new proof of man's invincible will to master the moment of his own destiny. It brings new tribute to man's unquenchable thirst for understanding. It brings the seeds of scientific understanding which may open a new chapter in the history of our planet.

We salute Astronauts Scott, Irwin, and Worden, who have stood poised on behalf of mankind on the brink of man's new world. To each we say well done, and welcome home.

NOTE: The statement was released at Bangor, Maine.

On the same day, the President telephoned Col. David R. Scott, Lt. Col. James B. Irwin, and Maj. Alfred M. Worden aboard the U.S.S. *Okinawa* in the Pacific to express his personal congratulations on the successful completion of their mission.

263 Statement on Signing Appropriation Bill for the Emergency Employment Act of 1971. *August 9, 1971*

TODAY I have signed the appropriation for the Emergency Employment Act of 1971. I am pleased that the Congress has approved my request for the full $1 billion authorized by the act for this fiscal year and that its swift action has enabled me to sign this appropriation today.

I have instructed the Secretary of Labor to move with the greatest possible speed in distributing this money to States and localities, so that unemployed people may begin work at the earliest possible moment. In this regard, the Secretary has already announced the distribution of $600 million which the act requires to be apportioned for expenditure within each State.

Next week, major units of city and county government, along with the State governments, will be notified as to how much of this money will be made available within their jurisdictions. They will also be supplied information on how to request initial funding. This initial funding will be made available within 3 weeks so that hiring may begin at once. By Labor

71-234—72——59

Day, the first group of unemployed people should be working in the jobs financed by this act, which will eventually help more than 150,000 jobless persons. I am especially pleased that our returning veterans will be given special consideration for the newly created jobs.

The jobs which will be made available under this act will be "real" jobs—jobs which promise future career opportunities. At the same time, the work performed by participants in this program will help meet some of our needs in such fields as environmental protection, health, education, public safety, housing, recreation, public facility maintenance, and rural development.

I want to emphasize that all governmental units will be eligible to receive these funds. Cities and counties of more than 75,000 population and all State governments will be asked by the Secretary of Labor to serve as his program agents. It will be the responsibility of these agents to develop plans that will ensure equitable distribution of funds among eligible applicants, taking into account the number of unemployed in each applicant's area, the priority of public service needs, and the capacity of the applicant to carry out the requirements of the program.

The Emergency Employment Act provides a great opportunity for governments at all levels to plan and work together to provide necessary jobs for unemployed persons.

NOTE: As enacted, the bill (H.J. Res. 833) is Public Law 92–72 (85 Stat. 182).

264 Address to the Nation Outlining a New Economic Policy: "The Challenge of Peace." *August* 15, 1971

Good evening:

I have addressed the Nation a number of times over the past 2 years on the problems of ending a war. Because of the progress we have made toward achieving that goal, this Sunday evening is an appropriate time for us to turn our attention to the challenges of peace.

America today has the best opportunity in this century to achieve two of its greatest ideals: to bring about a full generation of peace, and to create a new prosperity without war.

This not only requires bold leadership ready to take bold action—it calls forth the greatness in a great people.

Prosperity without war requires action on three fronts: We must create more and better jobs; we must stop the rise in the cost of living; we must protect the dollar from the attacks of international money speculators.

We are going to take that action—not timidly, not half-heartedly, and not in piecemeal fashion. We are going to move forward to the new prosperity without war as befits a great people—all together, and along a broad front.

The time has come for a new economic policy for the United States. Its targets are unemployment, inflation, and international speculation. And this is how we are going to attack those targets.

First, on the subject of jobs. We all know why we have an unemployment problem. Two million workers have been released from the Armed Forces and defense plants because of our success in

winding down the war in Vietnam. Putting those people back to work is one of the challenges of peace, and we have begun to make progress. Our unemployment rate today is below the average of the 4 peacetime years of the 1960's.

But we can and we must do better than that.

The time has come for American industry, which has produced more jobs at higher real wages than any other industrial system in history, to embark on a bold program of new investment in production for peace.

To give that system a powerful new stimulus, I shall ask the Congress, when it reconvenes after its summer recess, to consider as its first priority the enactment of the Job Development Act of 1971.

I will propose to provide the strongest short term incentive in our history to invest in new machinery and equipment that will create new jobs for Americans: a 10 percent Job Development Credit for 1 year, effective as of today, with a 5 percent credit after August 15, 1972. This tax credit for investment in new equipment will not only generate new jobs; it will raise productivity; it will make our goods more competitive in the years ahead.

Second, I will propose to repeal the 7 percent excise tax on automobiles, effective today. This will mean a reduction in price of about $200 per car. I shall insist that the American auto industry pass this tax reduction on to the nearly 8 million customers who are buying automobiles this year. Lower prices will mean that more people will be able to afford new cars, and every additional 100,000 cars sold means 25,000 new jobs.

Third, I propose to speed up the personal income tax exemptions scheduled for January 1, 1973, to January 1, 1972—so that taxpayers can deduct an extra $50 for each exemption 1 year earlier than planned. This increase in consumer spending power will provide a strong boost to the economy in general and to employment in particular.

The tax reductions I am recommending, together with this broad upturn of the economy which has taken place in the first half of this year, will move us strongly forward toward a goal this Nation has not reached since 1956, 15 years ago: prosperity with full employment in peacetime.

Looking to the future, I have directed the Secretary of the Treasury to recommend to the Congress in January new tax proposals for stimulating research and development of new industries and new techniques to help provide the 20 million new jobs that America needs for the young people who will be coming into the job market in the next decade.

To offset the loss of revenue from these tax cuts which directly stimulate new jobs, I have ordered today a $4.7 billion cut in Federal spending.

Tax cuts to stimulate employment must be matched by spending cuts to restrain inflation. To check the rise in the cost of Government, I have ordered a postponement of pay raises and a 5 percent cut in Government personnel.

I have ordered a 10 percent cut in foreign economic aid.

In addition, since the Congress has already delayed action on two of the great initiatives of this Administration, I will ask Congress to amend my proposals to postpone the implementation of revenue sharing for 3 months and welfare reform for 1 year.

In this way, I am reordering our budget priorities so as to concentrate more on

achieving our goal of full employment.

The second indispensable element of the new prosperity is to stop the rise in the cost of living.

One of the cruelest legacies of the artificial prosperity produced by war is inflation. Inflation robs every American, every one of you. The 20 million who are retired and living on fixed incomes—they are particularly hard hit. Homemakers find it harder than ever to balance the family budget. And 80 million American wage earners have been on a treadmill. For example, in the 4 war years between 1965 and 1969, your wage increases were completely eaten up by price increases. Your paychecks were higher, but you were no better off.

We have made progress against the rise in the cost of living. From the high point of 6 percent a year in 1969, the rise in consumer prices has been cut to 4 percent in the first half of 1971. But just as is the case in our fight against unemployment, we can and we must do better than that.

The time has come for decisive action—action that will break the vicious circle of spiraling prices and costs.

I am today ordering a freeze on all prices and wages throughout the United States for a period of 90 days.[1] In addition, I call upon corporations to extend the wage-price freeze to all dividends.

I have today appointed a Cost of Living Council within the Government.[1] I have directed this Council to work with leaders of labor and business to set up the proper mechanism for achieving continued price and wage stability after the 90-day freeze is over.

Let me emphasize two characteristics of this action: First, it is temporary. To put the strong, vigorous American economy into a permanent straitjacket would lock in unfairness; it would stifle the expansion of our free enterprise system. And second, while the wage-price freeze will be backed by Government sanctions, if necessary, it will not be accompanied by the establishment of a huge price control bureaucracy. I am relying on the voluntary cooperation of all Americans—each one of you: workers, employers, consumers—to make this freeze work.

Working together, we will break the back of inflation, and we will do it without the mandatory wage and price controls that crush economic and personal freedom.

The third indispensable element in building the new prosperity is closely related to creating new jobs and halting inflation. We must protect the position of the American dollar as a pillar of monetary stability around the world.

In the past 7 years, there has been an average of one international monetary crisis every year. Now who gains from these crises? Not the workingman; not the investor; not the real producers of wealth. The gainers are the international money speculators. Because they thrive on crises, they help to create them.

In recent weeks, the speculators have been waging an all-out war on the American dollar. The strength of a nation's currency is based on the strength of that nation's economy—and the American economy is by far the strongest in the world. Accordingly, I have directed the Secretary of the Treasury to take the action necessary to defend the dollar against the speculators.

I have directed Secretary Connally to suspend temporarily the convertibility of the dollar into gold or other reserve assets,

[1] Executive Order 11615.

except in amounts and conditions determined to be in the interest of monetary stability and in the best interests of the United States.

Now, what is this action—which is very technical—what does it mean for you?

Let me lay to rest the bugaboo of what is called devaluation.

If you want to buy a foreign car or take a trip abroad, market conditions may cause your dollar to buy slightly less. But if you are among the overwhelming majority of Americans who buy American-made products in America, your dollar will be worth just as much tomorrow as it is today.

The effect of this action, in other words, will be to stabilize the dollar.

Now, this action will not win us any friends among the international money traders. But our primary concern is with the American workers, and with fair competition around the world.

To our friends abroad, including the many responsible members of the international banking community who are dedicated to stability and the flow of trade, I give this assurance: The United States has always been, and will continue to be, a forward-looking and trustworthy trading partner. In full cooperation with the International Monetary Fund and those who trade with us, we will press for the necessary reforms to set up an urgently needed new international monetary system. Stability and equal treatment is in everybody's best interest. I am determined that the American dollar must never again be a hostage in the hands of international speculators.

I am taking one further step to protect the dollar, to improve our balance of payments, and to increase jobs for Americans. As a temporary measure, I am today imposing an additional tax of 10 percent on goods imported into the United States.[2] This is a better solution for international trade than direct controls on the amount of imports.

This import tax is a temporary action. It isn't directed against any other country. It is an action to make certain that American products will not be at a disadvantage because of unfair exchange rates. When the unfair treatment is ended, the import tax will end as well.

As a result of these actions, the product of American labor will be more competitive, and the unfair edge that some of our foreign competition has will be removed. This is a major reason why our trade balance has eroded over the past 15 years.

At the end of World War II the economies of the major industrial nations of Europe and Asia were shattered. To help them get on their feet and to protect their freedom, the United States has provided over the past 25 years $143 billion in foreign aid. That was the right thing for us to do.

Today, largely with our help, they have regained their vitality. They have become our strong competitors, and we welcome their success. But now that other nations are economically strong, the time has come for them to bear their fair share of the burden of defending freedom around the world. The time has come for exchange rates to be set straight and for the major nations to compete as equals. There is no longer any need for the United States to compete with one hand tied behind her back.

The range of actions I have taken and

---

[2] Proclamation 4074.

proposed tonight—on the job front, on the inflation front, on the monetary front—is the most comprehensive new economic policy to be undertaken in this Nation in four decades.

We are fortunate to live in a nation with an economic system capable of producing for its people the highest standard of living in the world; a system flexible enough to change its ways dramatically when circumstances call for change; and, most important, a system resourceful enough to produce prosperity with freedom and opportunity unmatched in the history of nations.

The purposes of the Government actions I have announced tonight are to lay the basis for renewed confidence, to make it possible for us to compete fairly with the rest of the world, to open the door to new prosperity.

But government, with all of its powers, does not hold the key to the success of a people. That key, my fellow Americans, is in your hands.

A nation, like a person, has to have a certain inner drive in order to succeed. In economic affairs, that inner drive is called the competitive spirit.

Every action I have taken tonight is designed to nurture and stimulate that competitive spirit, to help us snap out of the self-doubt, the self-disparagement that saps our energy and erodes our confidence in ourselves.

Whether this Nation stays number one in the world's economy or resigns itself to second, third, or fourth place; whether we as a people have faith in ourselves, or lose that faith; whether we hold fast to the strength that makes peace and freedom possible in this world, or lose our grip—all that depends on you, on your competitive spirit, your sense of personal destiny, your pride in your country and in yourself.

We can be certain of this: As the threat of war recedes, the challenge of peaceful competition in the world will greatly increase.

We welcome competition, because America is at her greatest when she is called on to compete.

As there always have been in our history, there will be voices urging us to shrink from that challenge of competition, to build a protective wall around ourselves, to crawl into a shell as the rest of the world moves ahead.

Two hundred years ago a man wrote in his diary these words: "Many thinking people believe America has seen its best days." That was written in 1775, just before the American Revolution—the dawn of the most exciting era in the history of man. And today we hear the echoes of those voices, preaching a gospel of gloom and defeat, saying the same thing: "We have seen our best days."

I say, let Americans reply: "Our best days lie ahead."

As we move into a generation of peace, as we blaze the trail toward the new prosperity, I say to every American: Let us raise our spirits. Let us raise our sights. Let all of us contribute all we can to this great and good country that has contributed so much to the progress of mankind.

Let us invest in our Nation's future, and let us revitalize that faith in ourselves that built a great nation in the past and that will shape the world of the future.

Thank you and good evening.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9 p.m. in the Oval Office at the White House. His address

was broadcast live on radio and television.

On the same day, the White House released an advance text of the President's address and the transcript of a news briefing on the new economic policy by John B. Connally, Secretary of the Treasury, George P. Shultz, Director, Office of Management and Budget, and Paul W. McCracken, Chairman, Council of Economic Advisers.

In Dallas, Tex., on August 19, 1971, Press Secretary Ronald L. Ziegler read a statement about the reaction of the Governor of Texas to the wage-price freeze. It is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 7, p. 1204).

On August 20, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing by Caspar W. Weinberger, Chairman, Regulations and Purchasing Review Board, and Deputy Director, Office of Management and Budget, on the efforts of the Board to insure that the suppliers of Government purchases are in full compliance with the wage-price freeze.

265 Statement on the 10th Anniversary of the Alliance for Progress. *August* 17, 1971

TEN YEARS ago the United States joined the countries of Latin America in an Alliance for Progress. The occasion of this anniversary gives us an opportunity to reflect upon the achievements and experiences of our cooperative endeavors over the past 10 years to improve the lives of the people of the Americas.

The Charter of Punta del Este, which was signed on August 17, 1961, added to the inter-American system a vital dimension of the concern for the welfare of people. It called for an unprecedented investment of human and financial resources. That investment has been made, and the proof of what our countries have accomplished together is now visible throughout the Americas in increased schooling for millions of children and adults, improved health, rising agricultural productivity, new industries, and a surge forward in transportation, communications, and power. Countless numbers of citizens who had been outside the social and economic mainstream have gained access to opportunity, and economic development and social reform have become the dominant concern of peoples and governments alike.

Despite the great strides made in the past 10 years, we have come to recognize that our work has only begun. We have learned that the complex and difficult problems of economic and social development will not all be solved within the next decade or within the next generation. We have also learned that each nation must take the initiative and primary responsibility for meeting the challenges of its development if progress is to be effective and enduring. We have understood, therefore, that we must establish a more balanced relationship, one which will permit positive collaboration attuned to the realities of the decade we are entering.

The tasks ahead are formidable. Many people in the hemisphere still do not share in the benefits of growth and development. Education, housing, and health care still lag far behind growing needs. Jobs must be found for the unemployed who stand idle in the countryside and strain the resources of overcrowded cities. The nations of the hemisphere must also confront

problems unique to our era, whose consequences we have only begun to understand: air and water pollution, the conservation of natural resources, and the continued rapid growth of population.

As we face the challenges ahead, the nations of the Americas can draw strength and guidance from the principles of cooperation and mutual respect, embodied in the Charter of Punta del Este. On this occasion of the 10th anniversary of the Alliance for Progress, I reaffirm the commitment of the United States to those noble principles, and join with our hemispheric partners in rededicating ourselves to the achievement of a better life for our peoples.

266 Statement About Rescission of Price Increases by Automobile Manufacturers. *August* 17, 1971

IN announcing that their previously announced price increases for 1972 models would be rescinded, the Nation's automobile manufacturers have acted with a laudable respect for the national interest and with a high sense of responsibility.

This action demonstrates dramatically a spirit of voluntary cooperation in making the wage-price freeze work. With this spirit, and with all Americans pulling together, we can break the back of inflation and set the Nation securely on the path of a new prosperity.

267 Memorandum of Disapproval of Bill To Provide Increased Retirement Benefits to Totally Disabled District of Columbia Policemen and Firemen. *August* 17, 1971

I AM TODAY withholding my approval of H.R. 2600, which would increase the retirement benefits of former members of the District of Columbia Police and Fire departments, the U.S. Park Police, the Executive Protective Service and the U.S. Secret Service who retired prior to October 1, 1956, with service-incurred disabilities rated at 100 percent.

Bills with somewhat similar objectives were vetoed by President Eisenhower in 1959 and by President Kennedy in 1961. This particular bill has been opposed by the D.C. Government in Senate hearings. After reviewing the merits, I am vetoing H.R. 2600 because I believe it is inconsistent with essential standards of fairness and impartiality toward other District Government employees.

H.R. 2600 would grant an unwarranted benefit to a small, special group of retirees. These former employees already receive annuity increases substantially above those of other District employees. Furthermore, under their retirement system, retired D.C. policemen and firemen automatically obtain an increase in annuities proportionate to any increases in the pay of active-duty policemen and firemen. As a result, some of the retirees who would

benefit from this bill already receive a larger annuity than the salaries they received when they were on active duty.

H.R. 2600 would not only increase the disparity between the group affected and other District Government employees, but would also create a new disparity within the police and firemen's retirement system by singling out one select group and ignoring other employees who retired prior to October 1, 1956, with less than 100% disability.

I am also seriously concerned that this bill would establish an unfortunate precedent for other retirees under the D.C. Policemen and Firemen's Retirement System, and also for those under other District of Columbia and Federal retirement systems.

All of us can be proud of the outstanding services which the District of Columbia's police and firemen have performed over the years. They deserve a just reward for their work, and today their disability and retirement benefit system is one of the finest and most generous in the country. It would not be in the public interest, however, to create special benefits for a small group of these men which would be unfair to the many other deserving persons in District Government.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
August 17, 1971

268 Remarks to the 89th Annual International Meeting of the Knights of Columbus in New York City. *August* 17, 1971

Supreme Knight John McDevitt, Your Eminence Cardinal Cooke, Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Secretary of Transportation, all of the distinguished guests on the platform and in this audience:

This is a very special day for me, because to be the first President of the United States to address this States Dinner of the Knights of Columbus is a great honor. I am proud to be that first President.

On this occasion, I must say that to see the signs you held up from the States across the country gave me somewhat the feel of a convention. I did not say which party, because I realize that this is an organization above party. This organization has one party: the United States of America.

I want to associate myself with the remarks of His Eminence Cardinal Cooke. I would like to use this opportunity, speaking from this platform, to pay a tribute to him. I have known him, had the privilege of knowing him, for 20 years. I had the privilege of addressing the Al Smith dinner right here on several occasions—and Cardinal Spellman before him, and now Cardinal Cooke, of course, has been a great religious leader for this diocese and for the United States of America.

But speaking as the President of the United States and Commander in Chief of our Armed Forces, I think that the work that Cardinal Spellman did Christmas after Christmas, year after year—and that now Cardinal Cooke continues—of going abroad and visiting our Armed Forces, this is something that all

71-234—72——60

Americans are deeply grateful for, and we thank him today for that.

I have been trying to think of something appropriate to say with regard to my good friend, John Volpe, the former Governor of Massachusetts. And incidentally, he lost once and won the next time, too. I think perhaps I can put it in a timely fashion by pointing out that in Washington, as you know, these days it is said that it is impossible to keep a secret—the Pentagon papers.[1] In fact, I think the only secret people said has been kept was the announcement of the trip I was going to take to Peking.

There is one other. When I learned that I was going to have the privilege and honor of addressing this dinner, and I had a talk with John Volpe about the organization and everything that it meant, and he told me everything. The one thing he would not, however, tell me at all was the ceremonial. I said, "Well, John, how do I learn what the ceremonial is?" He said, "Mr. President, you have got to join us." Well, I am here in spirit. That is for sure.

I would like to address this organization tonight on America's problems, and particularly one which I addressed myself to just two nights ago. I think you will see how it is related to everything you stand for—a strong and vigorous United States of America.

You will recall that I talked about the competitive spirit of the United States in the economic field when I addressed the Nation on Sunday night. I pointed out then that it was necessary to take bold action to rekindle that spirit in America. I announced a new economic policy with three goals in mind:

First, to generate more jobs, because I believe that everyone who wants to work in America should have the chance to work. In the next 10 years, we must create 20 million new jobs for the American people. We can do it, and our program is designed to do that.

Second, I took action to call a halt in the rise of the cost of living. That is the inevitable legacy of war, one that steals away the life savings of so many of our people, and it has made it impossible for millions of American families to balance their family budgets.

Third, I took action to defend the American dollar against the attack of international speculation. I am determined that the American dollar must never again be hostage to the world's money manipulators.

Now, these are all Government actions. There is a need for these actions, because only by coming to grips with all of our problems can we expect to solve any of them.

And there is a need for bold, decisive action, because a nation can remain great only if it acts with a sure sense of destiny.

As Knights of the Catholic faith, Knights of Columbus, you, as much as anyone in this great Nation, feel that sense of destiny. From the beginning, America has seen its destiny—a call to set an example and to serve mankind, and that is why

---

[1] The President was referring to the printing, by the New York Times and other publications, of excerpts from a top secret Pentagon study detailing U.S. foreign policy decision-making on Vietnam during the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations.

A statement, announcing the President's decision to make the entire 47-volume study available to the Congress, was read by Press Secretary Ronald L. Ziegler during his regular news briefing at the White House on June 23 and is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 7, p. 974).

this Nation from the beginning opened its doors wide. America became the refuge of the world. Catholics came after the revolution in England in 1688. The French Revolution, the terrible Irish famine of 1846 put immigrants on our shores by the hundreds of thousands—millions. Jews from Poland and Russia, refugees from both World Wars, Hungarians, Cubans—all sought opportunity and freedom in America and helped this Nation gain its sense of destiny by constantly rekindling the sense of destiny.

Today we live in a time when it is possible for men and nations to break out of the tyranny of the present, to shape our future in the image of our hopes. We live in a time when it is possible for us to pass on to our children something Americans have not had in this century: a full generation of peace. And we live in a time when the free economic system of the United States can produce what we have not had in America for 15 years: a new prosperity with full employment and without war.

Now, these are the highest ideals of America, the highest ideals of any nation. The way to achieve these goals cannot be to throw away our power to defend freedom. We cannot let the apostles of defeatism and self-doubt chip away at the moral strength of America.

We are the number one nation in the world economically. We should stay number one. We cannot ease up and lose the economic leadership of the world. We cannot turn inward and fall prey to a new isolationism, great as the temptations may be to do that. Nor can the American people pass the responsibility of leadership solely to government.

Let's look at our history for a moment. That small nation, 195 years ago, 3 million people, 13 States, poor, weak, but with a sense of destiny, grown into the most powerful nation in the world militarily, the richest economically. How did it happen?

Well, America has become great not because of what government has done for people, but because of what people have done for themselves and for this country. That is the secret of America's strength.

And now we have some challenges for America in this time when we are very rich and very strong. It is not easy for a workingman to forgo for a while a wage increase that he deserves, and it is not easy for a businessman to hold the line on prices when his costs are high and profits are slim, and it is not easy for a Federal employee to cover the same amount of work with less personnel because of a cut in Federal spending. It is not easy for investors in stocks—and there are more than 20 million of them in America—to forgo an increase in dividends.

All of these we have asked the American people to do.

But I say that if the temporary sacrifice of each of these groups of America will result in stopping the rise in the cost of living for all Americans, this is a great goal, and this is worth sacrificing for.

America became a strong nation and a great nation and a rich nation because we have always had a competitive spirit. Twenty-five years ago, at the end of World War II, we were unchallenged in the world, militarily and economically. As far as competition was concerned, there was no one who could possibly challenge us.

But now that has changed. We helped the nations that we defeated in World War II, and those that were our friends to get back on their feet, and now they are

our strong competitors. And there are new nations that have taken their first faltering steps toward being competitors.

We welcomed this competition, but we find that as this competition has come along from the other nations of the world, as they have done better—and we welcome their success—that America at times during this period, because we did not have to do so, have curbed our own competitive spirit.

Well, now the time has come to renew it. The time has come to be ourselves again—still compassionate, pouring out our wealth to all of those in need around the world when we can, still with a sense of responsibility toward others in the world, still fair, still ready to help those who need help—but also let us be determined to show what we can do, and let us compete with other nations without having one hand tied behind our back.

The turmoil and uncertainty of the years just past have strained America's spirit—the turmoil and uncertainty of war. They have led many to question the Nation's purposes and destinies, even its goodness.

We hear this "system," the American system, that has made it possible for this great and good country to come where it has; we hear that it has produced our abundance, protected our freedom, and yet it is denounced as oppressive and materialist. We hear our defense establishment in America, which has saved other nations as well as our own from tyranny and conquest, denounced as militarist and evil.

The right to criticize is a right we recognize in this country because it helps us to renew ourselves; it makes us strong; it makes us free. But I say to you tonight, when so many voices are running down America, the time has come for us to speak up for America.

It is very easy to sit back and criticize; it is hard to make the sacrifices, do the work, make the extra effort that makes the difference between a nation on the way down and a nation on the way up.

But right at this time, let no one expect to make his fortune—or his reputation—by selling America short.

Tonight I can feel in this audience, and I can feel in this land of ours, a new confidence in America, a new birth of faith in ourselves. I see a willingness to face reality, a revival of moral courage, a fresh determination to succeed.

The challenge of peace, the road to the new prosperity will require all the character we have. You and I know that the American people have what it takes, have what it takes to compete.

But when we talk about character of a nation we must never forget that that character depends upon the individual character of 200 million Americans. Where does that come from? It comes from the home; it comes from the churches; it comes from the schools of this Nation. There is where the character of the next generation, the coming generation, is being forged.

We must see to it that our children are provided with the moral and spiritual and religious values so necessary to a great people in great times. And, as Cardinal Cooke has pointed out, at a time we see those private and parochial schools which lay such stress on these religious values, as we see them closing at the rate of one a day, we must reslove to stop that trend and turn it around, and you can count on my support to do that.

Every man, even one who serves as President of the United States, relates an

issue to what he knows in his own experience. I myself did not have a Catholic education. My secretary did. I was telling Cardinal Cooke and Mr. McDevitt on the way in, that in my travels to over 70 countries with Mrs. Nixon, my secretary, of course, Rose Mary Woods, has always gone. There has never been a Sunday in all of those travels, and some of them have taken weeks and months, when she did not go to Mass.

Something else: She is a very fine secretary, but she also has very great character. She grew up in a family of modest income, a large family. She went to a Catholic school, a Catholic grammar school, a Catholic high school. Just looking at my secretary, and I think John Mitchell and John Volpe will bear me out, if that is what Catholic education does, I am for more of it.

Speaking of character, may I put it in another context? The other day, as a football fan, I had one of the greatest experiences of my life. I visited the Hall of Fame in Canton, Ohio. As I went through that Hall of Fame, I relived all of the great stories of the football heroes of the past. Ernie Nevers and Bronko Nagurski and Mel Hein and the others who were enshrined in the Hall of Fame, and, of course, Vince Lombardi. I thought of Vince Lombardi, along with the others that were there. He was enshrined that day I was there.

There were others that were as good a coach as he was. There were others who could play as well as he did, although he was a fine player and a very great coach. But the Lombardi legacy, in my view, is something beyond being a great coach and a great player.

The Lombardi legacy was character. He was a deeply religious man. He was a man who was a fine family man, and he was a man who instilled in all of those who came in contact with him a competitive spirit, a will to win, a will to keep fighting no matter how high or difficult the odds were.

I talked to him on the phone just a few days before he died. I said, "Coach, you have had millions of people rooting for your teams, but there have never been so many rooting for you as there are tonight."

He said, "Well, Mr. President, it's a tough battle, but you can be sure of one thing, I'll never quit fighting."

I can say to this great organization that what America needs today is that kind of character, that kind of competitive spirit, so that this Nation can realize its destiny. Our success is not going to mean failure for others. We, in our foreign policy, do not want to exploit anybody else. We want them to go forward with us.

But the United States of America, at this time in history, must maintain the strength in the free world to provide the help the others aren't able to provide for themselves. That means that we must be strong economically; we must be strong militarily. But a nation can be strong in arms and rich in goods and if it is poor in spirit, it will die.

This organization, because you contribute so much to the spirit of America, that is why you, it seems to me, are rendering a service that is so enormously important.

More than 300 years ago, in 1630, Governor John Winthrop told the colonists of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, as a little boat was looking at Massachusetts, that "the eyes of all people" were on them. He quoted to them the words of the Bible: "You are the light of the world. A city set

upon a hill cannot be hidden."

Think of how presumptuous that was to say then. America, not even settled, a few colonists just about to arrive, and here he said, "You are the light of the world. A city set upon a hill cannot be hidden." That was the spirit that made this country.

Three centuries later, America is like "a city set upon a hill"—strong, rich. The question is: Do we have the character, the richness in spirit, and the strength in spirit that a nation needs? What we do with the challenge of peaceful competition, what we fail to do, will be seen today by the eyes of the world and tomorrow by the eyes of our children.

I ask this great organization, leaders all across all of America: Let us join together to awaken the moral power that is the heritage of a hard-working people and, by our example, let America be the light of the world.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:19 p.m. in the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel to members of the Knights of Columbus, a Catholic fraternal and charitable organization.

An advance text of the President's remarks was released on the same day.

269 Remarks on Signing Bill Establishing the Lincoln Home National Historic Site in Springfield, Illinois. *August* 18, 1971

Governor Ogilvie, Congressman Findley, and our very distinguished guests on this historic occasion:

I am most honored to be here for the purpose of signing a bill which will continue a long tradition of the State of Illinois, the Land of Lincoln, of reminding the American people of this precious heritage. In signing that bill, I would like to pay tribute to all who helped to, first, propose it, and then to get it through the Congress, and particularly to Congressman Findley, your Congressman from this area. And to you, Governor Ogilvie, and to all of the people of both parties in this State of Illinois may I express the gratitude of a very grateful nation for what Illinois has done to preserve the Lincoln heritage.

I think, of course, of the Lincoln Tomb. I think of the Lincoln law office. We think, of course, today of the Lincoln Home—the only home, it is said, he really had and that he owned; where he lived for 17 years; where three of his sons were born, and one died. We think, of course, of this chamber—a restoration of the place where Lincoln spoke as a member of the Illinois Legislature—this chamber where so many years ago, perhaps before his Presidency his most famous speech was made, the "House Divided" speech, the one which may have led to his nomination and later his election to the Presidency of the United States.

So the Nation is grateful that the State of Illinois and the people of Illinois through the years, have done so much to preserve the Lincoln heritage so that hundreds of thousands, millions of people, particularly young Americans, can come here and see where this great man lived, where he worked, and to see, also, the people that he loved—because I think one of the most moving passages of Sandburg's "Life of Lincoln" was his quotation

from one of Lincoln's last statements just before he left Springfield to go to Washington when he said, "I love the people here. To them, their kindness, their generosity, I owe everything that I am."

He spoke to them because he had lived among them, and I speak to you today as one who knows the people here, who knows this is the heartland of America, not just geographically but also because of so much that it represents in the history of our country.

Now, on this occasion, I would like also to relate the Lincoln legacy to the problems of the present.

In the White House we have many, many visitors from abroad. In fact, since I have been President of the United States, 50 heads of government or heads of state have visited Washington, and they have walked through the rooms of the White House, many of them for the first time. They know our history, many of them better than we know it.

Many of them have views with regard to who were the great Presidents. But if a vote were to be taken of all those that I have met, both here and abroad, I would say the overwhelming majority would vote that Abraham Lincoln was the greatest, the most revered of all of the American Presidents.

Why did they say that? Sometimes I have asked them why. They say, "Because he was such a good man. He was a kind man. He was a compassionate man. He was a man who was a leader in war who deeply believed in peace. He was an idealistic man who believed deeply in opportunity for all Americans, all people on this earth, regardless of their background and race or creed or color."

Because he stood for these things and lived for these things and died for these things, Lincoln is revered in America and revered in capitals around the world, I can assure you—in Africa, in Asia, in Latin America—wherever you may travel abroad.

That is not the whole Lincoln story, and that is not particularly the time that relates to the problems of today. What we must also remember is that Lincoln, while he was very kind and very compassionate, was a very strong man. He was a very competitive man. He argued almost 200 cases in the Supreme Court of the State of Illinois, and he always argued to win. He lost elections, and came back to win for the Presidency of the United States. He never gave up.

In his contests with the various generals, Lincoln, while he was always kind in handling them, could not accept or resign himself to temerity or timidity. After the great victory at Gettysburg, General Meade was dismissed, not because he had lost—because he had not—but because he did not follow up. Lincoln wanted to follow up and end the war. So we see this man, kind and compassionate and considerate on the one hand, but strong and competitive on the other.

Lincoln also had a very profound sense of destiny about the United States of America—what it was, what it meant to its own people, and what it meant to the world. We all remember what he said: that the United States of America was man's last, best hope on earth. But listen to when he said it. America then was far from being the strongest nation in the world; it was far from being the richest nation in the world; and it was sorely stricken and divided by a civil war, the most brutal war, perhaps, of the 19th century in terms of the casualties that were suffered.

Yet Lincoln, this man who could see beyond war and beyond strife and beyond weakness to the periods ahead, stood tall and said America is man's last, best hope on earth.

So the lesson for us becomes quite clear. This Nation, at this time when it is the strongest and the richest nation in the world, when the responsibility does lie upon us as to whether we grow up in a world of peace, whether we have a generation of peace, or whether we continue to have, as we have had every generation of this century, war after war—this Nation needs to remember the Lincoln legacy. It needs to revitalize in ourselves, in our young people, that sense of destiny that he had, and it needs that competitive spirit which he had in such enormous degree.

Let me address myself briefly to that point in relation to a statement I made just a couple of days ago. I spoke to the Nation about some actions that we were taking with regard to the American economy: the need to revalue the currencies of the world, to have a monetary system that would be more stable, the need also, on a temporary basis, to provide a surcharge on imports from abroad of 10 percent.

Some who read my remarks, and heard them, interpreted them incorrectly along these lines: "Well, finally America is going to build a wall around itself. We have got these competitors abroad, but we are really not able to compete with them, and so we will erect a wall around this country so that we can still go on, not competing, not trying quite as hard, not producing quite as much."

I can tell you that could be a very popular theme unless we thought as Lincoln would have thought. For this great Nation, at this time, to build a wall around itself; for it to withdraw from the competition of the world; for the United States of America to quit trying to be number one would be a very grave error, not because being number one in itself is a goal that we try to achieve, but because once an individual or once a nation ceases to try to do its best, to be number one, then that individual or that nation ceases to be a great individual, a great nation. It ceases to realize its total capabilities.

At this time in our history if the United States of America is to be able to provide the world leadership, to have the strength that we will need in the last quarter of this century, to keep the peace that we all want, it means that America must continue to have the economic strength and the economic power on which that military and diplomatic strength is based.

It also means that the United States of America and the American people must not resign ourselves at this time—must not take that easy way of saying that now that we have other great peoples in the world who were not our competitors 25 years ago, but now that they are competing with us, we will withdraw from the race; we will build a wall around ourselves and live as an island in the world community.

Let us remember: That would serve, perhaps, the moment; it would not be worthy of the destiny of this country that Lincoln spoke of so eloquently during his Presidency and before as well. Beyond that, let us also remember that the United States of America, at this time in history, not because we wanted it, not because we sought it, but because of the accident of history, is the only nation in the free world that has the potential capability and strength to provide the leadership that

will build a world of peace, a world in which we can have peaceful competition.

What does this require of each of us? It requires a sense of destiny about America. It requires a renewal of the competitive spirit of this country. It requires that each of us give more of ourselves in whatever job that we have, whatever calling we have, to do our best, not just enough to get by. And in doing that we will have a realization and a satisfaction for ourselves that we would never have by having America, at this time, resigning itself to be second or third or fourth, 10, 15, or 25 years from now.

I am rather sure that if Abraham Lincoln were standing again in this place, as he stood here 110 years ago, he would perhaps say some of the things I have tried to say. I am sure that he would say, as I will now say, that we can, at this point in our history, nobly save or meanly lose man's last, best hope on earth.

I am confident that from the heartland of America will come the spirit that America needs that will say to the whole world, "We shall nobly save man's last, best hope on earth."

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:17 p.m. in the Old Capitol Building.

As enacted, the bill (H.R. 9798) is Public Law 92–127 (85 Stat. 347).

On the same day, the White House released an announcement of the bill signing and a fact sheet detailing the history of the Lincoln home, plans for its restoration, and places of historic interest located nearby.

270 Remarks at the Illinois State Fair in Springfield. *August* 18, 1971

GOVERNOR and Mrs. Ogilvie and Julie and I want to express our appreciation to all of you who have welcomed us so warmly—and I am not speaking of the weather—but welcomed us so warmly at the Illinois State Fair.

I have sort of been reminiscing a bit of the times I have been to this fair before. The first time, Governor, was in 1952. At that time I was a candidate for Vice President, and I remember speaking in the fairground. But I have never had the chance before to drive through the fairground to see the exhibits. I must say, I saw more people than I saw exhibits, but it was really a great experience.

I understand—and incidentally, I don't know whether I am correct—but they tell me this is the biggest State fair in America. I am going to be in Ohio in a few days. Can I say that there, too?

I would like to just say something particularly, if I could, to the Future Farmers, the 4–H, and all of the young people who are here. You are in the great occupation of farming or agriculture. I am sure that these days you rather wonder whether that is an occupation in America that is here to stay; you rather wonder whether it is one that really matters.

I know that if you have been listening to television and reading newspapers, or even in the classrooms, you hear about the fact that we have less farmers than we have had in previous years, although we produce more, and that maybe agriculture isn't as important now as it once was.

Let me tell you something: I have had a very great privilege in my public life as a

Congressman, Senator, Vice President, out of office, and as President. I have traveled over 70 countries. And one of the major areas in which the United States of America is tremendously fortunate is in the productivity of American agriculture. Now, there are some places in some industries where other countries, because they have lower costs than we have, or because maybe they even do better than we have, where they have passed us. But you can be proud of the fact that American agriculture today is the most productive in the world. We produce more food at less cost than any country in the world.

And we can be proud. We are proud of all those, the older people and the younger people, who have made America first in the world, and you are going to keep us first in the world in agriculture.

We thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2 p.m. in the Junior Livestock Pavilion at the fairgrounds.

271 Statement About Agriculture and the Economy. *August* 18, 1971

THERE are few occasions which reflect the strength and spirit of America more impressively than a great State fair in our Nation's agricultural heartland. In 1952, I had the pleasure of visiting the Illinois State Fair in Springfield—and I am happy for this opportunity to come back this year.

I am especially glad to be making this visit at a time when our Nation is giving new attention to the economic challenges it faces around the world. For in meeting those challenges, one of our greatest strengths is the productivity of American agriculture—a quality which is most impressively displayed at this great celebration.

The new economic policies I announced on Sunday were designed to provide new jobs, to provide increased purchasing power, and to curb the rise in the cost of living here at home, and also to improve America's position in world trade. Our agricultural exports are extremely important not only to the prosperity of America's farmers but also to our efforts to maintain and improve the Nation's trading position.

Only a few years ago farm exports were dropping. In the last fiscal year, however, they reached the $7.8 billion level, an all-time record high. To mention just one example, exports of soybeans—of which Illinois is the country's number one producer—have climbed 45 percent in the last 2 years; $1.9 billion of our $3 billion soybean crop now goes into exports. What is more, we intend to see that these and other agricultural export figures go on rising in the months and years ahead. In this and many other ways, we will be working constantly to increase the prosperity of the American farmer, to enhance the quality of rural life, and to give the farmer the better break he deserves.

Here I would underscore again our determination to call a halt to the relentless rise in the cost of living and—what is of special importance to the farmer—the cost of doing business. America's farmers know, perhaps better than anyone else, the devastating effects of the cost-price

squeeze that has dogged our economy since the early Vietnam years. Again and again as I have talked with farm families across this country, they have emphasized one overriding need—the need to put a lid on prices: prices of equipment, of seed, and of fertilizer for the farmer, and prices of every item in the household budget for his wife. Inflation has penalized the farmer coming and going. We mean to lift that penalty, and to replace it with a new prosperity that will reward him coming and going.

In both an economic and a spiritual sense, the pride and the energy of rural America have provided a firm foundation for our national strength since our country's earliest days. Now, as we enter a new era of testing, we will again be relying heavily on the skill and the resourcefulness of America's farmers.

No other segment of America's economy can match the rise in productivity of American agriculture during recent years. I am confident that American farmers and American agriculture will continue their remarkable performance in the months and years ahead—and will continue to set an example for our Nation. That is one important reason why I am confident that our country will continue to hold its place as the economic leader of the world.

NOTE: The statement was released at Springfield, Ill.

272 Remarks on Arrival at Idaho Falls, Idaho. *August* 18, 1971

THANK you very much. I want to tell you how very grateful I am for this wonderful welcome you have given my daughter Julie and me to Idaho Falls.

I think it would be of very great interest to all of you, even though you are from Idaho, for you to have the opportunity to meet some of the distinguished leaders from your State who are here, because I would like to have them stand up here in this beautiful Idaho day, and also to show just what a bipartisan trip this is.

Governor Andrus, step up here for a bow. Glad to see you. Now, I checked all the places—he is from Boise, so treat him real nice.

Senator Frank Church. Boise, also. Here is another Boise man.

And the former Governor and now the Senator, Len Jordan. Boise, also. Len.

Now we have a man from Idaho Falls, a Congressman, Orval Hansen.

And the mayor, I know, is from Boise, Eddie Pedersen. Where is he? Oh, I am sorry—Idaho Falls.

MAYOR PEDERSEN. That is really something—that they have to go to Boise to get a mayor. How about that? It proves that you are human.

THE PRESIDENT. That's right. I know what town I am in—I am in Idaho Falls.

MAYOR PEDERSEN. That is right. Thank you, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. And then another very distinguished guest we have today, the Secretary of the Interior. Now actually, he comes from the Eastern Shore of Maryland—which is considered to be East, but people in Maryland consider it kind of South—but as far as the Secretary of the Interior is concerned, he really loves

the West. Secretary Rogers Morton.

SECRETARY MORTON. We are all delighted that you are here, Mr. President. We had a tremendous welcome here, and I know they have been here waiting for you to talk to them.

THE PRESIDENT. Thank you. You know, I asked the Secretary what he was going to do when he moved the office of the Secretary of the Interior—he was moving the Interior Department to Denver. He said he was going to ride a horse. After seeing him, I feel sorry for the horse.

Now I think you would like to perhaps say hello to my daughter Julie Eisenhower. Julie.

We would like a chance to, and we will have a chance to shake hands with some of you after I have made a few brief remarks. But I would like for all of you to know that as I looked down from the airplane and saw those cars parked for miles around, I realized what a chore it had been for you to come to the airport. I realized, too, that some of you must have been standing here quite a while. I am indeed most grateful.

I want to tell you when I was here last time—it was in 1954. I don't think, incidentally, the crowd was near this big. That shows you the difference between being Vice President and President.

This is, let me say, the first visit I have made to Idaho since being President of the United States, and I am proud that I am in Idaho Falls. The time was October in the year 1954, and all of these young people here were not even born then. I remember it was snowing, very heavy snow. Does it still snow in October in this time? [*Laughter*] No, not at all.

Well, as we flew over today, we saw the snow in the mountains, and we saw this beautiful country below. Let me give you a feel of what America is like on a day like this for someone who has the privilege to ride in the Spirit of '76, that great airplane, and go out and meet the people of this country.

I woke up this morning in New York City after having spoken there last night. I had Governor with the breakfast—boy!—the Governor had me for breakfast. [*Laughter*] But in any event, we had breakfast there and discussed some of the problems of New York State. And then we got on the airplane and flew to Springfield, Illinois. There we dedicated as a national monument the home of Abraham Lincoln, where he lived for 17 years. And then went to the Illinois State Fair, and 125,000 people were visiting the State fair on that day. So we went through that crowd.

After we left Illinois, we flew from Illinois for 3 hours and 5 minutes, till we got to Idaho Falls. As we came across that great country, we looked down on the biggest corn crop in history. Then after we left the plains we began to get into the prairies and the mountains, and I realized how really beautiful this western part of the United States is.

This is a beautiful country. You are very fortunate to live here, to live in a country where the air is so clean, where the scenery is so beautiful, and also where I hope the crops are good.

But as I looked down on this country, I realized what kind of people it took to come here. It had to be a rugged people; it had to be a strong people to come across those plains, to come up those mountains, and then to find this valley and develop this State—a strong people, a competitive people, a frontier people.

That is the kind of people that made

Idaho. That is the kind of people that developed the West, and that is the kind of spirit that America needs today and that you are going to help give America, I am sure.

Particularly to our young people who are here today, and for all of your fathers and mothers, I want to say this: We are working in Washington for something that is a great goal that Americans want, a great goal we think we can achieve. That goal is to bring what we have not had in this century for Americans: a whole generation of peace.

We are ending the war in which we are engaged. I will be going on a journey to Peking, and the purpose of that journey is to look far beyond the next 1, 5 years, but to look beyond to the period 15, 20 years from now, so that the world may be a safer world, and we will have a chance to have a generation of peace.

We also are trying to build in that generation of peace a new kind of prosperity, a prosperity in which we can have jobs, in which we can have a high standard of living, but without war. I think we can do it, but I want to tell you what it is going to take.

It can't be just done by Government. Let us remember: This is a great country and this is a good country, but America became the strongest and the biggest and the richest country in the world not by what Government did for people, but by what people did for themselves and for their country. That is why we came where we are.

So in this period, as the Government, we are taking the actions that we think are necessary to stop the rise in the cost of living, the actions that are necessary to stimulate the creation of new jobs. But if America is going to remain competitive in the world, if America is going to continue to grow and continue to be number one in the world—which we must be economically if we are going to keep the peace in the world—then you, the people of America, all of us together, have got to build this great country.

I can just tell you that a day like this—I would say this and I am sure that anyone who was traveling with me, be he Democrat or Republican, would say it as he travels from New York to Illinois to Idaho—at the finish of a day like this would say: The heart of America is good, the faith of the American people is strong, and this great people, as we enter a new era of competition with other nations of the world, we are going to meet the test. We are going to make America strong. We are going to make it grow. And we are going to meet the responsibilities that will bring peace for ourselves and help to keep peace and freedom for the people of the world.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:25 p.m. at Fanning Field.

273 Statement About the "Legacy of Parks" Program. *August* 19, 1971

LIKE SO many of our national parks, Grand Teton impresses its visitors at once with both the power and the serenity of nature. The jagged peaks and the outcroppings of the Teton Range cause us to stand in awe of the forces which have

caused their formation. But at the same time, the beauty, the quiet, and the freshness of this area are healing qualities which work to renew our spirit and our sense of purpose.

Next year representatives from nearly 90 nations will gather here in the Grand Tetons for the Second World Conference on National Parks. I cannot think of a more appropriate setting for these delegates to discuss what good parks can do for people and how we can make them even better.

Another important event will occur next year, when the United States celebrates the centennial of the beginning of its own national park system—a system which not only has enhanced the American landscape but has also inspired other nations to act in similar ways to save their most valued natural wonders for the enjoyment of future generations. It was in 1872 that Congress established our first national park at Yellowstone and laid the foundation for the creation of other parks in later years. That was a time when Americans were more interested in taming the wilderness than preserving it; yet farsighted and sensitive men and women were able to begin the great work of preservation even then.

In this century that work has been accelerated. In 1916, when the National Park Service was established, we had 37 national parks and monuments. Since that time we have added 246 new areas for the enjoyment of all Americans. Thirteen new areas have been added to the national park system since January of 1969 alone. In 1916, less than one-half million people visited our parks; last year there were 170 million visitations in our national park areas; and as our system has grown to include not only national parks but also national seashores, lakeshores, recreation areas, monuments, parkways, historic sites, and wilderness areas, we have also been learning to meet the many new challenges brought on by the increased prosperity and mobility of our people.

At the same time, the growing popularity of our parks has created a number of serious new problems as millions of Americans have sought the recreation and respite they provide. Traffic congestion and crowded campsites are becoming more common. In many places, natural systems have been overburdened and damaged by the presence of too many people. Wild animals and unique plants have often been crowded out of their traditional habitat. In short, we are beginning to understand that there are limits to the amount of use our parklands can withstand, and that as more and more people seek the great rewards of outdoor life, the experience can be somewhat diminished for each of them.

But these problems are not insoluble. We can meet them, if only we have enough will and imagination and discipline. I believe, for example, that our growing management expertise can teach us how to use our existing parks and forests more efficiently. And I am also convinced that we can substantially expand the acreage of our parklands, providing more adequate and more convenient recreational opportunities for all of our people.

This is why, in my State of the Union Message this year, I proposed the most comprehensive program in the history of this Nation to provide more lands for all Americans. From small city lots to massive wilderness tracts, such lands can stand as a great legacy to future generations. In

my special message to the Congress on the environment on February 8, I outlined the specific components of this "Legacy of Parks" proposal. Since that time the Congress has acted favorably on some of the implementing legislation, but there is still a great deal that must be done before the major parts of this program become effective.

The main source of funds for both State and Federal park acquisitions at present is the Land and Water Conservation Fund. I asked in my 1971 and 1972 budgets that the Congress appropriate the full amount authorized for this Fund so that our acquisition efforts can be expanded.

In discussing this Fund, I would emphasize the good work which State governments have been doing to purchase and develop their own recreational lands. The Fund has provided them with a great deal of money, to be sure, but they themselves have provided the required matching funds from their own resources. They have arranged land purchases, directed development, and undertaken the responsibility for operating and maintaining the facilities. Since the inception of the Fund, in fact, the matching fund program has resulted in the purchase and development of some 700,000 acres. The annual acquisition rate has risen to the 150,000 acre level. State governments have also done an excellent job of experimenting with new ideas so that the range of public recreational opportunities can be broadened. For example, more than half of our States are now carrying out programs of scenic river or trail preservation.

Other elements in our program are also moving forward. In May of 1971, for example, my Administration submitted a bill to establish a Gateway National Recreation Area in New York and New Jersey which would provide over 20,000 acres of parks, beaches, wildlife preserve, and open water, situated within easy reach of the more than 14 million people who live in the immediate area. The Senate acted favorably on this bill on the day before it began its summer recess. I urgently hope that the House of Representatives will add its approval soon after it reconvenes.

One of the hallmarks of our proposals concerning parks is the emphasis we have placed upon variety. A highly diversified people should have access to highly diversified opportunities. For example, many will prefer the conveniences and activities of a well-developed park, while others will prefer the solitude of the wilderness.

It is essential that our system of parks satisfy both the casual tourist and the avid outdoorsman, that we have places where families can meet other families and places where people can be alone.

In my judgment, we have not always done all we should to provide such diversity. One important reason is our failure to set aside sufficient wilderness areas for recreational purposes. To help remedy this situation, I have asked the Congress this year to set aside 14 new wilderness areas, totaling 1.8 million acres. And I have asked that we accelerate the process whereby we designate these wilderness areas, so that the current backlog of proposals can be eliminated. I again urge Congressional action on these recommendations.

As another important part of the "Legacy of Parks" program, I have asked that annual funding for the open space programs of the Department of Housing and Urban Development be increased from

$75 million to $200 million—an almost threefold expansion. The main emphasis of the new HUD program will be on providing parks and open space in urban areas, where most people live, and especially in the inner cities, where the shortage of recreation facilities is now most critical.

It has been estimated that some 75 percent of all outdoor recreation enjoyed by Americans takes place within a short distance of their homes. That is why I believe so strongly that we should be doing far more to bring our parks to the people. The Congress has thus far appropriated only $100 million for the HUD program.

Finally, I would point to my establishment of the Federal Property Review Board, which evaluates federally owned properties in order to determine whether they can be converted to park use. Close to 100 such properties have already been identified, and 24 of these, containing more than 5,000 acres, are now in the process of being conveyed by the Department of the Interior to local and State agencies. Mrs. Nixon has sought to encourage this important effort during her trip across the country this week.

Many of the properties which have been released under this program are within easy reach of our larger urban areas. To augment these efforts, we are also preparing a number of amendments to the Federal Income Tax Code which would facilitate charitable donations of property for conservation purposes. I hope to present these proposals to the Congress in the near future.

The combined effect of all these activities will be to provide that full range of outdoor experiences which our dynamic population requires. For some, this program will provide neighborhood parks in the city. For others, it will offer a pleasant setting for a weekend retreat, for an afternoon bike ride, or for a family vacation. For still others, it will provide the chance truly to escape into the wilderness.

I believe our Nation can afford to make these opportunities available. In fact, it is my view that we cannot afford not to provide them. For such a program can significantly enhance the quality of our Nation's life and spirit—both now and for future generations.

NOTE: The statement was released at Grand Teton National Park, Wyo.

On the same day, the White House released a fact sheet on the "Legacy of Parks" program.

274 Remarks at the Veterans of Foreign Wars Annual Convention, in Dallas, Texas. *August* 19, 1971

Commander in Chief Rainwater, Members of the Senate, Members of the House of Representatives, all of the distinguished guests on the platform, and all of the distinguished guests in the audience:

It is a very great honor for me to address this encampment of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, and to think back over the years that I have had the opportunity to appear before you on other occasions. I am most grateful for the reception you have given me, but particularly for the very warm introduction which I have received from my fellow Californian, your Commander in Chief.

I want to, in return, say a word to you

about what your support has meant to me, not as an individual, but as President of the United States, and as one who has the responsibility of Commander in Chief of our Armed Forces.

Over the past 2½ years there have been a number of very difficult problems for this Nation in the field of national security. I want to say, incidentally, that with regard to those problems, the Members of the United States Senate and the Members of the United States House who have addressed you and who are here on this platform have, in instance after instance, not thought of party, but thought of country when they have voted on the propositions that have involved the national security of this country.

But as I look back over that period of time, as I think of the various crises through which we have passed with regard to our Vietnamization program in Vietnam; the problems of Cambodia and then of Laos; the necessity to mobilize public opinion on behalf of our prisoners of war and others who are missing in action throughout Southeast Asia; the need to maintain a strong national defense; the need, for example, not to give away before negotiations a program for the defense of the United States, which we need if we are going to get any success in negotiations—when I think of all those issues and I think of the close votes we had, particularly in the United States Senate, when I think of the division in the country on those particular matters, I remember back on occasion after occasion the support that I have had from the Veterans of Foreign Wars.

I couldn't get it individually from the great numbers that are represented here, and from the millions across the country that are members of your posts, including my own in Whittier, California, but your Commanders, each one of them through the years, and this year Chief Rainwater, have come in to see me. Every time I have called upon the Commander in Chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars he has been there, he has spoken out for the United States.

I simply want to say that as I stand here in this great coliseum in Dallas, a magnificent place for a meeting, as I look out across here and realize that 50 States are represented, I kind of get the feeling that this is like a convention. Then somebody is going to say "Which party?" Well, let me tell you what the answer is: I know from experience, as far as the Veterans of Foreign Wars are concerned, you have one party, the American party.

But you wonder, I am sure, that when you pass resolutions in your local posts or in your State organizations or in a great national encampment like this, whether it means anything. You wonder whether it means anything when the Commander [of the Veterans] of Foreign Wars comes into the office of the President of the United States and sits down and tells him, "Look, I am for you." Let me tell you, it means a very great deal. Also, it means something else.

I am sure that you can well understand that on many occasions I have distinguished visitors who come in and say, "Look, I am for you, Mr. President, but, you know, if you don't mind, I don't want to say anything publicly because I cannot be sure that my organization might not be divided on this issue."

One thing about Chief Rainwater: He not only tells me in the office, he tells it on television, too, and I like that. I know that your new Commander is going to do exactly the same thing.

Now, today I want to address my remarks to a subject that is usually not presented to an organization like a veterans organization. It is one, however, which is deeply related to our national defense, and as you can see, I shall relate it to the problems with which you have been concerned over this past week.

On Sunday evening, I outlined to the Nation a bold economic policy which was designed to build a new prosperity for America, a prosperity in which we are going to have full employment with freedom, with opportunity, without inflation, without war. That is a great goal. It is one that we can—it is one that we must—achieve.

It is most appropriate that, as I traveled across the country these past 3 days, that I should end my travels, as far as speaking is concerned, here in Dallas before this organization, because here in your hearts, in your minds, are the qualities that America needs in the stirring days ahead—the stirring days ahead in which we have to meet the challenges of peace—your patriotism, your self-sacrifice, your courage, your proven ability to deliver when the chips are down and serve this country superbly in war. Now we come to a time when we need the same patriotism, the same self-sacrifice, and the same courage as we meet the challenges of peace.

Now, how much does America need her veterans? General Patton had an answer for that. You may recall it. He said, "It takes very little yeast to leaven a lump of dough." And then he went on to say, "It takes a very few veterans to leaven a division of doughboys."

My answer is much the same. We need the very best of your soldiers spirit, your veterans spirit, to inspire the rest of the Nation in the great battle for a lasting peace and a new prosperity in America. That is what we need.

Now, it isn't going to be easy. As a matter of fact, nothing worthwhile in life is easy. War is not easy. Building a lasting peace is not easy. It won't be easy with the distractions and temptations of the coming years to make America remember this truth: The strength that commands respect is the only foundation on which peace among nations can ever be built.

I am glad that Secretary Laird and Senator Jackson and others who have addressed you have emphasized the need to maintain America's strength. I associate myself with their remarks here today.

The argument for weakness, weakness whether it is military or economic or in any other field, wears two masks. Let's look at them for a moment, look right through those masks.

There are those who attack the necessity of strength with the claim that armaments cause conflict; the very fact that a nation is armed, that causes war. Well, the reverse is true. It is conflicts of vital interest which cause nations to build armaments.

Nothing but patient, firm, hardheaded negotiations such as we are now conducting on several very important areas in the world can adjust those fundamental differences, and so pave the way for a safe reduction of armaments.

To those who attack the morality of strength with claims that our defense establishment is militarist and evil, we must reply, "It is war that is evil, and the vigilance and the strength which prevents war is honorable and good." Let's say that and let's stand for it.

Let's understand some propositions: We should devote as large a proportion of our natural resources as we can to the

works of peace. All of us want to do that. We shall take vigorous steps to correct the occasional abuses which are bound to occur in the military, as in any other human organization, and we are doing that.

But on one point let no American, and particularly let no member of the VFW, ever yield an inch, and that point is our deep pride in the Armed Forces of the United States and our enduring tribute of gratitude to the men who comprise them, professionals and citizen-soldiers alike.

It won't be easy to follow through on the measures that I announced Sunday night, and in what seems to be unrelated but is closely related to the field that I have just talked about, to generate 20 million new jobs over the next 10 years—that is how many we are going to need for the younger generation coming along; to stop the rise in the cost of living; to protect our dollar against attacks of international speculation.

This hits very close to home. I know what it means for some of you to forgo a pay raise that you deserve, for a time, for others to wait a little longer for dividends that your invested dollar has earned. Yet the willingness to make short term sacrifices in the drive toward a long term goal is the very essence of a disciplined fighting force and is second nature to veterans like yourselves.

In other words, if delaying a pay raise, if not getting a rise in dividends which you expected for some of the people is going to result in stopping the rise in the cost of living for all the people, then that is good. Let's do it. Let's make that kind of sacrifice. Consequently, I ask for your support, above party, crossing all economic lines, for this program of revitalizing America's economy, rekindling her competitive spirit.

It is essential that these two goals be mentioned together, for they are inseparable. The new prosperity we seek is in no sense a cushion of a self-indulgent old age in this Republic; rather, it will serve as a launching pad for new greatness in America's third century which will be arriving in 5 years.

The steps we have taken with regard to import charges and protection of the dollar do not amount to the building of a permanent protective wall around this country in which we can relax and afford to be inefficient and noncompetitive. They are aimed at simply preparing us to participate and compete more vigorously than ever in world affairs and with any other economy on the globe. It was our competitive spirit that made us a great nation, a strong nation, a rich nation in the first place. We need a rebirth of that spirit today.

This is the challenge of peace. Nearly 70 years ago when the organization that later became the VFW was a brand new group of young Spanish-American War veterans, an American philosopher wrestled with the meaning of war and the problems of peace. The great need, William James wrote, was to find what he called "the moral equivalent of war: something heroic that will speak to men as universally as war does, and yet will be as compatible with their spiritual selves as war (is) incompatible."

Four times since he wrote those words Americans have gone to war, but to our great credit, never for conquest, never to gain territory, but because other leaders in the world were attempting to gain territory, were embarked on conquest. It

is to the credit of the United States of America that we do maintain strength, the greatest strength in the world, but that that strength will never be used to break the peace, only to keep it; never used to destroy freedom, only to defend it. This, we can be proud of as a nation.

And now at last we find grounds to hope that the potential aggressors of this world will turn away from war, which costs so much and buys so little. We are realistic. We are pragmatic. We take nothing for granted. We maintain our strength until we can negotiate the reductions which will be mutual in their character.

Yet peace itself, as William James discovered, brings new challenges of its own. If we simply think of peace as the absence of war, and that everything is just fine, that is not true. It poses the deep question of whether a nation, without some external threat to unite and motivate it, can find a higher inspiration to lift us all above the mire of softness and stagnation and division and decay. When people don't have a challenge, they do not become a great people.

Throughout the turmoil of the sixties, America struggled for the answer to that question. Now, in the seventies an answer begins to come closer.

James' heroic and universal ideal does exist in a form both rich with age and new with promise. It goes by many names—the "American Dream" some call it, the "Spirit of '76." But essentially it is a unique mixture: liberty and order, we stand for that; justice and opportunity, that is an American ideal; competition and teamwork; knowledge and faith, which our forefathers envisioned two centuries ago and which, though not perfectly realized even today in America, has ennobled millions of Americans who have striven for it down the years.

The great challenge of peace is for each of us individually and for all of us as "one nation under God," to rededicate ourselves to this magnificent American dream. With this as our moral equivalent of war we can move into a generation of peace. We can blaze a trail toward a new prosperity, with freedom, with justice, with opportunity—without war.

With this new "Spirit of '76" in our hearts we can make the third American century the greatest century of all.

Over the past 3 days I have had a very great privilege, both as the President of this country and just as an American citizen, to see great parts of America very quickly and to see hundreds of thousands of American people in various States.

I was in New York Tuesday night. The next day I flew to Illinois, to the Illinois State Fair where there were 125,000 Americans joined there in the great tradition of State fairs that we have all over the country.

The next day, on to Idaho to Idaho Falls, where tens of thousands of people were out there at an airport. And then to Wyoming to the Grand Tetons, where there were people from all over the United States having a holiday there at one of the most beautiful places I have ever seen.

Finally, today, down to Dallas, seeing that magnificent skyline which seems to grow every day—the progress here is fantastic—and finally before you. All of America I see out here. I feel all of America among you.

Let me tell you how someone feels who holds the office I do, after he travels over America, as I have, and sees thousands of Americans in the space of 3 days. First,

this is a beautiful country. It is a beautiful country. Don't let anybody tell you anything else.

Second, it took a great people to make this country. When you think of those 13 States, with 3 million people on the Atlantic seaboard, when you think of what they did across those prairies and then across those huge mountains into Idaho and then on to California, down into Texas and the rest, what kind of people did this?

They were strong. They were competitive. They had a sense of purpose. They were a great people. Let's be worthy of the great pioneers of the past in America today.

Also at a time like this I think of the problems America faces: the problems of ending a war and ending it in an honorable way, winning a peace, which we are doing; the problems of building a new peace and a new prosperity; the problems of inspiring a people. And that is the problem that all of us have, and the responsibility that all of us have, whether we are Republicans or Democrats, or whatever we may be: to go back into our communities and see that young America understands what a beautiful country this is, what a great history we have, and what a great future we have, provided they have a sense of mission, a sense of destiny, and a sense of purpose.

What is it? What should it be? What can we settle for? There is an insidious line of propaganda, insidious in my view—some believe it is not—that runs through some public commentaries today. And that is this: It doesn't matter whether America is number one. We are number one in terms of our military strength today; we are number one in terms of our productivity economically today. We are rather proud of that, not in a jingoistic sense, because of what it has meant to us and what it has meant to the world.

Let me tell you something: It matters very much for America to continue to be the leader of the world and to be number one. First, in the field of foreign policy, look at the free world. There is no other nation in the world that has the strength, potentially, to defend freedom around the world and negotiate for peace, so the United States must maintain that strength if we want a generation of peace, and we shall.

Our purpose in being number one is not simply to have somebody else feel that he is inferior. It goes much deeper than that, and that brings me to the other side of the coin.

Why should America care whether we are the most productive nation in the world? Not simply because we want the highest standard of living, which we have, but for something far more important: Because once any people resign themselves to being second or third or fourth best, they will cease to be a great people.

My comrades of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the history of civilization is strewn with the wreckage of nations that were rich and that fell before people that were less rich and considered to be inferior to them intellectually and in every other way, because the rich nations, in their maturity, lost their drive, lost their desire, lost their dynamism, lost their vitality.

In the world today, let's face something: Other nations—some built up, and it was right to do so, as the result of our assistance after World War II—are now our strong competitors economically. Others are competing in other ways. We should not complain about that, because competition is what we believe in. Com-

petition is what has made this country.

But let it not be said of this generation of Americans that we were the ones that, when America was the strongest nation in the world, when America was the most productive nation in the world, and the richest nation in the world—that we were the ones that said it really didn't matter, and we became inefficient, we lost our willingness to sacrifice, to drive, to work hard, to continue to maintain that position of leadership in the world.

That is what is on the line today, and that is what America needs to hear from those who are its veterans, who have risked their lives to see that America lived, and who now must live their lives in such a way that we can set an example. You can set an example for other Americans, so that this Nation will have a new birth, as I am sure it can and will have, a new birth of vitality, a new birth of faith in itself, a new desire to be just as good, to be just as efficient, to be just as strong as we need to be and as we can be.

President de Gaulle once said, toward the end of his life, that France was "her true self only when she was engaged in a great enterprise." That is true of America. Americans are engaged in a great enterprise, to build—and without us it cannot be done—but to build a generation of peace, something that Americans have not enjoyed in this century. That is a great goal and a great enterprise.

In order to build that, it means that Americans must continue to be competitive in the world and to have the strong economy without which we cannot have the strong national defense which is essential if we are to build that peace.

And so, to the Veterans of Foreign Wars I leave this challenge today: Here we are, 25 years after World War II—we have been through Korea; we are finishing Vietnam; we are looking toward the time when we will have peace.

The question for America is far more serious than the challenge that we confronted even in the dark days of Pearl Harbor. The question is our spirit. Do we have the spirit? Do we still have the drive? Do we still have the competitive urge to try to make this the best country in the world, to keep it the best country in the world?

I think we have, and I think you are going out and tell the world that.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:28 p.m. in the Memorial Auditorium at the Dallas Convention Center.

An advance text of the President's remarks was released on the same day.

275 Remarks at Loma Linda University, Loma Linda, California. *August* 20, 1971

Governor Reagan, Congressman Pettis, Congressman Veysey, Mr. Mayor, Mr. Veterans Administrator, all of the distinguished guests on the platform, and all of the distinguished guests in this very great audience:

I have had a rare privilege in the past 3 days, one that comes to a President of the United States on occasions when he can leave Washington and get out into the country. In those 3 days I have visited New York City and then on to Illinois, at the Illinois State Fair in Springfield, and then Idaho Falls in Idaho, the Grand

Teton National Park in Wyoming, Dallas for the national convention of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, and finally, today, Loma Linda, California.

I can only say that after seeing this great country of ours, and hundreds of thousands of people, it is really good to be home in California, here at Loma Linda.

I know that represented in this audience are a number of Californians, and a number from all parts of the country, because one of the greatnesses of California is that we come from all the States of the Nation and from most of the nations of the world.

On this occasion, I would like to direct my remarks to the double purpose of the announcement that we are making today. The first is with regard to the hospital that Governor Reagan referred to that was destroyed in the earthquake of February 9. That was a hospital located in one of the most beautiful areas of southern California, on the tip of the San Fernando Valley. It no longer, of course, can be used, and it should not be rebuilt.

Consequently, we are replacing it here, but not only replacing it, but making a bigger hospital and a better hospital than we had before, right here in Loma Linda. Now, the question comes: What do we do with the land that we had? Here we have a policy which, in our Administration, we are implementing on a broad scale across the country.

The Federal Government, for example, owns 45 percent of all the land in the State of California. We own land all over this country that the Federal Government doesn't need, land that could be better used by the States, by the counties, by the people of this country. So, under these circumstances, with regard to the 94 acres in the San Fernando Valley, we are declaring it surplus through the cooperation of the Veterans Administration, so that it can be made into a park, a park which will be available to the people in that area and all the people of southern California.

Let me tell you why that kind of park is important. When I was out there—and this was my first visit to Jackson Hole, the Grand Teton National Park—and saw the magnificence of that park, I talked to hundreds of people from all over the country. Oh, there were some people from Bergen County, New Jersey, and others from Minnesota. There was a Scout group from Wisconsin. There were a number of people from California.

I found from the Director of the Parks that hundreds of thousands, and sometimes even millions, go to those parks through a year. But I also know, and you know, that while millions of Americans are fortunate enough to be able to afford the time and the money to go to one of those great parks located mostly in the western part of the United States, the great majority of Americans, and particularly of American young people, never see one. They live in the cities. This is their home, and what we must do is to bring the parks to the people. That is what we are doing through this program.

Governor, we know that whether it is the beach at San Clemente, which we declared surplus so that we can have a wonderful surfing beach down there that now can be used, or whether it is this 94 acres, that you, in cooperation with the city and county, will make good use of this land for the people of the State of California as they want it to be used.

Now, let me turn to this great hospital, and to say something about it and those who administer it that I think needs to be

recognized, and particularly should be recognized by the President of the United States.

Reference was made by the Mayor[1] in his remarks that in 1953 he got an autograph from me. At that time I had just become Vice President of the United States. And that same year, 1953, 18 years ago, I really learned what the people who have built Loma Linda University, what the Seventh Day Adventists, do, not only in America, because I visited Loma Linda University—it was then Loma Linda College, as I recall, in 1950—but I learned what they are doing in the world, because in that year, 1953, Mrs. Nixon and I took a trip clear around the world.

As we visited the countries of Southeast Asia and Southern Asia, we saw several hospitals run by various organizations. The most impressive ones were the ones run by the Seventh Day Adventists, people who were dedicated. There were doctors, there were nurses, there were others who were giving their lives for the purpose of helping those people in those poor countries develop a better system of medicine.

As I think of the desire all of us have to have a world of peace in which people of the world can work together and live together, rather than to fight each other, I think of nothing that does more to make friends for America abroad than that kind of selfless service by people like those from Loma Linda who have gone out through the world, as they have gone out.

Now a word as to what this hospital will mean. First, to the veterans it means better care, because this will be a great hospital, I can assure you. A hospital is not just a magnificent building like this splendid building, but what really counts in a hospital is the dedication of the doctors and the nurses and the others. And I can assure you this hospital will have the most dedicated doctors, nurses, and personnel we can possibly find, and our veterans will benefit from that.

The second thing I think is important to note is that all the community, all the Nation will benefit, because as Don Johnson, our Veterans Administrator, has often pointed out, and as he was telling me coming out on the plane from Dallas the other day, the work that is done in veterans hospitals makes breakthroughs that benefit all the country. For example, the treatment of so-called tropical diseases—breakthroughs have been made already as a result of the work that has been done in the very difficult war in which we are presently engaged that we didn't think was possible even in World War II, and more will come.

So we see this hospital benefiting, as it should, first the veterans and providing better care for them, but beyond that, providing a basis for training for doctors, nurses, and others, and the basis for research which will improve the health of all the country; and then beyond that, as I have indicated, contributing to better health for all the people of the world.

So I am sure you can understand why all of us at this very moment, as we make this announcement, can realize that this is an announcement that everybody can support. Without regard to party, we are all for good health. Without regard to party, we are all for better relations between nations. Without regard to party, thinking as Americans, we want to do

[1] Douglas F. Welebir was mayor of Loma Linda.

everything that we can to help those veterans who have served our country, who have made sacrifices that we did not make ourselves. And without regard to party, we are proud to participate in an event which we know is going to build America rather than tear it down, and that is what this event is doing.

In that spirit, could I add just a word to the very eloquent remarks of Governor Reagan? As one travels across this country, he thinks of numbers of things. But one impression that indelibly is made, as far as I am concerned, is this: As you go from New York to Illinois, to Idaho, to Wyoming, to Texas, and then out to California, you realize this is a very big country. You realize it is a very diverse country. But also, despite what may be said and heard at times running America down, you realize America is a beautiful country.

You also realize that the American people are a good people. They are a people who have gone to war four times in this century, but to our credit, never for the purpose of destroying freedom, always for the purpose of defending it; never for the purpose of breaking the peace, only for the purpose of keeping it.

America is the strongest nation in the world today; but why? Not for the purpose of conquest, but only from that position of strength can we help to negotiate what we all want for ourselves and for other nations in the world: a whole generation of peace—something we Americans have not had in a century.

That is a great goal. Americans are for it. Americans support it. And as we look toward that goal, and particularly as we see in this audience those who have given so much to their country, I say let's be worthy of them, worthy of the sacrifices of war by building a peace, a real peace, so that their sons and their children will not have to fight in another war, if that can be made possible. And second, to build a nation and a period of peace that means something more than simply the absence of war, that means a nation that has confidence in itself, a people that believe in this country, a people who are willing to make sacrifices for their country if they realize that what they give up is going to help all the country and all the people, and a people, also, who, as was the case in the beginning of this country, will recognize that America has a role in the world, and we are going to fulfill it.

You remember 195 years ago when America was a poor nation, when it was a weak nation, Thomas Jefferson said, we act not just for ourselves, "but for the whole human race." What a presumptuous statement it was to make then. But it was true then, because he knew that wealth and power was not what made a people great; it was the spirit of the people, and we had a great spirit, the "Spirit of '76."

And today when we are the strongest nation in the world, strong in arms and rich in goods, let it not be said that America was poor in spirit. I believe that America is rich in spirit. I believe that out across this Nation of ours, younger people, older people, have faith in our country. They want to build a generation of peace, and they want America to maintain the position of leadership in the world so that we can build that kind of peace that will mean something far more than the absence of war, that will mean better health, that will mean a cleaner and

71-234—72——61

better environment, that will mean opportunity and freedom and justice such as people have never enjoyed in the history of the world.

This is a great ideal, and speaking to my friends here in my home State of California, I cherish this opportunity to share those ideals with you.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:02 p.m. on the university campus.

276 Statement About Plans for a New Veterans Administration Hospital and Transfer of the Former Hospital Site to the "Legacy of Parks" Program. *August* 20, 1971

TODAY I am pleased to announce a decision which will advance two important goals of this Administration: (1) the improvement of the medical care provided to the Nation's veterans; and (2) the improvement of our parks and recreational facilities.

These two goals may seem at first to be unrelated. In fact, however, they are closely tied together. For, in deciding to build a new medical facility to replace an old one, we at the same time are able to make the site on which the old facility was located available for other purposes.

We have decided to replace the 521-bed hospital at San Fernando which was destroyed by an earthquake earlier this year. The new replacement hospital will contain 630 beds and will cost $28.9 million. It will be located at Loma Linda—where VA treatment will be more accessible to veterans in the rapidly growing area around Riverside and San Bernardino.

This new hospital will be closely affiliated with the Loma Linda Medical School, an affiliation which holds great promise for future improvements in medical care for veterans. The Loma Linda Medical School is noted for the high quality of its medical training, for its strong support of overseas medical missions, and for its deep dedication to community service. We believe that both the school and the hospital will benefit from that close, sharing relationship which has fostered so much medical progress in other areas. This decision is consistent with our continuing desire to improve the Nation's health through a strong partnership between public and private institutions.

As an outgrowth of this decision, I have also asked the Administrator of Veterans Affairs to declare the 94-acre site on which the San Fernando hospital was formerly located to be excess to the needs of the Federal Government. It is my hope that this wooded and beautifully landscaped tract will be devoted to recreational purposes, in keeping with our commitment to create a "Legacy of Parks" for future generations.

This decision grows out of a careful review which has been conducted by the Administrator of Veterans Affairs and other Government officials. What this action demonstrates, in my judgment, is that we can foster social progress—with all the building and modernization that implies—and at the same time enhance

environmental quality. It shows that these two goals do not have to be inconsistent, and that if we plan carefully enough they can be made complementary.

NOTE: The statement was released at Loma Linda, Calif.

On the same day, the White House released a fact sheet on the new hospital and land transfer.

277 Statement Announcing Plans To Meet With the Emperor and Empress of Japan. *August* 20, 1971

MRS. NIXON and I plan to meet with Their Majesties, the Emperor and Empress of Japan, in Anchorage, Alaska, on Sunday evening, September 26, when Their Majesties are stopping there en route to Europe. I understand that this will mark the first time that any reigning Japanese Emperor has traveled outside of Japan.

We are honored that Their Majesties first set foot on American soil on this journey. This will also mark the first time that an American President in office and a reigning Japanese Emperor have met.

I look forward to this meeting not only as a personal pleasure but also as a means of demonstrating that fundamental respect and friendship which forms the basis of the relations between our two countries.

NOTE: The statement was read by Press Secretary Ronald L. Ziegler during a news briefing at San Clemente, Calif., on August 20, 1971.

278 Memorandum About Government Patent Policy. *August* 23, 1971

Memorandum for Heads of Executive Departments and Agencies:

On October 10, 1963, President Kennedy forwarded to the Heads of Executive Departments and Agencies a Memorandum and Statement of Government Patent Policy for their guidance in determining the disposition of rights to inventions made under Government-sponsored grants and contracts. On the basis of the knowledge and experience then available, this Statement first established Government-wide objectives and criteria, within existing legislative constraints, for the allocation of rights to inventions between the Government and its contractors.

It was recognized that actual experience under the Policy could indicate the need for revision or modification. Accordingly, a Patent Advisory Panel was established under the Federal Council for Science and Technology for the purpose of assisting the agencies in implementing the Policy, acquiring data on the agencies' operations under the Policy, and making recommendations regarding the utilization of Government-owned patents. In December 1965, the Federal Council established the Committee on Government Patent Policy to assess how this Policy was working in practice, and to acquire and analyze additional information that could contribute to the reaffirmation or modification of the Policy.

The efforts of both the Committee and

the Panel have provided increased knowledge of the effects of Government patent policy on the public interest. More specifically, the studies and experience over the past seven years have indicated that:

(a) A single presumption of ownership of patent rights to Government-sponsored inventions either in the Government or in its contractors is not a satisfactory basis for Government patent policy, and that a flexible Government-wide policy best serves the public interest;

(b) The commercial utilization of Government-sponsored inventions, the participation of industry in Government research and development programs, and commercial competition can be influenced by the following factors: the mission of the contracting agency; the purpose and nature of the contract; the commercial applicability and market potential of the invention; the extent to which the invention is developed by the contracting agency; the promotional activities of the contracting agency; the commercial orientation of the contractor and the extent of his privately financed research in the related technology; and the size, nature and research orientation of the pertinent industry;

(c) In general, the above factors are reflected in the basic principles of the 1963 Presidential Policy Statement.

Based on the results of the studies and experience gained under the 1963 Policy Statement certain improvements in the Policy have been recommended which would provide (1) agency heads with additional authority to permit contractors to obtain greater rights to inventions where necessary to achieve utilization or where equitable circumstances would justify such allocation of rights, (2) additional guidance to the agencies in promoting the utilization of Government-sponsored inventions, (3) clarification of the rights of States and municipal governments in inventions in which the Federal Government acquires a license, and (4) a more definitive data base for evaluating the administration and effectiveness of the Policy and the feasibility and desirability of further refinement or modification of the Policy.

I have approved the above recommendations and have attached a revised Statement of Government Patent Policy for your guidance. As with the 1963 Policy Statement, the Federal Council shall make a continuing effort to record, monitor and evaluate the effects of this Policy Statement. A Committee on Government Patent Policy, operating under the aegis of the Federal Council for Science and Technology, shall assist the Federal Council in these matters.

This memorandum and statement of policy shall be published in the Federal Register.

RICHARD NIXON

NOTE: The text of the memorandum was released at San Clemente, Calif.

The statement of policy mentioned in it is printed in the Federal Register of August 26, 1971 (36 F.R. 16889).

279 Informal Exchange With Reporters at the United States Coast Guard Station, Newport Beach, California. *August* 29, 1971

Q. How did you enjoy your trip?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, we enjoyed it very much. I have never done that before, even though I have grown up in California. What was the most fun was to see the boats and to see what a great time everybody was having.

The *Queen Mary* brought back some memories.[1] In 1947, the first time I had ever gone to Europe, I went as a Congressman, as a member of the Herter Committee.[2] I tried to pick out, as we came back alongside the ship, the room that we had stayed in. I think I guessed where it was, about amidships. It is rather sad to see the ship no longer in service, but I am glad it is getting such good use. I understand about 10,000 people were looking at it today.

I think it is quite remarkable that so many people, from the smallest boats to the largest, get out here on a Sunday or Saturday afternoon and have such a great time. We have never had such an escort.

Q. Was it rough out there, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT. Not on our boat. I understand it was rougher on yours. Ours had stabilizers, so that we had a pitch, but not a roll, and for seasickness, they tell me, the roll is the worst thing. I think yours may have gotten both the roll and the pitch. It bounced around a bit.

I know the first time I went to Catalina when I was in college I got terribly sick, but it wasn't on this kind of a boat.

Q. You didn't take the helm at any time, did you?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, for a little while. It is very easy. It is just like driving an automobile. This has so much equipment on it that it is very, very easy to operate. Another thing, the captain of this boat, coincidentally, was Dick Powell's[3] captain, and he recalled that we had met the last time just a few days before Dick Powell's death when I called on him at his home. And Dick Powell at that time was planning a trip on a boat that he had, and this man was the captain and they were going down to lower California. I was going along, so we had a good time talking about those days many years ago.

Q. When you can get away for a few hours like this, Mr. President, do the problems of the country seem a little less pressing on you?

THE PRESIDENT. You never really get away from the problems, of course. On the other hand, there is an opportunity, I think, to put the problems more in perspective. For example, I get a chance to read a little more when I am on a boat or when I am in San Clemente or Camp David, and the rest. On this boat I happened to just be reading a little history,

[1] The luxury ocean liner R.M.S. *Queen Mary* was retired in 1967. She was anchored in Long Beach Harbor and then converted into a maritime museum and hotel-restaurant-shop and tourist complex.

[2] The House Select Committee on Foreign Aid, named after its chairman, the late Representative Christian A. Herter of Massachusetts, toured 18 European nations in the summer of 1947 to survey war damage and make suggestions on the need for U.S. aid.

[3] Motion picture and television actor, director, and producer.

spotting it through the American history, going back to the earliest Presidents, and it was interesting to note how all of them had to find his particular way to get away. Some liked the sea, some liked the mountains, some liked to fish, hunt, and as far as I am concerned, of course, I don't happen to fish or to hunt, but I like the water and I like the ocean, and this is a great opportunity to see it at its best.

I am amazed, though, at Los Angeles harbor, at how much it has developed—to think that that is all manmade, and to see those slips that go way back there—how much it has developed since we were first there. But even more important, the small boat business, how good it is. I never saw so many.

NOTE: The exchange of remarks took place at 4:10 p.m. as the President returned from a 2-day cruise off the coast of southern California. He sailed aboard the *MoJo*, an 85-foot cruiser owned by retired Los Angeles businessman Frank Muller.

280 Special Message to the Congress About Deferment of Federal Wage Increases. *September* 1, 1971

To the Congress of the United States:

On August 15, 1971 I announced a number of new economic initiatives to create new jobs, to hold down the cost of living, and to stabilize the dollar. In this connection, Executive Order 11615 calls for the development of policies, mechanisms and procedures to maintain economic growth without inflationary increases after the end of the 90-day freeze period which the order imposes. It is equally essential that the tax reductions which I recommended to the Congress, to provide a powerful stimulus to the economy, not be inflationary in their impact. A significant reduction in Federal expenditures is needed to provide a balance.

Since continuing emphasis will be placed on the exercise of responsible industrial and labor leadership throughout the Nation in the months to come, I must apply such fiscal restraints as will clearly signify the good faith of the Federal Government as a major employer, and to continue to set an example for the American people in our striving to achieve prosperity in peacetime. I place full reliance on the willingness of Federal employees along with their fellow Americans, to make whatever temporary sacrifices in personal gain may be needed to attain the greater good for the country as a whole.

Therefore, in consideration of the economic conditions affecting the general welfare, I hereby transmit to the Congress the following alternative plan, as authorized and required by section 5305(c)(1) of title 5, United States Code:

> Such adjustments in the rates of pay of each Federal statutory pay system as may be required, based on the 1971 Bureau of Labor Statistics survey, shall become effective on the first day of the first applicable pay period that begins on or after July 1, 1972.

I recognize that delaying the scheduled January 1972 increase to July 1972 means that two increases will then become due within a period of approximately three months. Since I am unable to predict whether two increases in such a relatively short time span will have a damaging

effect on the economy, I am not prepared to make a decision with respect to the October 1972 increase at this time. After reviewing the economic situation during the first half of 1972, I will give serious consideration to the need for an alternative plan to that scheduled increase. If I conclude that an alternative plan is necessary I will, in accordance with the aforementioned provision of law, submit such a plan to Congress before September 1, 1972. It appears highly unlikely that any such plan would involve a postponement of the October 1972 adjustments beyond January 1973.

Our Nation's public servants are entitled to a fair wage in line with the established policy of comparability with private enterprise; I regret the necessity of postponing pay increases, but our fight against the rising cost of living must take precedence. Of course, success in holding down inflation will benefit the Government worker as well as all Americans.

I urge your support of this postponement.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
August 31, 1971

NOTE: The message, dated August 31, 1971, was transmitted to the Congress on September 1.

The text of the message was released at San Clemente, Calif.

281 Memorandum About Deferment of Federal Wage Increases. *September* 1, 1971

Memorandum for the Heads of Executive Departments and Agencies:

SUBJECT: Deferment of Federal Wage Increases

On August 15, 1971, I announced a number of new economic initiatives to combat the persistent problems of inflation and unemployment. One of the key aims of Executive Order 11615 is a sustained effort to achieve continuing stabilization of salaries, wages, prices and rents throughout the economy.

One of the actions which I announced to implement the new economic policy is to defer pay raises for Federal workers for a period of six months. Accordingly, in order to comply with the needs of the public interest, as provided in subchapter IV of Chapter 53 of title 5, United States Code, I direct that the schedules for conducting wage surveys be revised so that beginning September 1, 1971, wage adjustments for all Federal wage employees will be delayed for a total period of six months, including the delay occasioned by my action of August 15, 1971. As soon as practicable following the period of delay, the normal survey cycle should be resumed.

I am designating the Chairman of the Civil Service Commission to coordinate the requirements of this directive and to develop similar plans with the heads of executive departments and agencies having negotiated wage schedules and rates or wage schedules which are administratively established so that an equivalent deferment of any wage increases will be achieved for Federal wage employees covered by such plans.

RICHARD NIXON

NOTE: The text of the memorandum was released at San Clemente, Calif.

282 Remarks at the Dedication of the Air Force Museum, Dayton, Ohio. *September* 3, 1971

Mr. Chairman, all of the distinguished guests on the platform, and all of the distinguished guests in the audience:

I am honored, on behalf of the American people, to accept the Air Force Museum for this generation and generations to come. And as I do so, I wish to put this event in the perspective which I think it deserves.

First, I was reminded by Governor Gilligan, as we drove from the airport, that it was just a month ago that I was in Canton, Ohio, at the birthplace of American professional football. I have very pleasant memories of that visit. Incidentally, I saw a sign over here saying "Nixon Country." I simply want you to know that I understand this is Bengal country.[1]

Today, here in Dayton, Ohio, I am honored again to be in a place that has historic significance not only for America but for the whole world, because this is truly the birthplace of aviation, of manned flight, for America and for the world.

It is a proud moment for the United States, and it should be particularly a proud moment for the people of Dayton, for those who participated—the thousands, as the chairman indicated—and contributed to make it possible for this museum to be erected.

Let me pay a tribute to some of those who are represented here. First, to the Kettering family, and to Mrs. Gene Kettering who is here on the platform. How much they have given, how much they have contributed to America, only history will adequately record. But certainly no greater monument to that family, no greater monument to its creative abilities, could be erected than this one that is being dedicated today and accepted for the United States.

Second, to the people of Dayton, the thousands who contributed, the ones who conceived the idea, the people who made it possible for now, I understand, even a million Americans a year to visit this museum to see the past, and also to think about what it means to the future.

When Senator Taft and Congressman Brown came in to talk to me about coming here to Dayton, they said that this would be one of the finest meetings that I would ever have the opportunity to address. They were right. I am proud to be here in Dayton on such an occasion.

On the ramps around the museum and in this building and behind me are the great airplanes that have been built through the years. And as we look at those planes, we can think of the tremendous developments that have occurred. But more important than those planes, I know we all realize, are the men who have flown them and what they have given to America, what they have sacrificed for America, how much we owe to them.

I think, for example, of so many in this room who should be recognized. When I think of Eddie Rickenbacker being here today, he certainly symbolizes what we think of when we think of the American Air Force and the men who have manned its planes. We think of their service in war and in peace in World War I, in World War II, in Korea, and in Vietnam. We

[1] Cincinnati Bengals professional football team.

think of the brave men, and we also think of brave women. I speak particularly of the wives and the mothers of some of our prisoners of war and those missing in action in Vietnam, who are here today.

Let me say that we should all dedicate ourselves to secure the release of their husbands and of their sons, and then to build a lasting peace so that their sons will not have to fight in a war in the future. This is the goal that we have.

But at this moment, let us be proud that America could produce such brave men, and let us be proud, also, that America could produce such brave women—the wives and mothers of these men who are represented here today in this audience.

On such an occasion as this, we naturally tend to think more of the past than of the future. But I think it is well that we look to the future as we examine the past. As we examine the past, what we find is that America has been first in aviation, first in the exploration of space, and the exploration of the air. That has been true since the year 1903.

What we must recognize as we look to the future is that that position of world leadership is now being challenged. It is being challenged in the air. It is being challenged also in many other areas.

I would like to address myself, for a moment, to that challenge and what it means; and to address myself to that challenge not in terms of fear, but in terms of opportunity and in terms of hope, as all Americans should respond to a challenge.

Immediately after World War II, the United States, in an economic sense, was the unchallenged leader of the world. Seven percent of the world's people produced over 50 percent of the world's goods, and not one nation in the world could even attempt to challenge us in any significant field, including aviation.

In the 25 years since that time, largely as a result of the generosity of the United States—and we should be proud of that record—those who were our allies, and even those who were our enemies in that war, have gotten on their feet economically, and now they are our competitors. They challenge us in all areas. They challenge us in aviation. I was, for example, interested to note accounts of the recent air show in Paris and stories to the effect that there were other nations that could well be ahead of the United States at this time in terms of the development of manned aircraft.

So now the question arises, what should be the reaction of the United States? This is the reaction I believe we should have: We should welcome competition, welcome competition from those who are willing to make the sacrifice and who have the drive and the ambition, as we have the drive and the ambition, to develop in any area the excellence which we want to achieve. But we must insist that that competition be fair. The time when the United States had to, in the interest of building a more peaceful world, help other nations so that they could compete is now past. They are our competitors, and consequently, as I pointed out in my speech to the Nation on August 15, the United States, from now on, is not going to compete with one hand tied behind its back.

But there is another side to that coin. There are some among us, I suppose, who would say, "What difference does it make whether the United States is number one or tries to be number one?" And there is an answer to that. We cannot expect to be number one in all areas, but we must try in every area, because we must never for-

71-234—72——62

get that whenever a nation fails to try to do the best that it can to be number one, that nation ceases to be a great nation. Let that not happen to the United States of America.

So as we see these planes that are examples of America's leadership in the world of aviation in the past, let us not rest on our laurels, let us not build a great wall around us and let the rest of the world pass us by, but let us say, "We will compete; we will be productive; we accept the challenge of peaceful competition."

And the United States intends, and we resolve today, that having been first in aviation from the beginning, we will attempt to be first in aviation for the time to come. This should be our goal, and one that we can achieve.

This is a peaceful goal, because the era into which we are now entering can be a peaceful one. But in that period, as the danger of war recedes, the challenge of competition in the peaceful area increases, and this will be the test of America: Whether we—when in a period when we are rich, when we are strong—whether at this time we will tend to recede into ourselves and not accept the challenge which we have always accepted in the past of meeting competition and doing the best that we possibly can to make this a great and a good nation, to do the best we can to make this a nation which is the freest nation in the world, a nation with the greatest opportunity in the world, a nation with the best environment in the world, a nation with the greatest progress in the world.

All these are American goals, but they will not be achieved unless we dedicate ourselves to the spirit that built American aviation. Let me describe that spirit.

Orville Wright flew with his brother only once. On that same day that he flew with his brother, the year 1910, 61 years ago, he flew with his 82-year-old father that same afternoon. And the words that his father spoke as he flew with his son, Orville Wright, on that afternoon here in Dayton 61 years ago were simply these: "Higher. Higher. Higher."

That was the spirit of American aviation. That is the spirit of the American Air Force. That is the spirit of the people of Dayton, of the people of Ohio who have created this great museum which reminds us of our great past. Let that spirit, higher and higher, always be the spirit of the United States of America.

NOTE: The President spoke at 7:07 p.m. at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base.

Robert S. Oelman, chairman of the board of the Air Force Museum Foundation, introduced the President.

283 Statement About the Air Force Museum. *September 3, 1971*

EVER SINCE the Wright brothers began to test their flying machines on this land in 1904, the site now occupied by the Wright-Patterson Air Force Base has been intimately linked with the history of American aviation. The Wright-Patterson Air Force Base is an outstanding symbol of that technological excellence which has done so much to enhance the quality of American life and which is so important to our position as a world leader.

This base is a most appropriate place,

therefore, to commemorate our aviation history through the outstanding collections of the United States Air Force Museum. The new building which we are dedicating today will do much to enhance the scope, the attractiveness, and the usefulness of these exhibits. On behalf of all Americans, I extend deepest thanks to those whose contributions have made this project possible. I especially salute the Air Force Museum Foundation, its late chairman—Eugene W. Kettering—the Kettering family, and the people of Dayton for their central role in creating this great facility as a gift to the United States Air Force and to the American people.

The United States Air Force Museum demonstrates in a most compelling fashion the tremendous progress which American aviation has made in a remarkably brief time. It will afford a valuable opportunity for future generations of Americans to learn about the dedication and courage and skill which have made that progress possible.

We honor today the spirit of American aviation—a spirit which is always striving to test the limits of what is possible, a spirit which thrives when it is pursuing the unknown. This is the spirit which drove the Wright brothers in the early years of this century and which has characterized all those who have since followed in their steps. It is this spirit which we now must demonstrate anew—in every area of life—if we are to meet our current challenges and fulfill the American promise in our own time.

NOTE: The statement was released at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, Dayton, Ohio.

284 Remarks at the Annual Convention of the Associated Milk Producers, Inc., Chicago, Illinois. *September 3, 1971*

Mr. Nelson, Governor Ogilvie, Mayor Daley, Reverend Clergy, Members of the Senate, Members of the House, all of the distinguished guests on the platform, and all of those attending this great convention:

In that period over the past 25 years that Mr. Nelson referred to, when I first entered public life, I have probably addressed more conventions than any American political figure. I have probably addressed more audiences in America and in the world than any American political figure. I think I have seen some pretty big crowds. I can say to you here tonight, however, that by all odds, this is the biggest convention and the biggest indoor crowd I have ever seen in my life, and I am proud to be here.

With 40,000 in this hall, I just wonder who is home milking the cows.

It is significant, too, that this convention is taking place in the city of Chicago. In doing some of my homework before coming to Chicago, I found that this is the 100th anniversary of the great Chicago fire, and as most of you will recall, the fire was started by a milk producer. But whatever Mrs. O'Leary's cow did 100 years ago did not stop the spirit of Chicago. The city was built back stronger and more vigorous than ever before.

Then it is interesting to note that before

this great hall was constructed 3 years ago, another fine hall was destroyed by fire. And rather than be stopped by that, here we have this splendid facility in which we meet tonight.

As we consider those things, I think it is well to put this great convention in the context of the broader problems that the United States faces in the world today. You are, of course, milk producers, dairy farmers; you are justly proud of your professions. But you are also American citizens deeply interested in this country, interested as all Americans are, in what the future holds for our children.

Are we to have a world in which we have a better chance for peace than we have had previously, a better chance for a prosperity without war, a better chance for prosperity without inflation?

These are questions that all Americans are interested in, and you, as Americans, are also vitally interested in.

What we must recognize at this time is that we meet at a period of enormous opportunity and great challenge for America. On the one side, we find the most difficult and the longest war in America's history being brought to an end, and we find, too, that we are beginning to build the structure for a new era of peace in the world. It is not easy; it is not sure. But the journey that I will take to the People's Republic of China, the negotiations that we are undertaking in various areas with the Soviet Union, and the other initiatives that we have undertaken in the field of foreign policy, in my opinion, give us this opportunity: I believe tonight that we have the best chance since the end of World War II for our children to have what we have not had in this century in America—a full generation of peace.

But the irony of that situation is that as the danger of war recedes, the challenges of peace increase. Not that we do not want those challenges and would not much prefer them to war; not, for example, that Americans, as we consider the fact that 2 million men have been let out of the Armed Forces since the year 1969 as a result of the winding down of the Vietnam war, out of the Armed Forces and defense plants, that they now are in our job market, that this, therefore, makes it necessary to develop new jobs, peacetime jobs for those individuals. This is a challenge we accept.

But on the other hand, we must recognize that as we look to the period ahead, a period when we are going to use our leadership as well as we possibly can to create peace for America and peace for the world, it will mean a new world of much greater competition for America.

Let's look back just 25 years at the end of World War II. You will recall then that America, with 7 percent of the world's people, produced 50 percent of the world's goods. Not any nation in the world even approached us in the major areas of competition economically.

And in that period, the United States of America was a generous nation, generous to its allies who had fought beside us and generous to its enemies whom we had defeated.

One hundred and fifty billion dollars in foreign aid, military and economic, was given by the United States to other nations. And now, 25 years later this is what we find: We find that the United States is still number one in the world economically, but we find that we have competition such as we did not have 25 years ago—competition from Japan, for ex-

ample, and Asia, competition from the nations of Europe which we helped to rebuild after World War II, competition from the Soviet Union, and in the future the potential competition of the most populous and one of the most creative peoples on the earth, 800 million Chinese.

That is the picture we have in front of us. So the question that we confront in America is: What do we, 200 million Americans, do about this? How do we meet the challenge of peaceful competition?

There are two ways that it could be met. One is to build a wall around ourselves, a permanent wall, and to live within ourselves and to let the rest of the world pass us by. That is the philosophy which some have. Some suggest that it really doesn't make any difference whether the United States continues to maintain its position of world leadership economically, a position which is essential if we are to be the world's leader—free world's leader in the field of foreign policy.

But on the other hand, there is another point of view, a point of view that I strongly recommend to this great audience of Americans from over 25 States all over this Nation tonight, and it is this: At the end of World War II the United States was in the position where it was our duty to help other nations get on their feet. It was also in our interest. We have no regrets about having succeeded and succeeding very well in that great gesture—humanitarian, and also in our economic self-interest as it turned out to be.

At that time one world statesman described the situation like a poker game. He said what happened was that at the end of World War II the United States had all the chips and no one else could play, and so we had to pass out some of the chips to the other nations so that they could get into the game—and we did that.

Now they are in the game. They are strong, vigorous competitors. We should not resent that. As a matter of fact, we should welcome it because the stronger the competition, the better we do. That is the American spirit.

But on the other hand, as I pointed out in my speech to the Nation on August 15, let the competition be fair. Let us see to it that as far as the international monetary situation is concerned that unfair advantages of other nations be removed. Let us see to it that as far as trade barriers are concerned that it is a two-way street, that markets abroad are open to the United States as we open markets in the United States to nations abroad.

There was a time when the United States, 25 years ago, could afford to be generous, not only in our aid but in our trade policies. We still want to be generous where the situation requires it from a humanitarian standpoint. But at this time, when other nations in Europe and in Asia are on their feet, where they are our competitors, the time has come for the United States to quit trying to compete with one hand tied behind our back.

So the world that I see for America is not one in which we build a wall around ourselves, not one in which the United States fails to meet the challenge of competition, but one in which we set up fair rules of competition and then proceed to do everything that we can to do our best.

Now, let me relate all that to this great audience here in the heartland of America, an audience from American agriculture. A few months ago, the Census

Bureau announced that it had plotted the new population center of the United States. And that point where half of the population lives to the north and half to the south and half to the east and half to the west, they found right here in the State of Illinois. They put a marker at the spot. It is about 5 miles outside of the town of Mascoutah.

I remember thinking how symbolic it was in this age of urbanization, great cities like Chicago, that the spot which had marked the exact center of population in America was right in the middle of a farmer's field.

But if we really consider the basic resources of this country—our natural abundance, our economic power, our physical and spiritual health—then we must still conclude in 1970, as in 1790, that the heart of our Nation's strength still lies in our Nation's farms.

Look back just 75 years: Again, here in Illinois, in the great city of Chicago, a Democratic National Convention, William Jennings Bryan taking that convention by storm and winning the Democratic nomination—his speech is remembered by every student of American history and of political science as one of the great speeches of all time. And this was something he said: ". . . the great cities rest upon our broad and fertile prairies." He said, "Burn down your cities and leave our farms, and your cities will spring up again as if by magic; but destroy our farms and the grass will grow in the streets of every city in the country."

Now there are many more cities and many fewer farmers today in America than there were in 1896, but now as well as then American agriculture contributes enormously to America's strength. There is one achievement of our Nation's farmers that is particularly pertinent to the remarks I have made with regard to the competitive position we have in the world today. It is the success of American agriculture in raising the level of productivity on our farms.

Productivity holds the key to America's ability to compete in the world. Only by increasing productivity can we achieve a higher standard of living without rampant inflation at home and only by increasing productivity can we win a stronger position over the long run in the marketplaces and the trading lanes of the world.

Now, let's look at productivity in America over the past 20 years. It has not moved up fast enough in some areas, but American agriculture is an exciting exception. In the nonfarm sector of our economy, productivity has gone up over 150 percent in the last 20 years. In the field of agriculture, however, productivity in the last 20 years has gone up 300 percent—nearly twice as much.

Now, what is the result of this? Well, first, the American people are getting a great deal more value for their food and clothing dollar. Secretary Hardin, at our Cabinet table, often eloquently makes this point: We are the best fed people in the world—except for the 3,500 that were not able to get served tonight, I understand, at this convention.

But despite all the talk about high farm prices and support prices and the rest, when you add it all up, the American housewife puts a smaller percent of her budget into food than any housewife in the world today. That is to the great credit of American agriculture.

Now, many of you have been reading about the crisis we have in our interna-

tional balance of payments. But let's look at what agriculture does for us in this field. We find that our agriculture exports have reached a record high. Without our agriculture exports, which we trust will continue to grow as we open up the markets abroad, without those exports we would be in a crucial position in this field of balance of payments.

America today is number one in the world in productivity in agriculture, and I say, let us stay number one by seeing that our farmers get their fair share of America's increasing prosperity.

Now, I will be preaching somewhat to the choir as I talk about the dairy industry. The dairy industry has helped to lead the way in achieving this remarkable rate of progress. The amount of milk produced per man year has increased fourfold in the last 20 years, even better than the average for agriculture generally. No industry in America, no major industry, can match this increase in productivity of the dairy industry.

Within the industry this organization has been one of the strongest forces in blazing new economic trails. This is America's largest dairy cooperative. You have moved effectively to help improve the quality, expand the variety, increase the volume of American dairy products.

Let me share with you a personal recollection when I speak of the quality of American dairy products. I mentioned the end of World War II. I recall as I returned after spending 14 months in the Pacific what I really wanted most in terms of the food on the table. Out there it wasn't bad but, of course, everybody gripes about the food when he is in the service. You know what it was? Not a steak or none of the other things that you usually think of—just a glass of good, fresh milk, something we never had abroad. You don't have to go back that far. I remember a trip of 70 days I took as Vice President in the year 1953 to Asian nations, and in country after country abroad, just getting a glass of good, fresh milk was almost impossible. It is improving around the world, but let me tell you, we in America should be thankful that we can get good, fresh, healthy milk any time we want it on our tables in the United States.

You have pioneered in developing a "total marketing concept," a concept which many other producers, I think, would do well to consider. All of this you have done on your own. You haven't whimpered helplessly about uncontrollable economic forces nor waited passively for Government to bail you out.

For its part, the Government has been working to create a climate in which such initiatives will receive their just reward. We are encouraged to see that cash receipts for dairy farmers have risen some 5 percent this year. That is not as much as we would like; it is, however, a significant gain. We look for even greater progress in the future.

Even as we have been working to increase farm income, we have also been working to reduce farm costs. A moment ago I pointed out the challenges that we face as we move from war to peace. One of those challenges is that war always leaves a legacy of inflation.

On August 15, I decided that a time had come for us to crack down on inflation because when we consider it, inflation is the cruel economic culprit that relentlessly whipsaws every family in America and every farm family in particular. You know the truth of this statement that I will now

make. Inflation hits the farmer coming and going—it raises both the cost of living *and* the cost of farming. The result is a brutal cost-price squeeze.

The figures are striking. The prices farmers pay for all items have gone up 52 percent in the last 20 years while the prices they receive have gone up only 8 percent in the same time. Like a great invisible vise, inflation has been crushing our farm families and farm communities for many years now and this can be said about family after family in other walks of life as well. It is time that they got some relief.

Our new policies offer that relief. More than that, these policies promise, for the first time in many years, to achieve a new prosperity for farmers, for all Americans—prosperity without inflation and without war. This is a goal to which all Americans, I am sure, will subscribe.

I have spoken to this convention tonight about the contribution you have made, you in agriculture generally, to America's competitive position. I have spoken about the enormous contribution that your productivity makes to America in this critical time.

Let me now refer to another area in which this great audience, coming from the heartland of America—and the heartland of America is all over America—particularly centered in this area, of course. Let me indicate another area where your contribution has been and can continue to be decisive. That is in developing the spirit that America needs if we are going to maintain our competitive position in the world.

As we speak of that spirit, let me say that as I have traveled over the country I am convinced that it is strong. I am convinced that the people of this country are ready to respond to a challenge to compete. But I think it is important for us to remind ourselves at this time that if America is not to fall behind in this period of greater competition with our friends abroad, that it is going to be necessary for us to strengthen our spirit in several areas.

First, with Labor Day approaching, let us recognize in this country the dignity of work. By "the dignity of work" I should like to point out what was to me a rather disturbing report I read a few weeks ago with regard to some individuals on welfare in one of our cities who refused to take jobs because they considered those jobs to be menial.

Ladies and gentlemen, when I was growing up, my father at various times was a carpenter, he was a streetcar motorman, he was a farmer, he worked in a filling station, and he worked in the oil fields. I suppose you could call that menial, but I say that any job which provides self-support, self-reliance, self-respect, and human dignity is not menial in America.

So on this Labor Day let us recognize the dignity of men and women who work, whatever that field may be—the farmer, the worker, the laborer, 80 million of them. That is what made America what it is, and by recognizing that dignity, we can continue to be productive.

Then, second, it is necessary for us to recognize that in this Nation there are times when it is necessary for us to make some sacrifices. I do not speak of the sacrifice of life; I speak of sacrifices that do not even approach that ultimate sacrifice.

I again refer to the wage-price freeze. Certainly there is not any question but that some people who had their wage increases deferred, and others who were unable to raise their prices suffered a hardship. But where, by some individuals giving up a wage increase and others giving up a price increase, we can stop the cost of living for all Americans—that is worth sacrificing for.

I am confident that with 70 percent of the American people, as indicated by various polls, supporting that proposition, that the spirit of sacrifice for the good of this whole country is still alive and strong in this country.

Then finally, there is one other element of the American spirit to which I have already alluded. It very simply is this: It is essential in this period that the United States of America as a nation, and the American people as a people, never resign themselves in any area to be second best. I do not suggest that America has to be first in everything. I do not suggest that we will be first in everything. But I do know this: Once a nation ceases trying to be number one, that nation will not be a great nation. Let it not happen to America.

One hundred and ninety-five years ago America was almost a totally agricultural country—3 million people, weak militarily, poor economically—and yet that small country on the Atlantic seaboard caught the imagination of the world. It was the hope of the world, not because of its wealth or its strength, but because the spirit of America was strong.

Americans then were proud of their country. They had a sense of destiny. They had a drive and a desire to do better, to have greater freedom, greater opportunity, greater progress than any nation in the world. It is that spirit that brought America where it is today. It is that spirit that America needs in this period when we are the richest nation and the strongest nation.

Without that spirit, all the wealth and all the strength in the world will be nothing. With that spirit, America can provide the leadership which will mean peace for a generation, we trust, and longer, for our children in the years ahead, and prosperity without war.

As I speak to this great audience coming from all over America, I feel that the spirit of competition, the spirit of hard work, the spirit of putting America first when it requires sacrifice, that it is strong in this organization. I think the future of America is in good hands, and I wish you well in everything that you do.

Ladies and gentlemen, since this is a bipartisan audience, and since we have Members of the House and the Senate, both Democrats and Republicans here, wouldn't you like to have them all up here on the platform with me for a moment?

All the Members of the House and Senate. There they are. Give them a hand.

Now, if any of you happen to go to Washington and visit the House or the Senate, right now you probably see more than on an ordinary day you will see on the floor of the House or the Senate.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:47 p.m. in McCormick Place.

Harold S. Nelson was general manager of the Associated Milk Producers, Inc.

An advance text of the President's remarks was released on the same day.

285 Address to the Nation on Labor Day. *September* 6, 1971

Good afternoon:

On this Labor Day, 1971, I call upon all Americans to dedicate ourselves to a goal we have rarely been able to achieve in the past 40 years—a new prosperity without war and without inflation.

A nation starting out in quest of a great goal, like a young worker starting out on his career, does not always get what it wants; rather, a nation gets what it deserves.

What must we do, as a nation, to deserve a generation of peace? What must we be, as a people, to deserve and to achieve the new prosperity?

I would like you to join me in exploring one of the basic elements that gives character to a people and which will make it possible for the American people to earn a generation of prosperity in peace.

Central to that character is the competitive spirit. That is the inner drive that for two centuries has made the American workingman unique in the world, that has enabled him to make this land the citadel of individual freedom and of opportunity.

The competitive spirit goes by many names. Most simply and directly, it is called the work ethic.

As the name implies, the work ethic holds that labor is good in itself; that a man or woman at work not only makes a contribution to his fellow man but becomes a better person by virtue of the act of working.

That work ethic is ingrained in the American character. That is why most of us consider it immoral to be lazy or slothful—even if a person is well off enough not to have to work or deliberately avoids work by going on welfare.

That work ethic is why Americans are considered an industrious, purposeful people, and why a poor nation of 3 million people, over a course of two centuries, lifted itself into the position of the most powerful and respected leader of the free world today.

Recently we have seen that work ethic come under attack. We hear voices saying that it is immoral or materialistic to strive for an ever-higher standard of living. We are told that the desire to get ahead must be curbed because it will leave others behind. We are told that it doesn't matter whether America continues to be number one in the world economically and that we should resign ourselves to being number two or number three or even number four. We see some members of disadvantaged groups being told to take the welfare road rather than the road of hard work, self-reliance, and self-respect.

It is not surprising that so many hard working Americans are wondering: What's happening to the work ethic in America today? What's happening to the willingness for self-sacrifice that enabled us to build a great nation, to the moral code that made self-reliance a part of the American character, to the competitive spirit that made it possible for us to lead the world?

One answer to those questions was given in the response of the American people to the new economic policy I announced last month.

I called then for some degree of sacri-

fice, some inconvenience, some belt-tightening, some temporary restrictions on our economic freedom in order to create new jobs, to stop the rise in the cost of living, to protect the American dollar.

The overwhelming response to that call is a new justification for every American's faith in himself and faith in his country.

Of course, there have been complaints; there have been counter-suggestions; there have been criticisms by special interest groups.

But the most heartening reaction was the surge of national confidence, the reaffirmation of our competitive spirit, the willingness to make a personal sacrifice in pursuit of worthy goals by the man in the street, the worker on the job, the homemaker trying to balance the family budget.

This letter from a State employee in Texas, whose wife is a schoolteacher, is typical of thousands that came into the White House after I made that speech. It reads: "We were both due for salary increases in September . . . but we will survive. If it were necessary to cut our income in half, I still know no other country I would choose to call my own. I've heard the young people using a phrase that might fit: RIGHT ON."

Let the detractors of America, the doubters of the American spirit, take note. America's competitive spirit, the work ethic of this people, is alive and well on Labor Day, 1971.

The dignity of work, the value of achievement, the morality of self-reliance—none of these is going out of style.

With that fact clearly understood, let us also recognize that the work ethic in America is undergoing some changes.

It means that business, labor, and government should explore the new needs of today's wage earners: We must give the individual worker more responsibility—more of the feeling that his opinion counts.

We must find ways to better recognize and reward the extra effort a worker puts into his job.

We must open up new and equal opportunities to allow a person to grow in his job.

And we must give more respect to the proud men and women who do work that is all too often considered "menial."

I read a report recently about some on welfare in one of our cities who objected to taking jobs that they considered menial. As I read that report, I thought of my own father. During the years that I was growing up, he worked as a streetcar motorman, an oil field worker; he worked as a farmer; he worked also in a filling station.

Let us recognize once and for all—no job is menial in America if it leads to self-reliance, self-respect, and individual dignity.

We must make it possible for workers to try "refresher courses" and "second careers" to open up the chance for a new variety in work.

We must reinstill a pride of craftsmanship, a pride in good service, that results in quality workmanship.

And we must make sure that technology does not dehumanize work, but makes it more creative and rewarding for the people who will operate the plants of the future.

These are the needs of the American worker, taking their place alongside the needs we are more familiar with: the

need for real wage increases that actually lead to a better life rather than wage increases which are completely eaten up by price increases, the need for steady employment, the need for a safe and clean place to work, the need for medical care and a secure retirement.

In our quest for a better environment, we must always remember that the most important part of the quality of life is the quality of work. And the new need for job satisfaction is the key to the quality of work.

As the American economy moves toward meeting the new needs of the American worker, what should it look for in return? The answer can be summed up in a single, often misunderstood word: productivity.

That word, productivity, puzzles and sometimes frightens people. It sounds like the old "speedup" or some new efficiency system that drives people harder.

Productivity really means getting more out of your work.

When you have the latest technology to help you do your job, it means you can do more with the same effort. That's why we say investment in modern equipment will increase productivity.

When you have the training you need to improve your skills, you can do more. That's why we say job training will improve productivity.

When you are organized to do away with redtape and duplicated effort, you can do more. That's why we say better management techniques will increase productivity.

And when you have your heart in what you're doing, when it gives you respect and pride as well as a good wage, you naturally do more. That's why we say job satisfaction is a key to productivity.

And so these are the four elements of productivity: investment in new technology, job training, good management, and high employee motivation. Taken together, they raise the amount each worker actually produces.

Think about what rising productivity means to you and to your family. It means that the individual worker gets a real increase in his wages, and not just a pay raise eaten away by inflation. It means that the consumer gets more for his money, the investor gets a greater return, and more money is available to help those who cannot help themselves in this country.

Think about what rising productivity means to our country.

Nations, like people, never really stand still. As change accelerates, they compete successfully and move ahead, or they relax and they fall behind.

This Nation is not going to turn inward. We are not going to build protective walls to shelter us from fair competition. We are not going to live in our own cocoon while the rest of the world passes us by.

On the contrary, the nation that built its reputation over two centuries for keen competition will compete even more vigorously in the years ahead. By exporting more goods and services, we will create more jobs for our expanding work force.

We welcome fair competition—because it keeps us on our toes, because that alertness leads to increased productivity, because that in turn leads to a better life for the American workingman and for his family.

Our success in rising to the challenge of

peace will depend on the competitive spirit of the American people.

On this Labor Day, 1971, I am confident that this spirit is strong and healthy among America's 80 million wage earners.

This means that America has the character, the drive, and the greatness to succeed in achieving our goal of a new prosperity in a full generation of peace.

Thank you and good afternoon.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12 noon from Camp David in Maryland. His address was broadcast live on nationwide radio.

An advance text of the President's address was released on the same day.

286 Memorandum Establishing the Cabinet Committee on International Narcotics Control. *September 7, 1971*

Memorandum for:
Honorable William P. Rogers, Secretary of State

SUBJECT: Cabinet Committee on International Narcotics Control

Drug abuse, particularly narcotics addiction, has grown to crisis proportions in the last several years in the United States. It is imperative that the illicit flow of narcotics and dangerous drugs into this country be stopped as soon as possible. In order most effectively to coordinate this effort, which encompasses diplomatic, intelligence, and law enforcement functions, I am hereby establishing a Cabinet Committee on International Narcotics Control.

The Cabinet Committee will be chaired by the Secretary of State and include:

Secretary Rogers
Attorney General Mitchell
Secretary Laird
Secretary Connally
Ambassador Bush
Director Helms

and such others as become necessary in the opinion of the Chairman.

The Cabinet Committee will be supported by a Working Group to be composed of personnel from each of the concerned agencies. The Executive Director of the Cabinet Committee and Chairman of the Working Group will be Egil Krogh, Jr.

The Cabinet Committee shall be responsible for the formulation and coordination of all policies of the Federal Government relating to the goal of curtailing and eventually eliminating the flow of illegal narcotics and dangerous drugs into the United States from abroad. To the maximum extent permitted by law, Federal officers and Federal departments and agencies shall cooperate with the Cabinet Committee in carrying out its functions under this directive and shall comply with the policies, guidelines, standards, and procedures prescribed by the Cabinet Committee.

More specifically, the Cabinet Committee shall—

(1) develop comprehensive plans and programs for the implementation of these policies;

(2) assure that all diplomatic, intelligence, and Federal law enforcement programs and activities of international scope are properly coordinated;

(3) evaluate all such programs and activities and their implementation;

(4) make recommendations to the Director of the Office of Management and Budget concerning proposed funding of such programs; and

(5) report to the President, from time to time, concerning the foregoing.

RICHARD NIXON

NOTE: The memorandum was dated August 17, 1971, and released September 7.

On September 7, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing by Secretary Rogers on the Cabinet Committee and on recent developments in international narcotics control.

On September 28, the White House released the transcript of remarks by Secretary Rogers and Thanat Khoman, Foreign Minister of Thailand, announcing a Memorandum of Understanding on International Narcotics Control between the United States and Thailand. The remarks are printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 7, p. 1352).

On September 28, the White House also released the transcript of a news briefing on the Memorandum of Understanding by Leonard Unger, United States Ambassador to Thailand, Egil Krogh, Jr., Executive Director, Cabinet Committee on International Narcotics Control, and Nelson G. Gross, Senior Adviser and Coordinator for International Narcotics Matters, Department of State.

287 Address to the Congress on Stabilization of the Economy. *September* 9, 1971

Mr. Speaker, Mr. President, my colleagues in the Congress, our distinguished guests:

I come before this special joint session to ask the cooperation of the Congress in achieving a great goal: a new prosperity without war and without inflation.

In this century, Americans have never before had a full generation of peace.

In the past 40 years, we have had only 2 years with real prosperity, without war and without inflation.

As a result of major initiatives in the field of foreign policy, I believe that as America is bringing to a conclusion the longest and most difficult war in its history, we can look forward with confidence to a generation of peace today.

Yet we confront this irony: As the dangers of war recede, the challenges of peace increase.

It is customary for a President to ask the Congress for bipartisan support in meeting the challenges of war. Today I come before you to ask bipartisan support in meeting the challenges of peace.

In achieving our goal, we find ourselves confronted at the outset by three problems:

The first is a legacy of war. Two million men have been cut back from our Armed Forces and defense plants because of our success in winding down the war in Vietnam. As part of the transition from a wartime to a peacetime economy, we now have to find jobs for these men—jobs producing for peace instead of war.

The second problem is also a legacy of war. We must stop the rise in the cost of living.

The third problem is a legacy not of war, but of peaceful progress in the world over the past 25 years—progress which has altered dramatically the balance in

the economic relationships between the United States and the other great trading nations of the world. As a result, we today are challenged to protect the value of the dollar and to learn once again to be competitive in the world.

Twenty-five days ago I took action to attack these problems, to advance the goal of a new prosperity without war and without inflation.

I ordered a 90-day freeze on prices and wages.

I ordered a $4.7 billion cut in Federal spending to allow for tax cuts to create new jobs.

On the international front, I ordered a temporary 10 percent surcharge on products imported from abroad, and I ordered the convertibility of the dollar into gold suspended.

Now, in taking these actions, I knew there were great risks. There were dire predictions of massive resentment, noncooperation at home, and of turmoil and retaliation abroad. But that did not happen.

Here at home, we can be proud of the fact that millions of Americans have shown that they are willing to give up wage increases and price increases that would benefit some of the people, in order to stop the rise in the cost of living for all of the people.

And then, as we look abroad, we find that adjustments are being made and actions are being taken to set up a new monetary system within which America can compete fairly once again. Instead of continued talk about the weakness of the American dollar, we now find in the world a new understanding of the strength of the American economy.

The reaction of the American people to the new economic policy has been unselfish and courageous. The reaction of our trading partners abroad has been measured and constructive. I ask the Congress to respond in a similar spirit, as the Congress has to so many other great challenges in the past. This is a time to set aside partisanship. Let us join together in placing the national interest above special interests in America.

I ask the Congress to consider as its first priority—before all other business—the enactment of three tax proposals that are essential to the new prosperity. These three measures will create 500,000 new jobs in the coming year.

First, I urge the Congress to remove the 7 percent excise tax on automobiles so that the more than 8 million people in this country who will buy new, American-built cars in the next year will save an average of $200 each. This is a sales tax, paid by the consumer. Its removal will stimulate sales, and every 100,000 additional automobiles sold will mean 25,000 additional jobs for America's workers.

Second, I urge the Congress to adopt a job development credit to encourage investment in machinery and equipment that will generate new jobs. This credit was advocated by a Democratic President and enacted by a Democratic Congress in the 1960's. It was enormously effective then in creating new jobs. It will be just as effective in creating new jobs now, today. First, it will be an incentive to business to hire more workers. It will enable wage earners to work more productively, and it will make American products more competitive in the world's markets.

And third, I urge the Congress to create more consumer purchasing power by permitting the planned $50 increase in the personal income tax exemption scheduled for 1973 to take effect next January 1, one

full year ahead of schedule. For a family of four, this could mean an additional $200 increase in tax-exempt income beginning less than 4 months from now.

Taken together, these tax proposals that I ask the Congress to enact would reduce taxes now paid by individuals by $3.2 billion, and would provide $2.7 billion in incentives to companies to invest in job-producing equipment.

There is another vital area in which I ask the cooperation of the Congress, and that is the area of budget restraint. Tax cuts to stimulate employment must be accompanied by spending cuts to restrain inflation.

Among the spending cuts that I have ordered are the following:

I have ordered a postponement of scheduled pay raises for Federal employees.

I have ordered a 5 percent reduction in Government employment.

And I have ordered a 10 percent cut in foreign economic aid.

Because the Congress has not yet enacted two of my principal legislative proposals—welfare reform and revenue sharing—I have recommended that their effective dates be postponed, 3 months for revenue sharing, 1 year for welfare reform. This adjustment recognizes that there is no longer sufficient time to get the administrative machinery in place by the previously scheduled dates.

Now, in the coming year this Congress will face many temptations to raise spending and to cut taxes in addition to the recommendations I have made. I understand those temptations. In the short run, they will be very popular proposals. But as we look at the realities of our budget at this time, we must face up to this hard fact: Any additional spending increases not accompanied by tax increases—and any additional tax cuts not accompanied by spending cuts—will be certain to start us again on a spiral of higher prices.

To spend more than we can afford, or to tax less than we can afford, is the sure route to prices higher than we can afford. I ask, therefore, that the Congress be responsible in recognizing these realities. There are two other matters in which I seek the cooperation of the Congress. The first concerns the immediate future, and the second the long-range future of America in the world.

The 90-day freeze on wages and prices that I announced on August 15 was a temporary measure, to hold the line while the next phase of stabilization was discussed. I am announcing today that the freeze will not be extended beyond 90 days.

But I assure the Congress and the American people that when this temporary and necessarily drastic action is over, we shall take all the steps needed to see that America is not again afflicted by the virus of runaway inflation.

The system of wage and price stabilization that follows the freeze will require the fullest possible cooperation not only between the executive and legislative branches but also by all Americans. I am announcing today that I have invited representatives of the Congress, of business, of labor, and of agriculture to meet with me within the next few days for the purpose of helping plan the next phase. They have all accepted the invitation. In addition, I have directed the members of the Cost of Living Council to continue meeting with representatives of all other interested groups.

As we consider what follows the freeze, let us bear in mind that prosperity is a

job for everyone—and that fighting inflation is everybody's business. Let us remember also, that nothing would be more detrimental to the new prosperity in the long run than to put this Nation's great, strong free enterprise system in a permanent straitjacket of Government controls.

Regimentation and Government coercion must never become a way of life in the United States of America. That means that price and wage stabilization, in whatever form it takes, must be only a way station on the road to free markets and free collective bargaining in a new prosperity without war. Freedom brought America where it is today, and freedom is the road to the future for America.

Now, the long-term matter on which I seek the cooperation of the Congress centers on this fact: We must set as our goal today an economy that within 10 years will provide 100 million jobs for America. To meet that goal, we need new tax incentives, other than the one I have discussed today, for the creation of additional jobs. And to meet that goal, we need new programs to insure that America's enormous wealth of scientific and technological talent is used to its fullest in the production for peace.

Later today, in this great chamber, the Congress will pay tribute to three splendid Americans back from the moon. Theirs was a magnificent achievement, a stunning testament to their personal skill and courage, and also to what American technology can achieve.

Let us find the means to insure that in this decade of challenge, the remarkable technology that took these Americans to the moon can also be applied to reaching our goals here on earth.

That is why, in the next session of the Congress, I shall present new proposals in both these areas: tax reform to create new jobs and new programs to insure the maximum enlistment of America's technology in meeting the challenges of peace.

Achieving these goals will be in the vital interest of the United States not just for the next year, not just for the next 10 years, but for the balance of this century, and beyond. I look forward to working with the Congress, to getting the best thinking of the Congress in preparing for this great experience.

As we consider these new economic policies, it is important that all of us here today consider the stakes that are involved.

America has entered a new era in its economic relationships with the rest of the world.

For a quarter of a century, now, since the end of World War II, America has borne the principal burden of free world defense, of foreign aid, of helping old nations back onto their feet and new nations to take their first, sometimes faltering, steps. We have paid out nearly $150 billion in foreign aid, economic and military, over the past 25 years. We have fought two costly and grueling wars. We have undergone deep strains at home as we have sought to reconcile our responsibilities abroad with our own needs here in America.

In this quarter century, America has given generously of itself and of its resources—and we have done this because we are America, and America is a good and a generous nation.

In the years ahead, we will remain a good and a generous nation—but the time has come to give a new attention to America's own interests here at home.

Fifteen years ago a prominent world

statesman put this problem that we confronted then in a very effective way. He commented to me that world trade was like a poker game in which the United States then had all the chips, and that we had to spread them around so that others could play. What he said was true in the 1940's. It was partially true in the fifties and, also, even partially true in the early sixties. It is no longer true today. We have generously passed out the chips. Now others can play on an equal basis—and we must play the game as we expect and want them to do. We must play, that means, the best we know how. The time has passed for the United States to compete with one hand tied behind her back.

This new era is a time of new relationships in the world, of a changed balance of economic power, of new challenges to our leadership and to our standard of living.

And, my colleagues in the Congress, we should not be resentful of these changes. They mean that more of the world's people are living better than before. They help make the world a better and a more stable and a safer place for all of us. But they also present us with a new set of challenges—the challenges of peace.

The time has come for the United States to show once again that spirit that transformed a small nation, a weak nation, a nation of 3 million people on the precarious edge of an untamed continent, into the world's strongest and richest power.

In this new era, we must find the roots of our national greatness once again.

In order to meet the challenges of peace, we must have a healthy America—a strong America.

We need a healthy and productive economy in order to achieve the great goals to which we all are so firmly committed:

—To help those who cannot help themselves.

—To feed the hungry.

—To provide better health care for the sick.

—To provide better education for our children.

—To provide more fully for the aged.

—To restore and renew our natural environment.

—To provide more and better jobs and more and greater opportunity for all of our people.

To accomplish these great goals requires many billions of dollars. We cannot accomplish them without a healthy economy. We cannot accomplish them without the revenues generated by the work of more than 80 million Americans. And, my colleagues in the Congress, we cannot accomplish these goals if we make the mistake of disparaging and undermining "the system" that produces America's wealth—of casting it in the false light of an oppressor and exploiter of human beings.

We can be proud of the fact that the much maligned American "system" has produced more abundance, more widely shared, and more opportunity for more people than any other system, any time, any place in the history of man. And it is that very system that makes it possible for us to help the poor, makes it possible for us to feed the hungry, to clean up our environment, to meet all the other great goals which we have set for ourselves as a nation. As we correct what is wrong in this nation, let us always speak up for what is right about America.

To be a healthy nation, a strong nation, we need also to restore the health of our government institutions.

That is why I again urge the Congress to act in this session on the sweeping reorganization of the executive branch which I proposed, in order to make it more efficient, more manageable, more responsive to the needs and wishes of the people.

That is why I again urge the Congress to act in this session on the far-reaching proposals of revenue sharing which I have proposed, to help revitalize our State and local governments and to ease the crushing rise in the burden of property taxes in this country.

And that is why I again urge the Congress to act in this session on welfare reform. Let us bring under control a system that has become a suffocating burden on State and local taxpayers and a massive outrage against the people it was designed to help. Let us get rid of a system where going on welfare is more profitable than going to work.

The postponements that I have recommended in the funding of these programs have been made necessary by past legislative delays. Let us make sure that there will be no further delays.

All of these programs—all of our new economic programs that I have described today—will mean nothing, however, unless the American spirit is strong and healthy, the spirit of our people across this land.

In recent weeks I have traveled back and forth across this country—in Maine and New Hampshire, New York, Idaho, Wyoming, California, Texas, Ohio, Illinois—and I can say with confidence that on the farms and in the cities, in the towns and the factories throughout this Nation the spirit of the American people is strong. It is healthy.

A strong and healthy spirit means a willingness to sacrifice, and Americans are willing to sacrifice, when a short-term personal sacrifice is needed in the long-term public interest.

A strong and healthy spirit means a willingness to work.

Hard work is what made America great. There could be no more dangerous delusion than the notion that we can maintain the standard of living that our own people sometimes complain about, but the rest of the world envies, without continuing to work hard. The "good life" is not the lazy life or the empty life or the life that consumes without producing. The "good life" is the active, productive, working life—the life that gives as well as gets.

No work is demeaning or beneath a person's dignity if it provides food for his table and clothes and shelter for his children. The thing that is demeaning is for a man to refuse work and then to ask someone else who works to pay taxes to keep him on welfare.

Let us recognize once and for all in America that any work is preferable to welfare.

A strong and healthy spirit means having a sense of destiny.

As we look ahead 5, 10, 20 years, what do we see?

We could see an America grown old and weary, past its prime, in its declining years. Or, we could see an America proud and strong, as vigorous in its maturity as it was in its youth.

We hold the future in our hands.

We have consulted our fears too much.

Now let us be inspired by our faith.

If our forefathers had consulted their fears we would not be here today.

America would never have been discovered.

The West would have never been explored.

Our freedom would never have been defended.

Our abundance would never have been created.

As we renew our faith, let the challenge of competition give a new lift to the American spirit.

A nation becomes old only when it stops trying to be great.

That is why we cannot remain a great nation if we build a permanent wall of tariffs and quotas around the United States and let the rest of the world pass us by. We cannot live behind a wall that shuts out the rest of the world. The world is too small, and the United States is too important a part of that world. If we were not a great power, we would not be the America we know. If we do not stay a great power, the world will not stay safe for free men.

We cannot turn inward. We cannot drop out of competition with the rest of the world and remain a great nation. Because when a nation ceases to compete, when it ceases to try to do its best, then that nation ceases to be a great nation. America today is number one in the world economically. Let's keep America number one in the world economically.

General de Gaulle once said that France is never her true self unless she is engaged in a great enterprise.

My colleagues in the Congress, America can be her true self only when she is engaged in a great enterprise.

To build a full generation of peace is a great enterprise.

To help the poor and feed the hungry, to provide better health and housing and education, to clean up the environment, to bring new dignity and security to the aging, to guarantee equal opportunity for every American—all these are great enterprises.

To build the strong economy that makes all these possible—to meet the new challenges of peace, to move to a new prosperity without war and without inflation—this truly is a great enterprise, worthy of our sacrifice, worthy of our cooperation, and worthy of the greatness of a great people.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:32 p.m. in the House Chamber at the Capitol to a joint session of Congress. His address was broadcast live on radio and television.

Carl Albert, Speaker of the House of Representatives, introduced the President.

An advance text of the President's address was released on the same day.

288 Statement on the Death of Senator Winston L. Prouty of Vermont. *September* 10, 1971

AMERICANS everywhere join the people of Vermont in mourning the death of a distinguished United States Senator and an outstanding patriot. Mrs. Nixon and I share acutely in this public grief and in the personal bereavement of Senator Winston Prouty's family.

Win Prouty was my good friend. He was a beloved and able leader in the United States Senate, entirely dedicated

to the constituents and the Nation he served.

His personal integrity earned him the respect of all who knew him. The sensitivity, compassion, and candor so magnificently reflected throughout Win Prouty's legislative record will be an enduring source of inspiration for those who succeed him and a source of strength for all the people of the country he loved so well.

Not long ago I said that Win Prouty does not speak often, but when he does speak everyone listens. Through his many lasting contributions to the Nation's well-being, Senator Prouty will continue to speak to all of us for a long time to come.

NOTE: Senator Prouty, 65, died of cancer in Boston, Mass.

The statement was posted for the press.

On September 14, 1971, Counsellor to the President Robert H. Finch represented the President at memorial services for the Senator in Washington.

On September 15, Secretary of Transportation John A. Volpe represented the President at the funeral services in Vermont.

289 Toasts of the President and Minister for Foreign Affairs Takeo Fukuda of Japan at a Dinner Honoring Members of the Japanese Cabinet. *September* 10, 1971

Mr. Vice President, Mr. Foreign Minister, Mr. Secretary of State, members of the Cabinet of the Government of Japan, members of the Cabinet of the Government of the United States, and all of our distinguished guests:

It has been a very great honor for me and for Mrs. Nixon to host in this State Dining Room, since we have been in this house, the heads of government and the heads of state of a number of governments around the world. This is the first time that we have had the honor of hosting a group of the top members of a cabinet of a government of another country. And I should also add, that earlier in our term of office, we had the great honor of receiving Prime Minister Sato and having him at this table.

Now we have the special group from the Cabinet of Japan here, and, on September 26, Mrs. Nixon and I will fly to Anchorage, Alaska, to welcome the Emperor and Empress of Japan as they stop there on their way to their state visit to various capitals of Europe.

It seems to me that there is a special significance in the fact that Japan is the only country in the world in which, in addition to the traditional dinner for the head of government, or the head of state, that we have a dinner for the Cabinet and also, that we have the opportunity to welcome the head of state as he passes through our country.

This indicates the very close relations, the special relationship between the United States and Japan; the relationship to which I have referred often when I have visited Japan, both as Vice President and when I was out of office, and also when Prime Minister Sato was here.

It refers also to the fact that both of our countries recognize that peace in the Pacific is essential to peace in the world and that friendly relations between Japan and the United States are essential if we are to have peace in the Pacific.

Today the fact that we have these many contacts at so many levels is the

best indication that we could possibly have of the intention of both governments to have friendly and peaceful relations.

This does not mean that our two countries, being countries made up of strong competitive people, will not be competitors, but as we look at the situation, we find that we are competing in the production of products for peace. And that kind of competition and peaceful challenges in peaceful areas is good for both countries and good for the world.

And so, Mr. Foreign Minister, I can say that speaking for the members of our Cabinet who have met with you and your colleagues that we appreciate the time that you have taken to journey here to meet with us, as we have journeyed to meet with you on occasion, members of our Cabinet last year and over the past 10 years. And we also want you to know that as time goes on we realize that these close and friendly contacts, at all levels in our government, are the key to that friendly relationship which will mean friendship between Japan and the United States and which can also mean, and will mean, peace in the Pacific and peace in the world.

In looking into the history of our two countries, I found a letter that was written by Abraham Lincoln, whose picture is in this room, 110 years ago, at the very beginning of our Civil War. He wrote to the Emperor of Japan and his letter read in part that he wished many years of abundant prosperity to the great country over which Your Majesty presides.

It is in that spirit that today I know all of us would want to join in raising our glasses to the Emperor of Japan.

The Emperor of Japan.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:01 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House.

The Japanese Cabinet members were in the United States for a meeting of the Joint U.S.-Japan Committee on Trade and Economic Affairs. The Committee met in Washington, D.C., on September 9 and 10, 1971, under the chairmanship of Secretary of State William P. Rogers.

Mr. Fukuda responded in Japanese. His remarks were translated by an interpreter as follows:

Mr. President, Mrs. Nixon, Mr. Vice President, Mrs. Agnew, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

On behalf of my delegation, Mr. President, I wish to express a deep appreciation for the great honor you have extended to us at this charming dinner in the White House.

Mr. President, I believe that you have always had a deep interest in Asia and you have many personal Japanese friends and possibly a greater knowledge of Japan than any other President in the history of the United States. Although this is a bit belated, but I'd like to say that upon your assumption of office of the President of the United States, the Japanese people felt a strong sense of expectation about your great future.

And we realize, Mr. President, that the demanding responsibilities that you have with such external, as well as domestic issues as the Vietnam war, unemployment, inflation, and others, the solution of which will depend heavily on what is to be done at this present time.

And we are deeply grateful, Mr. President, with your great extensive duties and your busy time, for a person such as yourself in those circumstances to have been gracious enough to have extended this invitation and to hold this dinner for my delegation.

I am also honored, Mr. President, to express the heartfelt appreciation of all the Japanese people for your very warm consideration in traveling many thousands of miles to Anchorage to welcome Their Majesties, the Emperor and Empress of Japan, to American soil.

Although there are some people who raise questions about the state of the Japanese-

American relationship in recent times, I am confident that the fundamental relations for friendship between our two countries are as firm today as they have ever been before.

However, it is also true that there has been some friction in our economic relations and concern lest this friction, if not dealt with appropriately, may possibly influence the basic relationship between our two countries.

I am very happy, therefore, that we have been able to mutually understand the economic problems existing between Japan and the United States by convening this Joint Committee at this time, since it will undoubtedly contribute to further promoting and strengthening our mutual friendship.

In the postwar world, the United States has been a strong pillar of international peace and prosperity, and the nations of the world hope that the United States will continue to remain so for many years to come.

Thanks to the good will and friendship of the American people, Japan has been able to achieve economic progress as we see it today, possessing as we do the second greatest productive power in the free world.

We well recognize, therefore, that Japan-U.S. cooperation is not only a matter of concern for our two peoples but also a matter of far-reaching inference for the entire world.

On this occasion, let me express my strong hope that Japan and the United States will continue to develop their mutual friendship and cooperation in order to bring about greater happiness to the peoples of our two countries and, further, to the hundreds of millions of other people on this earth.

Finally, I would like to say how grateful we all are for the very cordial welcome extended to us, and all the care that has been given to make our visit a happy one.

For example, two nights ago we stayed at Williamsburg, and on the day following that, we were permitted to play golf. Some of us played that game, and on that course with all those water hazards, I am sure that some of them lost many of their golf balls. So the President, being kind enough, I understand, will be providing us with the golf balls.

Thank you.

Ladies and gentlemen, may I ask that you raise your glasses to drink to the health and happiness of President and Mrs. Nixon.

290 Message to the Congress Transmitting First Annual Report on Location of New Federal Facilities in Rural Areas. *September* 13, 1971

To the Congress of the United States:

I am transmitting today the first annual report on the location of new Federal facilities in areas of low population density.

This first report describes the beginnings of an organized effort to place more Government facilities and activities in rural areas as required by the Agricultural Act of 1970. I believe it will serve as a bench mark demonstrating this administration's commitment to a healthy and balanced revitalization of rural America.

During the period covered by this report, more than 60% of all Federal workers placed in newly located activities were employed in areas of low population density. I would emphasize, however, that the location of Federal facilities and activities in rural areas is only one part of our comprehensive program for rural development. This overall program—which also includes a variety of efforts to provide more financial assistance and better Government services to rural communities—has had a considerable impact for good in many locales, expanding employment and training opportunities,

stimulating industrial and other economic growth, and generally improving the social environment.

The potential impact of our relocation policies was dramatized recently when a new Internal Revenue Service facility was located in the low population density area of Holtsville, New York. That single facility will provide new jobs for some 2000 permanent, full-time employees and for another 2000 temporary employees as well. We expect that such examples will multiply rapidly in the future.

All of the major departments and agencies of the executive branch are now giving priority consideration to locating new facilities in areas of low population density. The heads of these agencies are committed to establishing a sound balance between rural and urban America—a commitment which they share with the Congress. This report documents many of the ways in which this commitment has recently been carried out; it provides a detailed tabulation of all new offices and other facilities located during the last seven months of Fiscal Year 1971 as well as a summary of the highlights of that tabulation.

Obviously, the social and economic impact on the host community cannot be the *only* consideration in placing Federal facilities. Each facility has a specific job to do and it should be located so that it can do that job in an effective manner. But the criterion of effective performance is usually met by a variety of sites—urban and rural—and it is essential that Government officials appreciate the implications of their siting decisions on the growth patterns of our country.

Of course, rural communities are not the only areas that can benefit from the stimulus of new Government activities. The location of Federal facilities can also make a major difference in development patterns within metropolitan areas—revitalizing impoverished inner city neighborhoods, for example, or stimulating the growth of new communities or satellite cities on the periphery of our urban centers. For example, a new Geological Survey facility recently located at Reston, Virginia will provide some 2600 fulltime jobs. Reston is a relatively new community—but it is only 18 miles from Washington, D.C.

The philosophy of this administration concerning the location of Federal facilities was expressed in Executive Order 11512 in February of 1970:

> "Consideration shall be given in the selection of sites for Federal facilities to the need for development and redevelopment of areas and the development of new communities, and the impact a selection will have on improving social and economic conditions in that area. . . ."

We have since moved to carry out this philosophy through a wide variety of actions. The Agricultural Act of 1970 is serving as a further stimulus in this same direction. I am confident that the result of all of these efforts will be a balanced pattern of national growth which will serve the best interests of all Americans.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
September 13, 1971

NOTE: The 119-page report, entitled "The First Annual Report on the Location of New Federal Offices and Other Facilities," was prepared within the executive departments and agencies and compiled by the Office of Management and Budget for transmittal to the Congress by the President.

291 Statement Announcing the Appointment of Richard P. Nathan as Deputy Under Secretary for Welfare Reform Planning, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. *September* 16, 1971

I AM pleased today to announce the appointment of Dr. Richard P. Nathan as Deputy Under Secretary of HEW for Welfare Reform Planning. While Dr. Nathan, currently Assistant Director of OMB, will be missed by his associates in the Executive Office, he brings unique qualifications and a needed continuity to the greatest management challenge facing the Federal Government: the implementation of welfare reform, which I have strongly urged the Congress to enact this year.

On an across-the-board basis, the Administration has given high priority to improving the management capacity of government. Establishing the machinery to carry out the workfare concepts of welfare reform is a true test of this proposition. We must devote rigorous effort at the highest levels of government to this task now in order to be ready by the new effective dates which I have proposed for H.R. 1. This legislation represents the largest and most complex domestic undertaking in the history of the Federal Government. Preliminary planning has already been carried out. The appointment of Dr. Nathan and the establishment of a Domestic Council committee on welfare reform planning represent an acceleration of these efforts to assure fair, firm, and efficient management of welfare reform.

292 The President's News Conference of *September* 16, 1971

THE PRESIDENT. We will go right to your questions.

QUESTIONS

SENATE ACTION ON THE DRAFT EXTENSION BILL

[1.] Q. Mr. President, the Senate is now in the process of deciding whether to extend the draft bill or not. Mr. Ziegler this morning reflected some of your thoughts on the subject, but I wonder if you could tell us if the draft bill is defeated, where that will place you in negotiations with the Soviets on mutual troop withdrawal from Europe, the SALT talks, and any other negotiations that may be going on?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't like to speculate as to what would happen if the draft bill is defeated, because I think this would be one of the most irresponsible acts on the part of the United States Senate that I could possibly think of.

When we consider where the United States is in the world today in terms of world leadership and in terms of our peace initiatives, what we have to recognize is that if the draft fails to pass the Congress, and if the United States then must build its defenses without the draft, that our peace initiatives around the

71-234—72——63

world would be jeopardized: our peace initiative in the Mideast, our peace initiatives in Europe with regard to mutual balanced force reductions which you have mentioned, our peace initiatives with the Soviet Union which are in other areas, and also our talks which will take place later in Asia.

Now, I say this for the reason that all of the talks that we have planned are based on mutuality, and putting yourself into the position of those on the other side of the table, if they can get what they want—in other words, a reduction of America's ability to maintain its own defenses—without negotiation, they are not going to give anything.

So I would summarize by saying that a vote against the draft, in my opinion, would be a vote that seriously jeopardizes peace initiatives of the United States around the world, and without question it is a vote that will make the United States the second strongest nation in the world, with all the implications that has insofar as the ability of the United States to keep the peace and to negotiate for peace in this critical period.

CHINA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

[2.] Q. Mr. President, on the subject of the United Nations debate over China, some critics of your new policy on the U.N., and I refer specifically to Dr. Walter Judd [1] who made a statement yesterday, are saying that the expulsion of the Nationalist Government would not be legal under the Charter without a vote of the Security Council making such a recommendation to the General Assembly.

Now, recognizing that we hope they will not be expelled, can you address yourself to the legalities of the question, what the Administration's position is on that?

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Bailey [Charles W. Bailey 2d, Minneapolis Tribune and Minneapolis Star], we spent many months looking into the legality of the situation, and in fairness to Dr. Judd, I should say that there are different legal opinions that you can get with regard to what action is needed for purposes of expulsion and whether Security Council action is required as well as the other.

We, however, have reached the conclusion that the position we presently take, which has been stated by the Secretary of State and by Ambassador Bush, is the legally sustainable one.

To put, also, our policy in clear perspective, we favor the admission and will vote for the admission of the People's Republic to the United Nations and that will mean, of course, obtaining a Security Council seat.

We will vote against the expulsion of the Republic of China, and we will work as effectively as we can to accomplish that goal.

Beyond that, I would have no further comment at this point.

Q. May I follow up just with one point on that?

THE PRESIDENT. Sure.

Q. When you say you favor the obtaining of a Security Council seat by the People's Republic, that implies that the Republic of China would be removed from the Security Council.

THE PRESIDENT. Our analysis indicates that this is really a moot question. In the event that the People's Republic is admitted to the United Nations, the seat in the Security Council would go to the

[1] Dr. Walter H. Judd, chairman of the Committee of One Million Against the Admission of Communist China to the United Nations.

People's Republic and that, of course, would mean the removal of the Republic of China from the Security Council seat.

The statement that was made yesterday simply reflected the realities of the situation in the United Nations.

ECONOMIC OUTLOOK

[3.] Q. Mr. President, now that you have a new economic policy, I am wondering if you would care to make a prediction as to what kind of a year this will be and what kind of a year next year will be.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I stick to my previous prediction that 1971 will be a good year from the standpoint of the economy and that 1972 will be a very good year. As a result of the new policy, I believe that the last quarter of 1971 will be better than I had originally thought it might be; rather than being good, it will be considerably better than good. And I think 1972 will be a very strong year.

I base these predictions, however, on the assumption that we will get the cooperation of the Congress on the tax front. It is essential for continued economic expansion that the Congress support the tax initiatives that we have placed before the Congress. And I hope that when the Ways and Means Committee finally votes out a bill that it will pass the House and then go to the Senate and will get here for signature within as short as possible time as is needed for reasonable debate.

TAX PROPOSALS

[4.] Q. Mr. President, in that same area would you accept a 7 percent investment tax credit rather than a 10 percent and 5 percent, and also would you accept an increase of $200 or $250 in the minimum standard deduction?

THE PRESIDENT. The problem of what the President accepts, of course, is somewhat controlled by what he can get. Now, in this instance I have read Secretary Connally's testimony very carefully, before the Ways and Means Committee. As you know, he faced these realities in answering questions.

We believe that the 10 percent-5 percent approach is much the better one because it will give the charge to the economy in the year that we need it, which is now. On the other hand, 7 percent would be better than nothing.

When we look also at the situation with regard to raising the standard deduction or the minimum exemption, there are a number of proposals, as you know, in this area that have been suggested in both the House and the Senate. We believe that our package is a balanced one. It is the right one, and we are going to fight for it.

On the other hand, if the Congress, after due deliberation, moves in another direction which is essentially aimed at our goal, then I will have to consider the measure when it comes here, and I would tend to consider it affirmatively unless it completely blew the top off of our budget.

The main problem on the second thing that you mentioned is the degree that we go in terms of providing additional relief for individuals. If that degree is too high without a corresponding cut in spending, the budget implications are enormous and that would mean an additional fire under the boiler as far as inflation is concerned.

NUCLEAR TESTS IN ALASKA

[5.] Q. Mr. President, have you reached a decision on the advisability of

the nuclear tests in Alaska?

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Kilpatrick [Carroll Kilpatrick, Washington Post], we are considering all of the factors involved, including the environmental factors. And I will be reaching a decision, I would say, within the near future. But that is a matter which has been discussed in this office on several occasions.

I am waiting for all of the evidence to come in and then I will make the decision. We will announce it, of course, at an appropriate time.

SOUTH VIETNAMESE ELECTIONS

[6.] Q. Mr. President, might the changed political picture in South Vietnam, specifically a one-man race for the Presidency there, have any effect on your future plans as far as the level of United States troops and United States activity in that region?

THE PRESIDENT. As far as our plans for ending the American involvement in Vietnam are concerned, we have to keep in mind our major goal, which is to bring the American involvement to an end in a way that will leave South Vietnam in a position to defend itself from a Communist takeover.

Now as far as President Thieu's political situation is concerned, I think it is well to put that subject in perspective. We would have preferred to have had a contested election in South Vietnam. We, however, cannot get people to run when they do not want to run.

It should be pointed out, however, that in fairness to the democratic process and how it is working in South Vietnam, the Congressional elections, the elections for the National Assembly should not be overlooked. Eighty percent of the people of South Vietnam voted as compared with, incidentally, 60 percent who voted in our Congressional elections in 1970, and one-third of those who were elected opposed President Thieu, and some of those who were elected to the National Assembly were those that charged that they could not be elected before the election because the election would be rigged.

Now President Thieu has made the election in October for the Presidency a vote of confidence. There are criticisms to the effect that this vote of confidence will not be an accurate one, but he has invited foreign observers in to see it and to observe it.

My view is that the United States should continue to keep its eye on the main objective and that is to end the American involvement just as soon as that is consistent with our overall goals, which is a South Vietnam able to defend itself against a Communist takeover and which, of course, includes, from our standpoint, our primary interest in maintaining the release of our POW's.

I note one thing, incidentally, on your question, Mr. Jarriel [Tom Jarriel, ABC News], that is presently apparently before the Senate or a Senate committee, and that is the recommendation or a resolution to the effect that the United States should cut off aid to South Vietnam unless President Thieu does have a contested election.

Now let's just look at what that means in terms of worldwide policy. We presently provide military and/or economic aid to 91 countries in the world. I checked these various countries as far as their heads of government are concerned, and in only 30 of those countries do they have leaders who are there as a result of a contested election by any standards that we would

consider fair. In fact, we would have to cut off aid to two-thirds of the nations in the world—in Africa, in Latin America, in Asia—to whom we are presently giving aid if we applied those standards that some suggest we apply to South Vietnam.

I again say that we would prefer, as far as South Vietnam is concerned, that its democratic processes would grow faster. We believe that considerable headway has been made. We believe that the situation from that standpoint is infinitely better in South Vietnam where they at least have some elections than in North Vietnam where they have none, and we are going to continue to work toward that goal.

Q. Mr. President, may I follow that up, please?

Senator Jackson said that the United States need not feel helpless in this circumstance because it has leverage which could redeem the situation even now. Your answer just now suggested that we don't plan to do anything about it. What would you say to Senator Jackson's statement about it?

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Lisagor [Peter Lisagor, Chicago Daily News], when we speak of leverage, of course we have leverage because we do provide military and economic assistance to South Vietnam.

Second, Ambassador Bunker, working diligently, I can assure you, has attempted to, in every way possible, to get people into the race so that there would be a contested election.

Third, he has, of course, worked toward the end of—once it appeared that others would not run—of getting the election to be one that would at least provide a chance to have a vote of confidence in the President. If what the Senator is suggesting is that the United States should use its leverage now to overthrow Thieu, I would remind all concerned that the way we got into Vietnam was through overthrowing Diem [2] and the complicity in the murder of Diem; and the way to get out of Vietnam, in my opinion, is not to overthrow Thieu with the inevitable consequence or the greatly increased danger, in my opinion, of that being followed by coup after coup and the dreary road to a Communist takeover.

Q. Mr. President, on the South Vietnamese election, once it is completed will you feel then that the American objective of achieving a democratic process in Vietnam, the objective that you stated, and before you President Johnson so many times, do you think that with this election that objective will have been met?

THE PRESIDENT. No. As a matter of fact, that objective will not be met perhaps for several generations. But at least we will be on the road. I think sometimes we forget, as I tried to point out a moment ago in my answer to the question with regard to military and economic assistance to countries around the world, how difficult the process of democracy is.

It took the British 500 years to get to the place where they had what we could really describe as a democratic system under the parliamentary setup, and it didn't spring up full grown in the United States.

I was reading a very interesting account of the battle in 1800 between Jefferson and Adams, and I was curious to note how many people were eligible to vote in that great battle of 1800 which changed the whole future of the United States, that brought in the Jeffersonian era. At that time when the United States had 4¼

[2] Ngo Dinh Diem, President of the Republic of Vietnam 1955–63.

million people there were only 150,000 people eligible to vote. And so as we look at our own history, we find that it took us time to come where we are.

You cannot expect that American-style democracy, meeting our standards, will apply in other parts of the world. We cannot expect that it will come in a country like South Vietnam which has no tradition whatever, without great difficulty. But we have made progress.

ATTICA PRISON

[7.] Q. Mr. President, on the Attica prison deaths [3]—in November of 1969, you made a statement saying that most American prisons and correctional facilities presented a convincing picture of failure.

What happened at Attica—has that made you reconsider plans that you offered to Attorney General Mitchell to call a conference to speed up the proposal, and what do you think the Attica incident will do to penal reform?

THE PRESIDENT. Like all tragic events, it has its affirmative aspects. And in this case it is, I think, very helpful to note that Governor Rockefeller has already moved in that direction of prison reform, prison reform with regard to the problems of prisoners and their proper treatment, and prison reform which will deal with the problem of guards in prisons and their protection.

As far as I am concerned, I still believe that the problem of prisons in the United States which, incidentally, is primarily not a Federal problem so much as it is a State and local problem, but the problem of prisons in the United States is one that very much needs attention.

I have been particularly impressed in that respect, incidentally, by articles that have been written by Al Otten of the Wall Street Journal. And as a result of having read his articles, I talked to the Attorney General, and we are working on this project. Perhaps this will give it additional impetus.

With regard to Governor Rockefeller's action, I know some of you ladies and gentlemen of the press were surprised that I would, with all of the problems I have, step in to support him on a problem that was not mine. That just happens to be the way I react.

You may recall that when Prime Minister Trudeau had a somewhat similar situation with hostages, I called him and said that I backed what he had to do under very difficult circumstances.

I can imagine that this is the most painful, excruciating experience that Governor Rockefeller, a very good man and a very progressive man, has had in his term of public service. I knew that he would never have gone this far when he called that morning, when I was in the Cabinet, unless he had felt that it was the only thing that he could possibly do to try to save some of the guards that were held hostage.

Now when a man in a hard place makes a hard decision and steps up to it, I back him up, and I don't try to second-guess him the next day when some of the other returns come in. I still back him.

I believe that people in public positions,

[3] From September 9 to 13, 1971, a group of prisoners in the Attica State Correctional Facility staged a rebellion, holding 38 prison guards hostage.

On September 13, New York State troopers and police stormed the facility, an action which resulted in the deaths of more than 40 inmates and prison guards.

whether they are governors, or for that matter prime ministers, or maybe even presidents, cannot give in to demands for ransom, as was the demand made in this instance.

PHASE 2 OF THE NEW ECONOMIC POLICY

[8.] Q. Mr. President, we are told that you have not made any decisions on Phase 2, but on the basis of the consultations you have had so far, have you been able to accumulate any impressions or any insight that you could share with us that would sort of indicate what might happen after the freeze dies?

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Kaplow [Herbert Kaplow, NBC News], I do not want to give advance notice at this point as to what thinking we may be doing in this field—well, thinking is all right, but the direction of that thinking—for the reason that we still have consultations to take place.

I am meeting right after this conference with the representatives of Governors, State legislatures, cities, and counties.[4] We will meet tomorrow with Congressional leaders, and there are other meetings that are scheduled before September 30, when I have asked that all the evidence be brought in.

I can, however, give you an indication, generally, of how we are going to come out. First, let me say that the statement that was made by Secretary Stans represented—as Mr. Ziegler pointed out this morning, or at least implied this morning—represented what is a strongly felt view primarily in the business community. It does not represent that we have foreclosed the matter as far as our own thinking is concerned.

On the other side of the spectrum, on the labor side of the spectrum, there is a desire for voluntary restraints only, a tripartite board, so to speak, and in between you have various suggestions that have been made.

These are my tentative conclusions with regard to the direction: First, there will be a strong, effective follow-on program. The American people overwhelmingly support the wage-price freeze. The American people overwhelmingly want it followed. They don't want to have a freeze followed by a thaw in which we get stuck in the mud, and we are not going to have that kind of thing.

Phase 2 will be strong. It will be effective. Now, it will deal with the problem of wages and prices and will restrain wages and prices in major industries.

Second, it will require the cooperation of labor and management.

But third, and this is vitally important to mention, it will have teeth in it. You cannot have jawboning that is effective without teeth.

Now, this is the direction that I have given to those working on the programs, and we are pulling together the evidence. I will make the announcement in mid-October, 30 days before, at least 30 days or more, before this freeze expires, so that people can plan for it.

THE PRESIDENT'S TRIP TO CHINA

[9.] Q. A two-part question.

THE PRESIDENT. Sure.

Q. Have you decided in your own mind when you are going to China; if not, why not? [*Laughter*] That's only the first half

[4] On September 16, 1971, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing on the meeting about Phase 2 by Gov. Arch A. Moore, Jr., of West Virginia.

Do you want to take that first?

THE PRESIDENT. No, no. I want to see what comes later.

Q. The second half is: Can you tell us your plans?

THE PRESIDENT. First, I am going to China.

Second, as far as the date of the trip is concerned, and the agenda, the arrangements, are concerned, all of those will be announced at an appropriate time.

Beyond that, however, I do not think it would be helpful at this point to discuss the date that may be under consideration, the agenda that may be under consideration, and the rest. All I can say is that the plans for the trip are going forward on schedule, and you gentlemen will be the first to know.

Q. Mr. President, have you decided in your own mind when you are going?

THE PRESIDENT. That is a mutual decision, and we are working it out in a satisfactory way. In a case like this, where two governments are involved, one doesn't pick a date and another pick a date. It is not that kind of operation. It is going very well.

Q. Mr. President, on this China trip, Premier Chou En-lai has done quite a bit of talking since you announced your visit was going to take place, particularly in his interview with Mr. Reston of the New York Times. He was quite hard-line and quite firm on a lot of agenda issues or obvious issues that we all assume are going to come up.

I would like to ask you (a) to comment on the fact that he took a hard stand on a number of things, like two Chinas, like entrance into the U.N., like the U.S. commitment in Southeast Asia, your reaction to that hard line; and secondly, did he tell Mr. Reston anything that was a surprise or news to you?

THE PRESIDENT. No, there was nothing in the Reston piece that he had not already told Dr. Kissinger in much greater detail.

Second, for that reason we were not surprised at all at the Reston piece. I think one of the reasons that these talks may be productive is that Premier Chou En-lai, both publicly and privately, doesn't take the usual naive, sentimental idea, and neither do I, that, well, if we just get to know each other all of our differences are going to evaporate.

He recognizes and I recognize that there are very great differences between the People's Republic and the United States of America. He recognizes and I recognize that at this point it might serve our mutual interest to discuss those differences.

I reiterate, however, as he has reiterated to us, both privately and then repeated in his interview with Mr. Reston in less detail, that while there are differences that we must recognize, that we have agreed to discuss the differences. That is all that has been agreed. There are no other conditions.

Now that, in my view, is the proper way to begin a conference between two countries that have not had any diplomatic relations.

TIMING OF TAX ACTION

[10.] Q. Mr. President, do you anticipate the Ways and Means Committee will approve the tax package before you unveil Phase 2?

THE PRESIDENT. Did you say do I think the Ways and Means Committee will approve it?

Q. Yes, before you unveil Phase 2—there is a timing factor here.

THE PRESIDENT. I think they are moving along fairly well. It may be pretty close to a dead heat but I would hope that they would move in that way. Let me say one thing on that point: We are working very closely with the Ways and Means Committee, and when Secretary Connally returns he will begin consultations also with the Senate Finance Committee, with Senator Long and Senator Bennett and their counterparts, because we do not want to have as extended discussion in the Senate of our tax proposals as we have had of the draft.

INTERNATIONAL ASPECTS OF ECONOMIC PROGRAM

[11.] Q. Mr. President, the international aspects of your economic program seem to have shaken up our friends more than our enemies. I am thinking of Europe particularly, and Japan. What is your feeling about that? Isn't this going to be a worry for us; aren't we hurting some very good and important friends in the process?

THE PRESIDENT. It is inevitable that those policies would shake up our friends rather than our potential enemies—I should say, rather than our opponents—because it is our friends with whom we primarily have trade and monetary dealings. And, of course, our international policies dealt with trade and monetary policy. On the other hand, what we have to realize is that the structure of international monetary affairs that had been built 25 years ago and then patched up from time to time over the years had simply become obsolete. It was essential that the United States move as it did to protect its interests and also to get a solution to that problem.

Now, one question that I know is often asked by our friends, by the Japanese, for example, in Asia, and by the Europeans in Europe, is: How long is "temporary"—the temporary surcharge? My answer to that is that if all we were seeking was a temporary solution, "temporary" would be very brief, but we are not seeking a temporary solution. A temporary solution is one that I would say would be going back to the old system and patching it up a bit.

What we are seeking is a permanent solution and that is why the length of the temporary surcharge will be somewhat longer, because we need to address ourselves not only to the matter of monetary policy and exchange rates, we have to address ourselves to burden-sharing, we have to address ourselves also to trade restraints, including nontariff barriers.

This is a time for our friends around the world—and we are all competitors—to build a new system with which we can live so that we don't have another crisis in a year. With regard to the Japanese, incidentally, I think I can best summarize our dilemma in this way: After the Japanese were here I found that, both from the information they gave and the information we had ourselves, that Japan is our biggest customer in the world and we are their biggest customer in the world.

Also I found that Japan at the present time produces more than all of the rest of East Asia combined, including the People's Republic of China. Now that shows you the problem.

It means that the United States and Japan inevitably are going to be competitors because we are both strong economies. On the other hand, it means that

71-234—72——64

friendship and alliance between the United States and Japan is indispensable. So what we are trying to do—and this was why these discussions were helpful—what we are trying to do is to work out a new system that will recognize the realities so that we can reduce these tensions that have developed, the number of crises that have come up over and over again in the international monetary field in the future.

The other point that I would make with regard to the United States: I know that some have raised the question as to whether in my message to the Congress I was really announcing to the world that we were—by looking to our own interests—going to now be isolationists. On the contrary, a weak America will inevitably be isolationist. An America that is unable to maintain its military strength—and, incidentally, in the whole free world the United States pays two-thirds of the military bill today—a weak America that is unable to have its economic policies abroad, our economic, our foreign aid programs, the rest, inevitably will withdraw into itself.

We have to have a strong America, strong economically and strong in the sense of its competitive spirit if the United States is to continue to play a vigorous, activist role in the world. That is why I addressed myself to that problem and that is why we moved as drastically, as we had to do, at home and abroad to deal with the basic problems that hurt America today economically.

PREJUDICE AND VOTING

[12.] Q. Mr. President, Senator Muskie had some comments about the political climate for a black vice presidential candidate. What is your thinking on that subject?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, as you gentlemen know, I have stated and I will state again that I will not use presidential press conferences in 1971 to discuss '72 politics, and I will follow that rule today and in the future with regard to similar questions that come up.

With regard to the general proposition of prejudice in the United States as it affects politics, I will be glad to reiterate my own position that I stated quite often in 1960, as some of you who had to follow me remember, and again in 1968: I believe that it is frankly a libel on the American people to suggest that the American people—who do have prejudices just like all people, and we must agree to that—but that the American people would vote against a man because of his religion or his race or his color.

Now, having stated that general proposition, there are occasions when that happens, I am sure. But the American people are very fairminded people, and they tend to bend over backwards when they are confronted with this problem.

Before the '60 elections it was said that America could not elect a Catholic as President, based on the Al Smith case in 1928. Nineteen hundred and sixty dispelled that, as I well know and as the country knows.

I think the example of Ed Brooke in Massachusetts is eloquent demonstration of the fact that the American people, when confronted with a superior man, will not vote against him because of his race.

Only 2 percent of the people of Massachusetts are of the same race as Ed Brooke, yet he won overwhelmingly for

attorney general, and he won overwhelmingly for the United States Senate, and he is going to win a landslide victory again this year. Now, what would happen on the national scene is a matter of judgment, and I am not going to get into that from a political standpoint.

I do say, however, that I think it is very important for those of us in positions of leadership not to tell a large number of young people in America, whoever they are, that because of the accident of their birth they don't have a chance to go to the top.

FRANK CORMIER (Associated Press). Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: President Nixon's nineteenth news conference was held at 4:02 p.m. in the Oval Office at the White House on Thursday, September 16, 1971.

293 Proclamation 4080, Drug Abuse Prevention Week, 1971. *September* 17, 1971

By the President of the United States of America a Proclamation

"What shall it profit a man," the Bible asks, "if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?" It is a question which the menace of drug abuse poses anew to all of us.

What can a nation profit from its abundant good life, if the same technology and material wealth which have yielded that abundance permits millions of its people, particularly its youth, to drift into the chemical modification of mind and mood at grave risk to their health—to their very lives? What can a nation profit from its unparalleled individual freedom, if that liberty becomes license and that license leads to drug dependence which controls the bodies and warps the minds of men, women, children, and even the unborn?

Not so long ago it was easy enough to regard the tragedy of drug abuse as "someone else's problem." But recent years have brought that tragedy home—often very literally—to all Americans. We have learned that "drug abuse" refers not only to the crime-prone heroin addict—though that is the disease at its deadliest, with over 1,000 heroin fatalities annually in New York City. The term also refers to the suburban housewife dependent on tranquilizers or diet pills; to the truck driver over-reliant on pep pills; to the student leaning on amphetamines to help him cram for exams; even to pre-teens sniffing glue.

It has become a problem that touches each of us. Its manifestations are many and varied, but all grow from a common root—psychological and physical needs unmet through legitimate social channels—and all feed on a common ignorance—ignorance of the profound harm the abuser does to himself and society. Drug abuse is nothing less than a life and death matter for countless Americans, and for the moral fiber of this Nation. The drive to meet this threat must command from us our very best—our attention, our energies, our resources and our prayers.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, RICHARD NIXON, President of the United States of America, do hereby designate the week beginning October 3, 1971, as the second annual Drug Abuse Prevention Week.

I call upon officials of the Federal Government under the leadership of the new Special Action Office for Drug Abuse

Prevention, particularly those officials in the Departments of Health, Education and Welfare, Justice, and Defense, to join with educators and the medical profession in intensifying programs to prevent and reduce drug abuse among the young and among all Americans. I urge State and local governments, as well as business and civic groups, to cooperate in such programs and to seek out new methods by which the risks and dangers of drug experimentation can be communicated to the entire Nation. The communications media can render invaluable assistance in this endeavor, and I urge them to do so.

I also encourage the clergy, and all of our moral and spiritual leaders, to make a special effort during this week to take up the problem of drug abuse and to offer those answers of the spirit which alone can fill the void where drug abuse begins.

And I appeal, above all, to those who bear the special trusts of parenthood—that all of us may rededicate ourselves to the well-being of America's youth; and that we may so teach them, so guide them, so reach out to them in understanding and compassion, as to help them avoid the problems that arise from abuse of drugs and to attain the full promise of their maturity.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred seventy-one and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred ninety-sixth.

RICHARD NIXON

NOTE: The full text of this proclamation is included as an example of the proclamations the President issues. All the proclamations issued by the President in 1971 are listed in Appendix C.

294 Statement Announcing Nomination of Romana A. Banuelos as Treasurer of the United States. *September* 20, 1971

IT IS with special pleasure that I have today nominated Romana A. Banuelos to be Treasurer of the United States.

Since the tragic and untimely death of Dorothy Andrews Kabis on July 3, we have searched the country for a person of truly outstanding credentials and ability to succeed her as Treasurer. I was delighted to find such a person in Mrs. Banuelos. In her extraordinarily successful career as a self-made businesswoman, Mrs. Banuelos has displayed exceptional initiative, perseverance, and skill. In addition, as chairman of the board of directors of Pan American National Bank of East Los Angeles, which serves the Mexican-American community of that area, she has not only proven herself a highly able bank executive but has also contributed substantially to the development of that community.

The post of Treasurer of the United States is one of high honor and high responsibility. Mrs. Banuelos will bring to it a high measure of distinction.

NOTE: A White House announcement of the nomination, containing additional biographical information on Mrs. Banuelos, was released on the same day and is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 7, p. 1304).

295 Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report on United States Participation in the United Nations. *September* 20, 1971

To the Congress of the United States:

It is my pleasure to transmit to the Congress the 25th annual report of United States participation in the United Nations, covering events during calendar year 1970.

In my address to the United Nations on the occasion of its 25th anniversary ceremonies, I said that the United States "will go the extra mile in doing our best toward making the United Nations succeed." This has been true of the United States ever since the Charter was signed in San Francisco in 1945, and it will continue to be the case.

If the United Nations is to succeed, I believe that we must now work diligently to make it more effective and more responsive to the demands of today's world. It is clear, for instance, that we must improve the techniques for international cooperation as well as introduce greater efficiency in the operations of the UN system as we conduct more of our foreign affairs through multinational institutions. We achieved significant progress last year in this regard, and we intend to move rapidly now to accelerate the process.

In July, 1970, I established a Commission for the Observance of the 25th Anniversary of the United Nations [1] and asked it to reappraise the organization's potential and to make recommendations which would strengthen the organization and improve the effectiveness of U.S. participation. The thoughtful and comprehensive report which the Commission has recently submitted [2] will help us form a fresh view of the capabilities and limitations of the United Nations, and its recommendations are now being given careful attention.

Much of what transpired in the United Nations and its related agencies during 1970 was of direct interest to the United States. For example, on October 24, 1970, the UN General Assembly adopted an International Development Strategy that charts an orderly course for multilateral assistance during the Second Development Decade, which began on January 1 of this year. Early in December, 1970, the Assembly adopted an American-initiated resolution calling for the humanitarian treatment of prisoners of war. The Assembly also overwhelmingly endorsed the establishment of a UN Fund for Drug Abuse Control, and appealed to members to join together in seeking the means to control the spread of drug addiction throughout the world. And on December 16 the International Civil Aviation Organization, a specialized agency of the United Nations, made progress toward controlling the crime of air piracy by adopting in The Hague a convention for the suppression of unlawful seizure of aircraft. The United States and 49 other

[1] By Executive Order 11546.

[2] On April 26, 1971, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing on the Commission's report by Henry Cabot Lodge, Chairman, Francis O. Wilcox, Chairman of the Working Group, James C. Hagerty, member, and Gerard J. Mangone, Executive Director, President's Commission for the Observance of the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations.

nations signed the convention on that day. The United Nations also took significant action to deal with other world concerns such as population control, the protection of our environment, and the use of the seas and seabed. We expect much more to be done.

In its peacekeeping role during 1970, the United Nations played a major part in encouraging better relations among the states of the Middle East, including an agreement to a new cease-fire which has been vital to maintaining the peace in that critical area of the world. UN forces and observers also continued to help keep the peace in the troubled areas of Cyprus and Kashmir. As the search continued for better methods of preserving the peace, the General Assembly on the last day of the 25th anniversary commemorative session, approved by acclamation a Declaration on Friendly Relations among States.

These were only a part of the broad spectrum of developments and accomplishments during 1970. It is gratifying, therefore, to add this volume to the record of U.S. participation in the United Nations.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
September 20, 1971

NOTE: The message is printed in the report entitled "U.S. Participation in the UN, Report by the President to the Congress for the Year 1970" (Government Printing Office, 235 pp.).

On July 9, 1971, the President signed Proclamation 4066 proclaiming October 24 as United Nations Day, 1971.

296 Message to the Senate Transmitting Agreement Between the United States and Japan Concerning the Ryukyu and the Daito Islands. *September* 21, 1971

To the Senate of the United States:

I am transmitting for the Senate's advice and consent to ratification the Agreement between the United States of America and Japan concerning the Ryukyu Islands and the Daito Islands, signed at Washington and Tokyo on June 17, 1971. The Agreement was negotiated in accordance with the understandings I reached with Prime Minister Sato during my meetings with him in November 1969.

I transmit also, for the information of the Senate, the following related documents:

Agreed Minutes,

Memorandum of Understanding concerning Article III,

Exchange of notes concerning the Voice of America facility in Okinawa,

Exchange of notes concerning submerged lands,

Letter from Minister for Foreign Affairs Kiichi Aichi to Ambassador Meyer concerning treatment of foreign nationals and firms,

Memorandum of Understanding on air services to and through Okinawa; and

The Arrangement concerning Assumption by Japan of the Responsibility for the Immediate Defense of Okinawa.

The enclosed report from the Secretary of State describes the Agreement and the related documents.

When Prime Minister Sato arrived in

Washington on November 19, 1969, I observed that "whether peace survives in the last third of the century will depend more on what happens in the Pacific than in any other area of the world." I took that particular occasion to emphasize this fact to the American people and to the world because of my strong feeling then, as now, that Japan, as one of the major powers in the Pacific area, will play a central role in determining what happens in that vital region.

Japan's phenomenal economic growth represents a most significant development for us and for the other nations of the Pacific. Japan is now the third largest producer in the world and has developed with us the greatest transoceanic commerce in the history of mankind. The potential for cooperation between our two economies, the world's most productive and the world's most dynamic, is clearly immense. For this among other reasons, Japan and the United States have a strong mutual interest in the peace and security of the Pacific area. This interest is recognized in our Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security, which both our countries recognize as a keystone of our security relationships in that part of the world. I think all Americans also realize that a close and friendly relationship between Japan and the United States is vital to building the peaceful and progressive world both of us want for all mankind. The problems involved in strengthening the fabric of peace in Asia and the Pacific will undoubtedly be challenging. But if Japan and the United States go separate ways, then this task would be incomparably more difficult. Whatever differences may arise between our nations on specific policy questions, it is essential that the basic nature of our relationship remain close and cordial.

When Prime Minister Sato came to Washington in 1969, there was still one great unsettled issue between the United States and Japan arising out of World War II: the Okinawan question. Almost one million Japanese on Okinawa were still living under foreign administration nearly 25 years after the end of the Second World War. This situation subjected the entire relationship with our major Asian ally to strain. It was clear that our continued administration of Okinawa was incompatible with the mature relationship which both we and Japan recognized as the only possible basis for lasting cooperation between nations, especially between two great world powers such as the United States and Japan.

The Prime Minister and I therefore agreed that our two Governments would immediately enter into consultations concerning specific arrangements for accomplishing the early reversion of Okinawa to Japan. We determined that it was essential for this to be done without detriment to the security of the Far East, including Japan. We further agreed that the consultations should be concluded as quickly as possible with a view to accomplishing the reversion during 1972, provided that agreement could be reached on the terms and conditions of the reversion and that the necessary legislative support in both countries could be secured.

In undertaking these negotiations, the United States recognized, as a matter of basic principle, that it was consistent with neither our national character nor our national interest to continue to administer a territory which has been historically connected with Japan and whose people de-

sire to rejoin their mother country. Japan recognized that the presence of United States forces in the Far East constituted a mainstay for the stability of the area, and that the security of countries in the Far East was a matter of serious concern for Japan. More specifically, Japan recognized that United States forces in Okinawa played a vital role in the present situation in the Far East and agreed that the United States would retain, under the terms of the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security, such military facilities and areas in Okinawa as required in the mutual security of both countries.

After intensive negotiations, agreement was reached on the terms and conditions for reversion and the Agreement which I now commend to the Senate was signed on June 17, 1971.

This Agreement is founded upon the common security interests which are reflected in the United States-Japan Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security signed in 1960 and in the Communique which Prime Minister Sato and I jointly issued on November 21, 1969. The Agreement stipulates that, even after reversion, the Mutual Security Treaty and related arrangements, such as the Status of Forces Agreement of 1960, will apply to Okinawa without modification. The same will be true of the Treaty of Friendship, Commerce and Navigation, signed in 1953.

The new Agreement provides that after reversion Japan will grant the United States the use of facilities and areas in the Ryukyus in accordance with the Mutual Security Treaty of 1960 and its related arrangements, such as the Status of Forces Agreement. This means that the United States will continue to have the use of bases in Okinawa necessary for carrying out our mutual security commitments to Japan and for maintaining peace in the Far East. Under this Agreement, these facilities will be provided to us on the same terms as those now available to us in Japan. After reversion, a sovereign friendly government will give us permission to maintain these facilities in the Ryukyus, as in Japan, in recognition of mutual security interests. This is the only sound basis for long-term cooperation and I am convinced that it will enable us effectively to protect our own security interests.

The Agreement and related arrangements also deal with other important matters. They provide for appropriate payment to the United States for assets to be transferred to the Government of Japan and for certain costs which will be involved in connection with reversion. They provide protection for United States business and professional interests in Okinawa after reversion. They transfer to Japan responsibility for the immediate defense of the Ryukyus, which will result in substantial savings for the United States, in terms of both budget and foreign exchange.

In summary, then, I am strongly convinced that this Agreement is in the best interests of both countries. It meets United States security needs and it places our relationship with our major Asian ally on a more sound and enduring basis. It fulfills long-held aspirations of the Japanese people, including the people of Okinawa, for the reunification of these islands with Japan.

I believe the return of Okinawa to Japanese administration will be one of the most important accomplishments of our postwar policy in the Far East. It should enhance the prospects for peace

and stability in that area, and it is essential to the continuation of friendly and productive relations between the United States and Japan. I therefore urge that the Senate give its early and favorable consideration to this Agreement so that reversion can take place during 1972.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
September 21, 1971

NOTE: The text of the agreement and the report of the Secretary of State are printed in Senate Executive J (92d Cong., 1st sess.).

On September 10, 1971, the President signed Executive Order 11618 providing for the administration of the Ryukyu Islands until their reversion to Japan. An announcement of the signing was released by the White House on the same day and is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 7, p. 1257).

297 Remarks at a Question-and-Answer Session With a 10-Member Panel of the Economic Club of Detroit. *September 23, 1971*

THE PRESIDENT. [1.] *Mr. President, members of the Economic Club of Detroit, all of your distinguished guests who are with you here tonight, and all of those who are listening on national radio and also on television:*

I first want to express my appreciation to this distinguished organization for inviting me back. I have appeared on two occasions in other capacities. I am honored to be here for the first time as President of the United States.

I particularly appreciated, too, the warm welcome that not only we have received in this hall, but as we drove in from the airport. The signs that we saw on some of the buildings, and all the other various activities that we witnessed, were something that we deeply appreciated.

Let me say, too, that having spoken to this club on other occasions, I have recognized that the usual format is for the speaker to speak awhile and then to answer questions. I know those members of the club, however, who greatly favor the questions and the answers, certainly the questions, more than they favor the speaking. So tonight I am following the format, a format that all of those listening on radio and television should know—you in the hall have already been informed—of making this an entire question period.

I will not take the time of the questioners except to pay tribute to some of those who have come from Michigan to Washington to work with this Administration and have made contributions to it. They have come with me on the plane tonight.

First, to the former Governor of this State, the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development George Romney, one of the trusted members of our Cabinet, a man who is one of my top advisers on domestic matters, and also one who is the driving spirit behind one of the greatest housing booms this country has ever had, with, incidentally, a new high this month as well.

Second, the Chairman of the Council

of Economic Advisers, one of the architects of the new economic policy, Dr. Paul McCracken.[1]

And third, from the Congress of the United States, first the Republican Leader of the House, Congressman Gerald Ford from Michigan, a man who has been of enormous assistance to this Administration in some of the very close and tough fights we have had on some legislation that seems to have been of great interest to the Nation as well as to the people of Michigan.

Then, on the other side of the Capitol, the man who has served as the whip, the second ranking Republican of the United States Senate on the Republican side, Senator Bob Griffin.

Since this is the motor capital of the world with some interest in what is going to happen to the excise tax on automobiles, I want this audience to know that of all of the people in the House and the Senate who talked to me about that—and some did quite often—he was the most influential of all. We give him the major credit.

Now I would also, of course, on this occasion point out that it would be hard to find from any State of the Union four men who have made a greater contribution to this Administration than those that I have just named from the State of Michigan.

We appreciate what the State of Michigan has done for this Administration and the Nation in the personage of these four men.

I also tonight would like to be able to thank the State of Michigan for sending us Alex Karras.[2] [*Laughter*] George Allen, incidentally, the coach of the Redskins and an old friend of mine from Los Angeles days, asked me to give him his regards; I didn't realize this was going to be a mixed audience, so I can't pass them on at this point.

But I do know this: that I noted with interest that before the game with St. Louis last Sunday, that Alex Karras pointed out that he didn't want to go to a team that was a noncontender and didn't have a passer. After what Washington did to St. Louis I can only say this: We have lost the Senators, but watch out for the Redskins!

Now, with that we will go to the questions.

QUESTIONS

POLICY ON WAGE-PRICE CONTROL

[2.] And I turn first to the right, to Mr. Aymond.

Q. Mr. President, this is the first question: It has been reported that you will announce the Administration position on Phase 2 of wage-price controls by mid-October. It does not seem appropriate to inquire into the nature of those controls at this time, but this question is concerned with longer term considerations.

[1] On November 24, 1971, the White House released the transcript of remarks by Press Secretary Ronald L. Ziegler, Dr. McCracken, and Dr. Herbert Stein, member, Council of Economic Advisers, announcing the resignation of Dr. McCracken and the designation of Dr. Stein as the new Chairman of the Council. The remarks are printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 7, p. 1561).

[2] Alex Karras, defensive tackle for the Detroit Lions professional football team, had 2 years remaining on a no-cut contract when he was dropped from the playing squad. George Allen offered him a chance to play with the Washington Redskins professional football team, but Karras declined the offer.

What is the policy of your Administration as to the ultimate elimination of controls and return to the sort of free market economy we had prior to August 15, and when do you think this may be accomplished?

THE PRESIDENT. First, with regard to Phase 2, it will be announced well before, 30 days before the elapsing of the 90-day freeze.

Second, as I have indicated, it will be effective. It will cover the whole economy. It will have to concentrate primarily on those areas of the economy, major industries for example, where there is the greatest possibility of inflationary tendencies having effect on the balance of the economy, but all of the economy will be covered.

As far as the duration of Phase 2 is concerned, we are not going to set a limit on it because we believe that its duration should depend upon how effectively it deals with the problem. However, our commitment is to return to the free market forces as the most effective way to move this economy forward. But until we can deal with the problem of inflation, deal with the problem of wages and prices as they force up the cost of living for all Americans, and deal with it effectively, we believe that it is necessary to have controls with teeth, backed up by Government.

And in that respect, while it is going to be also necessary to have voluntary cooperation from management, from labor, and support from the American people, which we presently have in very great volume, it is also essential that there be Government sanctions to back it up and there will be.

But having said all these things, our major commitment in the long run is to return this economy—as soon as we have cooled the fires of inflation—to return it to those strong free forces that have brought us so far in the period that we have been a free economy.

AUTOMOTIVE SAFETY AND EMISSION STANDARDS

[3.] Q. Mr. President, this is a three-part question. You might call it a typically Detroit question. Do you think the automobile contribution is still a major part of the pollution problem and are the further required emission standards really worth the cost to the consumer, and what cost analysis is being made of automotive safety and emission standards, and why are such cost studies not made prior to the issue of regulations?

THE PRESIDENT. I quit beating my wife last week, too! [*Laughter*]

Mr. Boyd, the question is not only pertinent to Detroit, it is pertinent to the whole country, because when we look at the automobile industry, we realize that it provides one out of six jobs in this country. It also provides an enormous driving force for an economy as we are moving upward at this time.

Now, with regard to the emission standards, I understand that Mr. Ruckelshaus, working with industry in the Detroit area, will have an announcement in the next few days with regard to a new engine that in preliminary tests meets the very strict standards of the Clean Air Act.

Whether that is an indication that we will be able to go further along that line remains to be seen, because the 50,000-mile test has not yet been passed.

On the second point, it is vitally important that in this whole area of the environment, whether it is in the area of

water pollution or air pollution or any other area, that more attention must be given to the cost factor as well as to the factor that we are all interested in—of cleaning up our air and cleaning up our water.

I believe that as far as this Administration is concerned, as a result of the direction I have given to the Environmental Protection Agency, that we are bringing more balance into that program. Let's just understand one thing: We all want clean air and clean water. Sometimes I have heard people say, "Wouldn't it be great if we could go back to the way America was in the beginning? Wouldn't it be great if we didn't have all of this great industrialization that pollutes our air and pollutes our water?" The answer is: Not at all.

I have been in countries that have no industrialization; I have been in countries that have very few automobiles. And let me say, I would rather live in the United States of America.

I think what we have to realize is that when the Congress, or an administration carrying out the will of the Congress, sets certain standards to clean up the air or clean up the water, we must weigh against that: How many jobs is it going to cost? And, if it is going to cost a disproportionate number of jobs; well, what good it is going to be able to accomplish—then we have to reevaluate the decision.

I have talked generally to your questions because it seems to me that it is important not to be more precise than that, since some of these matters, as you know, will be the subject of directives in the future.

I simply want you to know, however, that weighing these matters, balancing these things is very much in my mind and in the minds of those carrying out the policy of this Administration.

We are committed to cleaning up the air and cleaning up the water. But we are also committed to a strong economy, and we are not going to allow the environmental issue to be used sometimes falsely and sometimes in a demagogic way basically to destroy the system—the industrial system that made this the great country that it is.

THE ROLE OF PROFITS

[4.] Q. Mr. President, would it not be desirable for your Administration to launch a comprehensive campaign to educate the entire American public, including some politicians and perhaps some labor leaders, that the most effective creator of jobs is growth and corporation profits?

THE PRESIDENT. Incidentally, so that the members of our television audience and radio audience will know, we do have a labor leader here tonight and so we have both represented. And I realize that as I talk out there to the television audience in the Detroit area and to the radio audience across the country that there will be many who represent the areas from labor as well as those from management.

Now, to say anything for profits before this audience is like the preacher talking to the choir. And to be very candid with you, there are a lot more votes in being against profits, in being for controlling profits than there are in being for it.

But let me talk, if I may, not just to this panel and not just to this group of business leaders and some labor leaders and educational leaders here, but let me talk to those people in the Detroit area and across this country who are thinking about

how do we get more jobs in America, how does our system really work?

Now, first with regard to our freeze, when you control prices and costs there is automatically some control on profits. Second, when there is control of prices and costs, the only way that there can be more profits is for the industry involved to expand—and that means more jobs and we think that is good.

Now, the second point that should be borne in mind is who are those who get the profits, who benefits from profits? Well, first the Government is the major beneficiary. One dollar of every two in corporate profits goes to the Government. We would not have the money, for example, for education, to help the poor, the poverty programs, all the rest, unless it were the fact that we had profits of which 50 percent go to the Federal Government for its taxes.

Then there are 100 million Americans who share in profits, either as stockholders, as members of mutual funds, or who are beneficiaries of profits in one way or another. And beyond that, the major reason that profits are essential to a strong growing economy is this: Where are jobs going to come from? How is it going to be possible for the American worker who receives—and we hope this will always be the case—the highest wage in the world, real wage, approximately twice as much as his next competitor in the world, how is it going to be possible for him to compete with other workers in the world? Only if he has the equipment and the machinery, the organization that gives him a competitive advantage over those from abroad.

Where do we get that? It is only through profits that industry can buy the new plant, the new equipment that will make our workers more productive and therefore more competitive in the world.

And so putting it quite bluntly, let me say I am for profits because I believe that more profits means more jobs. And at this particular time we need more jobs.

It is very easy to say let's control profits, let's limit profits, let's have an excess profits tax, and, of course, the argument for saying that is that you are taking care of the big man and helping the little man. But when you really look at what makes this economy work, when you really look at what produces jobs, it comes from profits being plowed back into industry and making American workers thereby more competitive, and thereby producing more jobs.

And I am for that, and I think every American would be for it if he understood it that way.

PROFIT LIMITATION

[5.] I will turn to Mr. Younglove.

Q. Mr. President, I was told we could interrupt.

THE PRESIDENT. Sure.

Q. I would just like to say this: I am sure that the labor movement and the leaders of the labor movement want to see companies and corporations make good profits, but we are concerned about the corporations that make fantastic profits such as—let's take the finance industry. I don't know what productivity the finance industry gives to the American people except huge profits to themselves. And also take the drug industry. Again, here is an industry that makes fantastic profits, and I could go on with many other ones.

It just seems to me that this is where we are talking about—the labor movement feels that if there was going to be a

freeze on wages, then there ought to have been a freeze in some of these areas, not cutting profits down to where companies couldn't modernize their plants and couldn't go forward, because I agree with you that if we don't have modern equipment then we can't compete with other people in other lands. And they certainly have got them. So I do feel that we are for it, but at the same time, I think we ought to look at the exorbitant profit areas.

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Younglove, as a representative of the steel union, one of the strongest unions, as we know, I think that you have, of course, very properly recognized that the interests of a union leader, and of obviously his membership, is to deal with a profitable corporation.

I would say heaven help the labor leader that is trying to make a good contract with a corporation that is losing money. It is better to have one that is making profits.

Now, second, I think it is particularly helpful that you pointed up the need for profits being plowed back into business, so that we could be more competitive. For example, look at steel. We find that steel today, and you know this is the case, in Japan, in Germany, some of the most modern steel plants in the world—perhaps the most modern—are in Japan.

We should not resent that, but I say let's see that the American steel industry makes enough profits so that it can be competitive and your members can be competitive with the steel workers of Japan and Germany.

When we try to pick out this segment or that segment of the economy, you have named the finance industry—bankers, I presume—and that would be an easy one to be against because there are a lot more borrowers than there are bankers. But let me say, Mr. Younglove, let's talk about interest rates for a moment. Why don't we limit interest rates?

Well, if you have ever gone to a bank, it is sort of like you can drive the horse to water, but you can't make him drink. Applying that to a banker, you can limit the interest rate, but you can't make the banker loan the money.

So, when you come to this matter of interest rates, it isn't just a question of limiting the interest; it is a question of providing some system under which the money that is needed for a growing economy is forthcoming. Now, your great financial institutions, it is true, have made profits, but it is also true that since this freeze began, interest rates have come down, not a great deal, but they have come down. We want them to continue to come down.

As far as the general principle, however, of looking around the economy and once we see a very successful business making a profit, say: "Ah, because you are successful, we are going to penalize you by limiting your profit." I don't think that is good for America. I think we ought to reward success rather than to penalize it.

AID TO U.S. EXPORTERS

[6.] Q. Mr. President, your DISC proposal [3] will help American export of goods and, therefore, create and retain the jobs of American workers. But is this enough to restore our normal trade surplus in this competitive world today, or

[3] The Domestic International Sales Corporation proposal was incorporated into the Revenue Act of 1971 (Public Law 92–178, 85 Stat. 497), which was signed by the President on December 10, 1971.

is additional help to our exports needed to balance the aid that other countries like Japan give to their exporters?

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Gerstacker, this is a subject to which we have given a great deal of attention through Mr. Peterson's new council on international economic affairs which you are probably familiar with.

First, let me refer to that section of our new economic policy which directly attacks this problem. We have applied a 10 percent surcharge on imports from abroad. Now, in applying that surcharge, however, I have indicated that we must not look upon it as being a permanent wall around the United States. A permanent wall of tariff barriers and of quotas around the United States would be good short-term policy and disastrous long-term policy. It would be bad for the consumers of this country by raising their prices. It would be bad for the producers of this country because we would not be competitive. The United States producer simply wants an equal shot, an equal chance.

Now, insofar as removing that surcharge is concerned, we are not going to be belligerent. We are not trying to declare war on the other great trading nations. The United States is proud of the role it has played over the past 25 years in proceeding to assist the whole system of international economic cooperation. But at this point the nations that were on their backs 25 years ago, our allies in Europe, as well as those who were against us, the Germans, are now on their feet and competing with us.

The same is true of the Japanese in Asia. We are glad that we helped to make it possible for them to compete with us. But at this point it is also essential that that competition be one where it is fair for American business, and where their business people will not have advantages that we do not have.

Now that means that we need a new approach to the problem of exchange rates. We need a new system. The other one was crisis-prone and that is one of the reasons why the surcharge will not be removed until we get action on that front. It means, also, that we need to reduce some of those impediments, artificial barriers to American goods abroad. All that we want there is fair and free trade for our goods, just as we hope we can provide fair and free trade for theirs.

We come finally to the basic point: Can American producers compete with others in the world without some subsidy? It may be necessary in some areas that there be subsidy, and we should consider that. We have got to see to it that the American workman, the highest paid workman in the world, is not driven out of competition because an unfair advantage is obtained by a workman abroad who is paid less because his government subsidizes him and our Government doesn't subsidize ours. It is subsidy only in that area that we would favor, but, generally, the hope of the future and the hope of America is in a new system which will be fair and which will be free through reducing barriers rather than to have more artificial barriers.

USE OF HIGHWAY TRUST FUND

[7.] Q. Mr. President, the American Institute of Architects is preparing recommendations for [a] national urbanization policy which we believe is compatible with your national growth policy. Central to

our recommendations is the use of a national transportation system to implement such a policy.

Would you, Mr. President, feel disposed to support a proposal that the Highway Trust Fund expand into a general transportation fund in order to build such a national transportation system?

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Hastings, as you are probably quite aware, you have hit upon about one of the most sensitive political issues we have in this country. I just met with a group of Governors, incidentally, enlisting their support, and we have their support in support of the wage-price freeze.

If there is one sensitive issue, Governor Milliken will tell you in his State it is: "What are you going to do about that Highway Trust Fund?" The same is true with regard to the Congress.

On the other hand, looking toward the future, looking toward a comprehensive transportation policy for the country, I believe that we cannot be rigid with regard to the Highway Trust Fund. I believe that if the only effective way of solving our mass transit problems, our problems of congestion and the rest, is through some approach which would use some of these funds in other directions, I think we have to consider it.

I don't have a specific proposal before me and until I have one, I, of course, will not approve it. But I don't think we should enter this problem with a closed mind.

A BALANCED BUDGET?

[8.] Q. Mr. President, this question perhaps calls for an answer along the lines of the educational one suggested earlier. In your opinion, sir, is it impossible for the United States Government to limit its spending to the amount of its income and forget deficit budgeting as a way of life?

THE PRESIDENT. I would answer the question by saying that whenever our economy is producing at full capacity, we should under no circumstances spend more than what the tax system produces. In other words, we should always have a budget which is balanced when our economy is producing at full capacity.

When our economy is not producing at full capacity, however, it has been true at least in the last 25 years—and this was true even in the Eisenhower Administration in 1958 when we had a deficit of over $10 billion—it has been true that Government spending, to pick up the slack in the economy, can be justified.

Now, let us look at this Administration. In our first year, in our first 2 years as a matter of fact, we submitted budgets and lived within budgets that were relatively balanced or close to balanced.

This year and in the year 1972, fiscal 1972, our budgets are out of balance. They are out of balance in the conventional way, out of balance in the sense that we are spending more than we are getting in, in taxes. But on the other hand, they are balanced in another way.

We are limiting our spending, with the cooperation of the Congress, we hope, to what the tax system would produce if it were producing at full employment. And we believe that that kind of spending is not inflationary. If it goes beyond that, then it would be inflationary.

So, my answer to your question is that what we want to do—and I hope we

achieve this goal soon—is to get this economy back to full capacity without war, to have full employment, and when we have that we can have a balanced budget in a conventional sense.

ACTIONS FOR MINORITY GROUPS

[9.] Q. Mr. President, what are your administrative policies and practices to combat discrimination and segregation in housing in cities and suburbs to do two things: first, to reduce the necessity of school busing, and secondly, to increase the employment of minority persons in suburban firms and factories through a rapid transit system?

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Kornegay, we have a number of policies in this area which Governor Romney could perhaps describe in greater detail than I could on this program. You, of course, are aware of the fact that through the Philadelphia Plan and through a number of other initiatives, we have opened up job opportunities for minority groups that have not existed before.

We also have opened up business opportunities through our initiatives in the field of minority business that have not existed before.

With regard to housing, we have followed the practice, which we think is a proper one, of seeing that there is an equal opportunity for all individuals, regardless of race, to have a chance to move into any housing. We have enforced the law, and we will continue to enforce the law in that respect.

Now, when you go to a further point, the point I think that you suggest, or you may be suggesting, that we should use the power of the Federal Government to force so-called integrated housing, I would respectfully suggest that that kind of a program would not be workable, and it is not one that I think can be justified.

We will, of course, not subsidize through the Federal Government, and do not, housing that is segregated. But on the other hand, to go to the other extreme and to use the power of the Government to change housing patterns, change them forcibly, rather than to have those patterns change on a voluntary basis by having an open housing program in which any individual who has the opportunity can move where he wants, we believe that that kind of an approach, of a forced housing policy, is one that will not work.

INTEREST RATES

[10.] Mr. Richardson.

Q. Mr. President, all the questions submitted seem to have an inordinate preoccupation with the interest rates. So, the primary question here is: What will the policy of Phase 2 be with regard to interest rates?

THE PRESIDENT. As you know, interest rates are not covered in the freeze. With regard to Phase 2, the matter is still open, particularly with regard to loans affecting consumers. As you know, through the Federal Reserve there are some tools that are available in that respect.

We have not yet made a decision with regard to interest rates. I would say that what happens to interest rates for the balance of Phase 1, whether they continue to, shall we say, stay where they are or go down, will have a great deal of effect on whether we feel it is necessary to have the

Federal Reserve move in with the power that they have, particularly at the consumer level, on interest rates in Phase 2.

THE WELFARE SYSTEM

[11.] Mr. Winkelman.

Q. Mr. President, as you know, the cities of our country have many critical problems, one of which is an antiquated welfare system that is very bad from everyone's point of view—the recipient, the caseworker, and the public. What could we look to as your role, and what action can we expect in resolving this problem in the frame of reference of your new economic program?

THE PRESIDENT. As you know, Mr. Winkelman, one of the major initiatives of this Administration, one that we have had before the Congress now for over a year—almost a year and a half—has been a massive welfare reform.

The present welfare system is a national disgrace because it is a system which makes it more profitable for a man to go on welfare than to go to work. That is why the key to our welfare reform proposal is to provide for the working poor an opportunity for individuals to move off welfare, even to lower paid jobs. Rather than to have a disincentive to work, we want to remove the incentives to stay on welfare; we want to increase the incentives to get off welfare and to work.

We want to get away, too, from the present system—and that is what our family assistance program is also directed to—the present system, which I think is unconscionable, of having welfare snoopers going around to enforce what I think are the unenforceable provisions of the present welfare system.

Now, with regard to that welfare program, as far as the President is concerned, and the Administration, we have laid it before the Congress. I have emphasized it in every speech. I emphasized it again when I spoke to the Congress on September 9. It has passed the House. It is now before the Senate. I believe that before the Congress goes home for Christmas this year, they ought to move on the welfare program and do something about it.

INEQUITIES OF WAGE FREEZE

[12.] Q. Mr. President, it is estimated that Phase 1 of the freeze cost American working people more than $500 million just in wage increases that already were agreed upon through the collective bargaining process. Because of this freeze, this huge amount of money was retained by the companies. Also, many thousands of individuals have had their wages frozen at a time when they were already behind other wage earners, and many in the same industry. How will these inequities be resolved?

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Younglove, one of the inevitable consequences of a freeze is that there are inequities, as you well recognize. Those inequities must be equally shared—equally shared during the period of the freeze.

One of the reasons that a freeze cannot be extended beyond 90 days—oh, possibly it could go for 120 days—is that those inequities will eventually blow it up. The massive public support for the freeze—and it runs about 70 percent, including over 60 percent among union members, as you know—that massive public support would tend to erode if the inequities such as the ones you have referred to, and teachers' salaries are another example, if they were allowed to sit there and fester.

Now, to answer your question as to what happens when the freeze is over, however, would not be appropriate. It is a matter we are considering as we look at Phase 2.

It is a matter which we, of course, will address ourselves to. One of the reasons that we have to move from a freeze which allows for no flexibility to a Phase 2 operation is to take care of such inequities as you have described.

Now we will go back to the right again. I don't mean you are on the left, understand. [*Laughter*]

THE STOCK MARKET

[13.] Q. Mr. President, you were correct a little over a year ago in saying it was a good time to buy stocks, and apparently a number of people are looking for a winning formula, because we have had a number of questions precisely as follows:

Would you put your money into the stock market at this time?

THE PRESIDENT. When I made that statement that we ought to buy stocks—and if anybody took that advice you wouldn't be here, you'd be out spending it right now, the money you would have made—but, in any event, when I made that statement, I got a lot of criticism from around the country because they said after all, people rely on what the President says, and then if stocks go down, it is going to be very detrimental to their interests and, of course, to the interests of the President as well.

Let me put it this way: An individual should buy stocks if he has confidence in the future of the American economy and confidence in the future of America. So I will answer your question by saying I am confident about the future of the American economy, and I am confident about the future of America. And you can judge from that that I would buy stocks for that reason, because of that confidence.

Let me tell you what I base it on. I base it on, first, what has happened to this economy since the first of the year: The leading indicators are up 15 percent since the first of the year; retail sales, as you know, Mr. Gerstacker, are up 15 percent since the first of the year, and running 8 to 9 percent above a year ago at the present time.

Automobiles—and, of course, I would have to admit that part of this may be due to the fact that some people are buying automobiles while the freeze is in effect—but on the other hand, it must not go without noting that automobiles are 25 percent higher in the month ending the 20th of September than they were a year ago.

We find also that as far as the economy generally is concerned, it moved up at the rate of 8 percent in real growth in the first quarter, at 5 percent in real growth in the second quarter; $33 billion in the first quarter, $22 billion in the second quarter.

I said at the first of this year that 1971 would be a good year and that 1972 would be a very good year. I will modify that to this extent: The last quarter of 1971 will be very good, and 1972 will also be, as I have indicated, a very good year.

Now, based on that, I would say that anybody that bets—and that is what you do when you buy stocks—long term, don't sell, don't go for those short-term gains, keep it for 6 months—but anybody who

bets long term on the future of America and this economy is going to win his bet, in my opinion.

THE SUPREME COURT

[14.] Q. Mr. President, I think we had over 200 questions on this subject so I picked three here, and I will make it another three-part question: Now that there are two vacancies on the Supreme Court,[4] do you think it timely for a woman to become a Supreme Court Justice; or do you believe that a nominee for the Supreme Court Justice should have substantial judicial experience, that we should in fact promote our best judges; or have you ever considered appointing Martha Mitchell?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, answering the third part first, Martha Mitchell is not a lawyer, but that is not, incidentally, an inhibition as far as appointments are concerned because the Constitution does not require the President to appoint a lawyer to the Supreme Court. So, she should—or could—be considered, I should say, but her husband won't recommend her, so consequently that rules that out.

Second, with regard to women, I believe that a woman who is qualified should be appointed to any court—district court, circuit court, or Supreme Court. I have instructed the Attorney General, as he looks over the nominees that he is going to present to me, the recommendations, to be sure that qualified women are included if they meet the general standards that we have set.

Now, with regard to the qualifications, and answering the question very seriously now, that I am looking for, I am frankly looking for judges who—and you can always judge a man who is going to make an appointment on his track record—I am looking for men who will have a similar judicial philosophy as the Chief Justice of the United States, Mr. Burger, whom I appointed, and Mr. Justice Blackmun.

I believe that the Court at this time could well use two more judges, men with that judicial philosophy. I am more interested in the judicial philosophy than I am in what part of the country they come from and whether they are a woman or whether they are a man.

Now, is it a requirement, and should it be a requirement, that the judge or the nominee be one who has judicial experience? The answer is no. Mr. Justice Frankfurter was a teacher. He was one of the great judges; whether you agreed or not with his philosophy, he was a great judge.

Mr. Justice Brandeis, who was one of my heroes when I was in law school, one of the great dissenters along with Holmes, was a man who was a great practicing lawyer, a labor lawyer primarily, fighting great causes, but that did not mean that he did not become one of the great judges.

So teachers, legislators, for example, with great experience in the Judiciary Committee of the House or Senate, they are also good possibilities. That gives you an idea of where I am turning.

[4] Statements by Press Secretary Ronald L. Ziegler on the retirement of Associate Justices Hugo L. Black, effective September 17, 1971, and John M. Harlan, effective September 23, were excerpted from Mr. Ziegler's regular news briefings at the White House on the above dates and are printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 7, p. 1310).

CHINA VISIT

[15.] Q. Mr. President, is news of current developments in Mainland China [5] likely to change any of your travel plans? And the second part of the question is, just what do you expect to realize from your proposed visit to Mainland China?

THE PRESIDENT. I do not expect the current developments to change our travel plans, and those plans will be announced, incidentally, at an appropriate time in due course.

With regard to what we intend to accomplish, I think it is important for us to put it in the context of what we cannot accomplish and do not expect. Some rather naive observers have assumed that because I was going to Mainland China, that the differences between Mainland China and its 800 million people and its Government and that of the United States—that those differences would evaporate. They will not.

There are very deep differences between the United States and the Government of Mainland China—the People's Republic of China. Premier Chou recognized those in his public statements and in more detail in his private meetings with Dr. Kissinger. Those differences, however, now will be discussed.

They will be discussed by the President of the United States and by the leader of the People's Republic of China. There have been no conditions on either side, but we have agreed to talk about those differences.

Now, let me tell you why I think that is important. Ten, 15 years from now, there will be between 900 million and a billion people in Mainland China. Ten or 15 years from now, they will be a very significant nuclear power.

For Mainland China and its 900 million or a billion people at that time to be out of the family of nations, isolated from the rest of the world, would be a danger to the rest of the world which any man who is President of the United States at this time should try to avert if he can. What I am trying to do is simply to open a dialogue, move toward more normal relations, so that these differences which will continue to exist between our two countries—so that we will talk about them and not fight about them, now or 15 years from now.

INTERNATIONAL BURDEN SHARING AND CAPITAL EXPORTS

[16.] Q. Mr. President, a two-part question on the value of the dollar and international problems: Why don't we make Europe and Japan pay the cost of their defense umbrella that we furnish to them, and not, Mr. President, by the purchase of our military equipment or our treasury bonds, but in those good old U.S. dollars that they say they have too many of and don't want any more?

The second part of the question is, after

[5] During the previous 2 weeks, there had been speculation surrounding the disappearance of Lin Piao, who was Minister of National Defense, Vice Chairman of the Chinese Communist Party, and Mao Tse-tung's designated heir. His disappearance suggested a possible internal crisis in China. Further news reports of the crash in Mongolia 60 miles from the Soviet border of a Chinese plane whose occupants were believed to have been fleeing China, the grounding of the Chinese Air Force, and the virtual stoppage of all air traffic over the mainland added to the possibility of internal political strife.

we properly floated our dollar, our U.S. controls on capital exports by banks and industry are now counterproductive. They help the foreign governments keep their currencies like the yen and the mark artificially cheap in relation to our dollar, and this hurts our American jobs.

Why don't we eliminate the capital export controls immediately, and, incidentally, then we would have some people we could put to work on the wage-price freeze?

THE PRESIDENT. First, with regard to the capital export controls, this is a matter that we have considered, and it is a goal to which we are dedicated. As we move from this temporary period with a surcharge, with the dollar floating, our goal is to move toward a new system with regard to international exchange rates which will be more responsive to the changing dynamic world scene in which we presently find ourselves. The old rigid pattern can't be patched up so that it will work again, and work effectively.

With regard to the burden sharing—which is the term usually used for the Japanese and the Europeans, for whom we provide a defense umbrella, assuming more of a share of the burden—with regard to burden sharing, this is a matter that is constantly under discussion between the United States and our friends in Japan and our friends in Europe.

I do not think, however, it would be helpful to answer the question in a way that would, in effect, be belligerent, that would put them on the spot from a domestic political standpoint at this time.

Just let me respond this way: We are going to meet with the International Monetary Fund next week. There will be other meetings in the future. The position of the United States is going to be strong and firm with regard to seeing that our American producers get a fair deal and fair trade throughout the world.

On the other hand, the position of the United States is going to be outward, not inward. We are going to try to build a new international monetary system under which we can all live and compete more effectively.

And the position of the United States, I think should also be interpreted as one which will recognize this fact: 25 years ago, the United States could afford to be very generous as it dealt with the nations that were on their backs; there was nobody in the world that could compete with us.

Today the United States has some difficult competitive problems, due to some artificial barriers that I have mentioned, due to unfair exchange rates which we will attempt to correct. As far as we are concerned, we say, therefore, we will not give up the surcharge as some have advocated in order to placate our friends who are concerned about it; we are not going to give up the surcharge, and we are not going to move precipitately with regard to the international monetary situation until we can be assured that we are building a permanent foundation for fair, free international trade in the future.

That is our goal and consistent with that goal, of course, would be getting rid of these capital controls to which you referred.

PROBLEMS OF THE CITIES

[17.] Mr. Hastings.

Q. Mr. President, we are all terribly concerned about the deterioration of cities

and the tendency for our policies or lack of policy to turn the cities over to the lower income people in our society.

Do you see any moves that we can make that would make it more economically attractive for developers to rebuild our cities and revitalize our cities instead of continuing the westward ho philosophy of moving on and using up our raw land indiscriminately in urban sprawl?

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Hastings, the problem here is one that simply cannot be solved by Washington. That is something which I am glad to note the people of Detroit recognize. You have your New Detroit Committee, of course, which has been very effective in dealing with some of the problems that are not only Detroit's problems, but the problems of cities generally. You have the Detroit Renaissance Committee which is working on the problem of rebuilding the downtown area.

Now, in this particular case, I think what is perhaps indispensable to a new approach to the problem of cities is that kind of civic responsibility on the part of the cities involved.

No city can be saved by Washington. A city can only be saved by the residents of that city, if they determine to do it.

REVENUE SHARING

[18.] Q. A quick question, Mr. President: Detroit is numbered among those great metropolitan areas facing critical financial problems. What are the prospects for revenue sharing this year? Detroit desperately needs this help.

THE PRESIDENT. I said a moment ago that I didn't think the Congress should go home for Christmas unless it passed welfare reform. Revenue sharing is in exactly the same position. Revenue sharing has the support of over 70 percent of the people of this country. It has the support of most of the Governors, most of the mayors, most of the county officials. And it is time for the Congress to start reflecting what the country feels and to pass revenue sharing and help the cities.

TAX CREDIT FOR HIRING UNEMPLOYED

[19.] Mr. Kornegay.

Q. Mr. President, has your Administration discounted the plan to give tax credit to firms which hire the unskilled and hardcore unemployed?

THE PRESIDENT. No, we have not discounted that plan. As a matter of fact, Mr. Kornegay, we are, in our Domestic Council within the Cabinet, we are considering every possible method that we can devise to see that the groups that are left behind are brought back into the mainstream of our society. That is one method, of course, that could be effective.

Q. Mr. President, I think our time has expired. I have received the signal from our TV director down here. So we thank you very much for your time and the privilege of being with you here this evening.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I regret that we couldn't have more questions, but let me just say in conclusion that I have appreciated this opportunity to meet with the distinguished members of the panel. I wish that we had a chance to answer many more of the questions that I see piled up here.

Let me suggest this: Write me a letter, I just might answer it.

Thank you.

NOTE: The session began at 8 p.m. in Cobo Hall, Detroit, Mich. It was broadcast live on

nationwide radio and local television.

The president of the Economic Club of Detroit was Russel A. Swaney.

Members of the panel were:

A. H. AYMOND, chairman of the board, Consumers Power Company

VIRGIL E. BOYD, vice chairman of the board, Chrysler Corporation; chairman, Auto Manufacturers Association

H. B. CUNNINGHAM, chairman and chief executive officer, S. S. Kresge Company

CARL A. GERSTACKER, chairman of the board, Dow Chemical Company

ROBERT F. HASTINGS, chairman of the board and chief executive officer, Smith, Hinchman, and Grylls Association, Inc.

DWIGHT HAVENS, president, Greater Detroit Chamber of Commerce

FRANCIS A. KORNEGAY, executive director, Detroit Urban League

DEAN E. RICHARDSON, president, Manufacturer's National Bank of Detroit; chairman, Detroit Clearing House Association.

STANLEY J. WINKELMAN, president, Winkelman Stores, Inc.

CHARLES G. YOUNGLOVE, director, District 29, United Steel Workers of America, AFL–CIO

298 Statement on the Death of Former Associate Justice Hugo L. Black. *September* 25, 1971

JUSTICE Hugo L. Black brought to the Supreme Court a mind that was brilliantly lucid and a character that was earnest and strong.

Justice Black believed that the primary responsibility of the judiciary was that "of giving force and effect to Constitutional liberties." In his judicial life he did exactly that—with such independence, tenacity, and total integrity of mind that his imprint on the Constitution and on our Nation will be indelible.

His faith in the United States Constitution was absolute, and so his convictions were rooted absolutely.

Mrs. Nixon and I join the Nation in mourning at the death of this noble American.

NOTE: Justice Black, 85, died of complications following a stroke in Bethesda Naval Hospital. He had served on the Court from 1937 until his retirement in 1971.

The statement was released at Kalispell, Mont.

On the same day, the President signed Executive Order 11620 ordering the flag to be flown at half-staff as a mark of respect to the memory of Justice Black.

The President attended funeral services for Justice Black at the Washington Cathedral on September 28.

299 Remarks on Arrival at Kalispell, Montana. *September* 25, 1971

I WANTED to take this opportunity, as we arrive here, to say just a few words of greeting to all of you because it will not be possible for me to do what both Mrs. Nixon and I would particularly like to do, and that is to greet every one of you personally.

In coming before you, I first want you to know that because this platform is so small, we could only get the men on the platform. Women's Lib, please don't give us any trouble.

I am very proud to be here in Montana, and I will introduce these people. You

know them all so well, but I think you all want to welcome your people from Montana, as they are here.

Mike Mansfield, the Majority Leader of the Senate.

Of course, the Governor of the State of Montana. Governor.

And the Congressman from this district, Dick Shoup.

The Congressman from the other district in Montana, Congressman Melcher.

Now, all of you will have noted that this is a totally bipartisan group. [*Laughter*] And that is the spirit in which this visit has been arranged.

I want to say first that I have many pleasant memories of visits to this State. I have been to a number of cities. I recall visits to Butte and Billings and to Great Falls and to Bozeman and also, of course, to the State capital, to Helena. I am very proud that this is the first time I have had a chance to visit Montana as President of the United States.

I am also equally proud that Mike Mansfield arranged that this is the first time I have had any chance ever to come to Kalispell in this area. I am glad to be here in this beautiful part of the country.

Now, as you have probably noted, the Majority Leader of the Senate and the President of the United States have regular meetings, usually at breakfast, in addition to the meetings that we have in the Cabinet Room, concerning legislation. I am sure that many of you wonder what those meetings concern. Well, obviously they concern the affairs of state. They naturally involve matters on which we sometimes disagree, disagree not as partisans, but disagree because there are areas where different people, working toward the same goal, might want to take different roads. But I think you will all be glad to know that there is one subject on which we have no disagreement whatever. That is on the beauty of the Big Sky Country.

I want to say something about your representatives, both the Republican as well as the two Democrats, in the Congress of the United States from Montana. Many people who come to Washington—they get Potomac fever, and that means they really get so taken with Washington they forget the folks back home. I have never yet met a Senator or a Congressman from Montana who didn't love Montana most of all, and that is true of yours, I can assure you.

I think I can tell you why. There is a story—I don't know whether it is true or not; I couldn't believe it when I saw it in my notes, and I was not able to check it with Mike or Dick or Congressman Melcher on the way out—there is a story about a big wind that came up in Helena, the State capital, so big, as a matter of fact, that it turned the Goddess of Liberty statue around so that it was facing away from the city.

There were those, not from Montana, of course, and not from Helena, who said that what really was happening was that the Goddess of Liberty was turning her back on the city. I don't think that was the case. I think what the Goddess of Liberty was really doing was turning out so that she could really see this beautiful country.

This is a beautiful country, and you can be very proud to live in it. And as I speak of this country, I think it is particularly appropriate that it is the Big Sky Country. It is an open country. There is still lots of ground out here, lots of beautiful territory for people to see, for people to visit, for people to live in.

That brings me to a point on which

71-234—72——65

there is total agreement among all of us on this platform, although we might have different ways to achieve that goal. We want an open country, we want open cities, and we also want an open world.

At the present time we are ending the longest war in the history of the United States. We are also trying to build—and we are having success in building—a new structure of peace, one which will provide not just peace for a year, for the next election, or for the next 5 years, but provide for something we have not had for this whole century: a whole generation of peace. I think that is what Americans want most of all.

When I noticed the high school students were here, the various bands that have been playing, when I see so many young people, and when I see your parents, I know that is what you want.

As you know, from here we are going on to Portland and then up to Alaska to welcome the Emperor of Japan. Later, I will have the opportunity to visit Mainland China, the People's Republic of China. Let me just tell you what these visits have to do with this generation of peace. Very simply this: They are not going to solve all differences between nations, particularly with regard to those great differences that exist between the Government of the United States and the Government of the People's Republic of China, with which we do not have diplomatic relations at this time. But they do mean this: They do mean that a step has been taken toward a goal.

When nations have differences, they can either talk about them and negotiate about them or they can fight about them. If 10 to 15 years from now the People's Republic of China is still isolated from the rest of the world, and particularly with no communication with the United States of America, there is a great danger that due to that isolation we might end in finding that our differences were ones that we could not talk about, and we might end up fighting about.

I believe we have got to avoid that. I believe the time to start avoiding that is now, to make this an open world in which we negotiate rather than confront those who differ with us around the world.

In that goal, let me say we have bipartisan support. I think we have the support of all generations.

There is one other thing I would like to say before we have a chance to meet some of you. As we build this generation of peace, we also want a new prosperity that is based not on war, but on peace, in which production for peace provides the jobs that Americans need. This is something we all want. It is something that we can build. It is something that this State can contribute to and that all of you can contribute to.

Finally, let me say that in this Nation in these years ahead we want this Nation to continue to have not only those areas that can produce, as the great agricultural area of Montana produces, for making this the best fed, the best dressed nation in the world but also the beauty of this country, which this State has in such remarkable degrees.

One final story to illustrate it: A couple of months ago, among the many visitors that stream through the Oval Office of the White House, was a tremendously interesting group of teenagers from the State of Washington. They had ridden bicycles clear across the country. They called themselves Cyclemates.

As they rode across the country they stopped at various places. It, of course,

took them weeks to arrive in Washington. I asked them this question: I said, "Now, you tell me you have been to the parks, you have been to all the States, what was the most beautiful place you saw?"

And they said, "Glacier Park, of all the the places in the United States." Not only did they like that place but they also liked the people.

So, I say, as we meet you here, and with this little California rain falling right now, that I am glad to be here. Mrs. Nixon is glad to be here to receive such a warm welcome.

We hope that this will always be the Big Sky Country and that people who come across it will always say, "This is a beautiful place to visit."

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:25 a.m. at Glacier Park International Airport.

On the same day, the President flew by helicopter to the Libby Dam site, northwest of Kalispell, where he activated a system for pouring concrete into a new section of the dam.

300 Statement About the West Coast Dock Strike. *September* 25, 1971

I AM acutely aware of the severe economic and human impact of the west coast longshoremen's strike and keenly disappointed at the continued failure of the parties to that dispute to resolve their differences through collective bargaining. While progress has been made over the past few weeks, the pace of that progress has been painfully slow and totally unacceptable.

We cannot tolerate a continuation of this pattern of delay and slow progress toward an ultimate settlement. The time is overdue for the parties involved to live up to their responsibilities to the American people and to work diligently—and urgently—toward that settlement.

I have asked J. Curtis Counts, Secretary Hodgson, and George Shultz to meet with chief negotiators in Portland today to discuss how the parties can best be brought to recognize and meet their responsibilities. This strike has gone on too long already. I expect the parties to make a renewed and determined effort to see that it is ended and ended quickly.

NOTE: The statement was released at Kalispell, Mont.

On September 14, 1971, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing by Secretary of Labor James D. Hodgson on Federal efforts to expedite a settlement in the dock strike.

301 Remarks on Arrival at Portland, Oregon. *September* 25, 1971

MRS. NIXON and I want to thank all of you for your very warm welcome to the City of the Roses. We also want you to know that as we traveled across the country today—we started in Washington this morning, then stopped in Montana at Kalispell, and then we have come all the way to Oregon—and as you cross this country and have the chance to see the people, as we have, you realize what a beautiful country it is. We are very proud to be here in one of the most beautiful

parts of the country, in Oregon.

On this particular occasion, with Governor McCall here, and Senator Packwood, Senator Hatfield, Congressman Wyatt, Congressman Dellenback, I think it is well for me to mention just briefly, because there are so many young people, the purpose of the trip that I am taking to Alaska tomorrow.

This will be a very historic event. It is the first time that the Emperor of Japan has ever left his country. It will be the first time in history that a President of the United States has ever met with the Emperor of Japan.

Now, as I mention that particular thing, I think that has significance to all of us who are concerned about the future of the Pacific, in which Oregon and Washington and California have such a great interest, and the future of peace in the world.

Just today I have signed into law, and the statement is being issued in Portland—I think it is quite significant that it is issued here, because it had very strong support from Senator Hatfield, Senator Packwood, and the Members of the Congress that I have mentioned, and also by Tom McCall, your Governor—I have signed the bill passed by the Congress, with the support of the Administration, which abolished the detention camps which concerned many people.

Let me tell you that those camps were used only in the period when the Japanese were at war with the United States. It was not a period of the United States that we were particularly proud of, even though that was a very difficult period for us. But let me say this: When we think of the fact that now the President of the United States is meeting with the Emperor of Japan for the first time in history, let all the young people here particularly think what that means.

Do you realize that since World War II has ended, over half the people in this world have been born? Putting it another way, 60 percent of everybody living in the world today was born since World War II. Now, what does that mean?

It means that we have great opportunities for peace in the world today. It means that we can build a new world, a new world with a new generation that did not know that war, and it is for that reason that the meeting between the President of the United States and the Emperor of Japan will underline these facts: It will underline the fact, first, that these two great peoples are going to be competitors in the world, and we are; but it also underlines another fact, that it is indispensable that we be friends.

I would only hope that the meeting of the Emperor of Japan and the President of the United States will mean for future generations that Japan and the United States will always be friends and never enemies in the future, and that means peace in the Pacific.

Now, let me put this in a larger context. We are ending now the war, the longest, most difficult war in the Nation's history. Now the question is: What about the future for these young people? Are they going to have to go through what every generation in this century has gone through? Did you realize there has not been a generation in this century that hasn't known a war—World War I, World War II, Korea, and then Vietnam?

That is why we are working for, and we are working here—perhaps sometimes we take different roads, but we all have the same goal, the Senators from this

State, Senator Mansfield whom I just left in Montana—we are all working toward the goal: not just peace for 5 years or 10 years but for a generation.

I think we can have it. Our meeting with Japan has something to do with that. But later a visit that I will make to Mainland China will have something to do with that. Let me tell you why that is important. That visit does not mean that the differences between the Governments of the People's Republic of China and that of the United States are going to evaporate, because they are very great and they are very deep.

But it does mean this: It does mean that as far as those differences are concerned, we are going to talk about them rather than fight about them, and that is terribly important to the future of peace in the world.

It also means something else. Eight hundred million people live on Mainland China. That is one-fourth of all the people in the world. I want this younger generation, these young people that I see here today, I want them to grow up in an open world, one in which there can be open communication between the peoples of the world. If we can do that, if we can contribute to that by this initiative, this journey for peace that I am taking, then I think it is worthwhile.

And now, finally, let me say that as I come here, I would not want this occasion to pass without putting in the other side of the equation. We want to build in this country something we have not had for 15 years. That means a new prosperity built on peace and not on war. We can have it. We can have jobs that do not count on the need for war production.

It is true that 2 million men have been let out of the armed services and defense plants since we started to wind down the war, but, believe me, that is worth doing. We will find jobs for them in peace; we do not have to find jobs for them in the pursuit of war.

The other point that I would make is one to which I know the people of Oregon are deeply devoted; that is the quality of life we are going to have in this country. Your Governor, your Senators, your Congressmen have often spoken to me about the environment, the need to develop, of course, our industry, but the need also to preserve the beauty of this country.

Let me say that we welcome your recommendations, your suggestions. Every time I fly over Oregon I realize why you like to live here. I realize why you want to keep it a beautiful State, one in which you can have jobs and employment, but also retain the beauty which brought you here in the first place. This is a goal we can all work for.

And so with that, may I say thank you again for a very warm welcome. We look forward to coming back again.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:10 p.m. at Portland International Airport.

302 Statement on Signing Bill Repealing the Emergency Detention Act of 1950. *September* 25, 1971

I HAVE today signed into law a measure recently enacted by the Congress repealing the Emergency Detention Act of 1950. This repeal legislation was wholeheartedly supported by this Administration.

The Emergency Detention Act was en-

acted as title II of the Internal Security Act of 1950. Among its provisions, it established procedures for the apprehension and detention, during internal security emergencies, of individuals likely to engage in acts of espionage or sabotage.

No President has ever attempted to use the provisions of this act. And while six detention camps were established and funded by the Congress, none of them was ever used for the purposes of this legislation. In fact, all six camps have been abandoned or used for other purposes since 1957.

Nevertheless, the mere continued existence of these legal provisions has aroused concern among many Americans that the act might someday be used to apprehend and detain citizens who hold unpopular views. Some have feared that it might someday be used to permit a situation comparable to the detention of Americans of Japanese ancestry during World War II.

I have supported and signed this repeal in order to put an end to such suspicions. In taking this action, I want to underscore this Nation's abiding respect for the liberty of the individual. Our democracy is built upon the constitutional guarantee that every citizen will be afforded due process of law. There is no place in American life for the kind of anxiety—however unwarranted—which the Emergency Detention Act has evidently engendered.

This strong country has no reason to fear that the normal processes of law—together with those special emergency powers which the Constitution grants to the Chief Executive—will be inadequate to deal with any situation, no matter how grave, that may arise in the future. But we do have a great deal to fear if we begin to lose faith in our constitutional ideals. The legislation I have signed today keeps faith with those ideals.

NOTE: The statement was released in Portland, Oreg.

As enacted, the bill (H.R. 234) is Public Law 92–128 (85 Stat. 347).

On the same day, the White House released an announcement of the signing, which contained additional information on the Emergency Detention Act of 1950.

303 Remarks at a Question-and-Answer Session for Northwest Editors, Publishers, and Broadcast Executives Attending a Briefing on Domestic Policy in Portland, Oregon. *September* 25, 1971

THE WEST COAST DOCK STRIKE

THE PRESIDENT. [1.] Ladies and gentlemen, I have just finished a meeting with Mr. Bridges and Mr. Flynn,[1] along with Mr. Counts of the Mediation Service and the Secretary of Labor and Mr. Shultz. That meeting was for the purpose of my bringing to their attention the urgency of reaching a settlement of the dock strike.

I pointed out what is actually the fact: that not only is there great interest in that strike on the west coast, but that, for example, when I stopped in Montana today,

[1] Harry Bridges, president, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union; and Edmund J. Flynn, president, Pacific Maritime Association.

the primary subject of interest, as I went down the fence and shook hands with people, among the farmers there—"What can you do about the dock strike?"

I indicated that the national interest was very deeply involved, that many people were being hurt, not just big business but small farmers as well as large farmers, and that I considered it imperative that management and labor work with a new sense of urgency toward a settlement.

After the meeting was concluded, the two agreed that they would begin again their discussions on Monday morning at 9 o'clock, that they would have in mind the sense of urgency that I had tried to communicate to them, and that they would set, as a goal, reaching a settlement by the end of next week.

I say they said they would set that as a goal. They also pointed out that they were still far apart on some issues. I will simply close my comments with regard to the dock strike by saying that in this particular area, as you have already been informed in the media briefing this morning, I understand, we have made recommendations to the Congress for new legislation dealing with transportation generally.

I think what has happened in this dispute, coupled with what happened in the railroad dispute, indicates the urgency for consideration of that legislation, because the country cannot continue to afford stoppages in these key areas which do not reach, in the case of the dock strike, at times, the requirements for imposition of Taft-Hartley—although Taft-Hartley is a possibility here if the situation goes on—but which nevertheless cause very great injury to many people in our society.

Now, having said all these things, I can only add that I am convinced that the two men that I met with recognize the sense of urgency; that they are going to negotiate as well as they possibly can; that they have to, of course, represent their principals and convince them in the process.

I trust that the Presidential intervention at least will help them in conveying to their principals, the ones that they represent, the need to reach a hasty settlement for the strike.

Now, I understand that during the course of the day you have had rather long sessions on domestic policy, and have asked a great number of questions. Normally on these media briefings I have wound them up by talking on the same subject and trying to summarize the views that I understand have been touched upon by various speakers earlier.

Today, since you have had such a long session, it has occurred to me that in view of the fact that I am on my way, as you know, for a meeting with the Emperor of Japan in Alaska, the first meeting in history with the President of the United States and the Emperor of Japan participating, that it might be of greater interest and value to the members of the press that are here if I would have questions from you on any subject that you like.

You can cover, of course, the subjects that have been touched upon in the briefing. I will be glad to respond to those in the event you would like additional information on those subjects, but I will be glad to also take questions in the foreign policy field or other areas of interest to the extent that our time permits.

So with that we will go to the questions. And if each of you—while we are not on

television—maybe stand up, I think, so that I can recognize you, and speak up, please.

QUESTIONS

DEVELOPMENTS IN MAINLAND CHINA

[2.] Q. What's happening in Red China?

THE PRESIDENT. It would be presumptuous for me to contend that we knew what was happening on the mainland of China at this time. I will only say, however, that whatever is happening, we are proceeding with the plans for the trip that I will be taking to the People's Republic of China.

Those plans will be announced at an appropriate time, and in that context you can surmise anything you want as to what is happening.

MEETING WITH CHINESE LEADERS

[3.] Q. Mr. President, you said in Detroit you would meet with the leader of Red China. Do you expect that to be Mao Tse-tung?

THE PRESIDENT. In any meeting that occurs with a leader of a Communist country, a meeting must occur not only with the head of government, which in this case, of course, would be Chou En-lai, the Premier, but it must also occur with the Chairman of the Communist Party in that country.

Putting it in another context, if a meeting were to be held in the Soviet Union, the meeting would be between the President of the United States and Mr. Kosygin, and also a meeting between the President of the United States and Mr. Brezhnev.

Now, as far as the meetings in China are concerned, they will be announced, and those who participate in them, at an appropriate time. It would be naturally assumed that when the trip is planned, that a meeting would be planned, a meeting or meetings, with the head of government and with the Chairman of the Communist Party of the People's Republic.

ALASKA NUCLEAR TEST

[4.] Q. Mr. President, when you go to Alaska, are you going to make any statement on the Amchitka blast, or has that been determined or decided—the underground nuclear blast?

THE PRESIDENT. I noted the speculation to the effect that I might make a statement on the blast at that time. I have no plans to make an announcement at that time. As you know, the various factors involved are under study, and a decision will be made soon, but the decision will not be announced before or at the time of my visit to Anchorage.

THE DOCK STRIKE

[5.] Q. Mr. President, may we return again to the question of the dock strike?

THE PRESIDENT. Certainly, anything you like.

Q. May we feel here that you came away from the meeting encouraged?

THE PRESIDENT. I am sure it would not give away any confidence if I were to report to this group that as we concluded our meeting, I said to Mr. Bridges and to Mr. Flynn, "Can I go and tell the members of the press that I am encouraged by this meeting?"

Mr. Bridges, who is quite a skilled negotiator, and I have known him for over 20

years, said, "Well, Mr. President, you might say you were encouraged and then be disappointed."

But he then did say, as did Mr. Flynn, that they would meet again with a new sense of urgency and that they would set as a goal reaching a settlement by the end of next week. I can only say that I believe that my meeting with them in Portland could well help to get it off dead center. One can never be sure, because of the differences that are involved.

Q. How long would the strike have to go on before you would invoke Taft-Hartley?

THE PRESIDENT. I am somewhat knowledgeable in this field, because you may remember I was a member of the labor committee of the House when we wrote Taft-Hartley. I am, therefore, familiar with all of the legal limitations, as well as the possibilities, in applying the act.

The problem, of course, is whether or not it has national implications in terms of health and safety. At this point a case could be made, on a narrow basis, that Taft-Hartley might be applied, but at this point, also, I would have to say that most of the legal experts in the field believe that there would be a very good chance that a court would not uphold the use of Taft-Hartley.

Having said that, let us suppose that, as some have indicated, that we will be confronted very soon with an Eastern longshore strike. If you have an Eastern longshore strike and a Western longshore strike still continuing, Taft-Hartley automatically is going to be applied, because then the damage is very great.

Second, if this strike goes on for a period of time and I determine that the parties simply aren't going to get together, then we have to step in and use Taft-Hartley and take the risk that the courts may not uphold it.

I emphasize again, though, that your question points up the weakness in the present law. The railway legislation is obsolete in this country. We found that out in trying to negotiate a labor settlement.

Taft-Hartley, in terms of its ability to handle a dispute of this type, which affects great numbers of people far beyond the number of workers involved in the dispute—Taft-Hartley is simply not adequate, and that is why we, almost 2 years ago, recommended to the Congress new legislation covering the whole field of transportation. And I think that one thing this strike has done—together with the railroad strike and the possibility of a strike of the longshoremen on the east coast—is to give added urgency to the need for Congressional action.

The Congress has not even held a hearing on that matter yet. I understand the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee of the House may now begin to hold some hearings.

THE PRESIDENT'S ITINERARY

[6.] Q. Mr. President, we heard that there is some criticism from the Seattle-Puget Sound area that you are not stopping there in the State of Washington. Can you give us any explanation of how you happened to pick Hanford as the place to visit?

THE PRESIDENT. First, I would say that it is very difficult to make all the stops we would like to make in any one of the States. When Senator Mansfield

71-234—72——66

said, "Let's go to Kalispell," I said, "Fine." But then people from Billings and Bozeman and Butte said, "Why didn't you come to our towns?"

Here, of course, it is expected that Portland, being the news center that it is, would be the logical place to go, but I could imagine that Eugene and a few other places might say, "Why not there?"

Actually, in this case, I welcome that we are going to Hanford, because it is the center for a significant announcement that we are going to make in the nuclear area, and it is an area where there is great interest statewide in what future programs will be.

The Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, Dr. Schlesinger, is coming there for the purpose of participating in the briefing. And I believe that what is good for Hanford is good for the whole State of Washington.

I would add, finally, this is not the last trip I will make to the Pacific Northwest, I trust, while I am in office, and certainly I would hope to visit Seattle on another occasion.

INDIAN AFFAIRS

[7.] Q. A great number of American Indian leaders, while still expressing satisfaction with your announced Indian policy last year, are extremely upset with the BIA [Bureau of Indian Affairs], and I know Chairman MacDonald of the Navajo tribe was in Washington last week to present the idea that the BIA should be moved from the Interior Department to direct jurisdiction of the White House. Would you comment on that?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, frankly, I have not been satisfied with the BIA, and I don't think the Secretary of the Interior is. As a matter of fact, we have been discussing this matter with various Indian leaders for some time. As the Secretary of the Interior—I don't know whether he responded to this question himself---may have told you—maybe he felt that he did not have the right to—I have told him that we should look at the whole bureaucracy with regard to our handling of Indian affairs and shake it up, and shake it up good.

That is what he is doing at this point.

So to answer your question: We are not satisfied. We are working on the problem, and we hope to do better. Frankly, when you look at how we have handled the Indian problem over the history of this country, it is a disgrace. And much of it is due to the fact that the bureaucracy feeds on itself, defends itself, fights for the status quo, and does very little, in my opinion, for progress in the field.

That doesn't mean there are not some good people in the Indian affairs department. It just means that bureaucracy itself has not been effective in this area.

MONTANA CONCERN OVER DOCK STRIKE DISCUSSIONS

[8.] Q. Mr. President, you noted the concern in Montana over the dock strike. Does that concern in Montana from the farmers have any bearing on what you told the strike principals here this afternoon?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, it certainly does. It was only coincidental, the fact that, out in Montana, that farmers there, and, as a matter of fact, Senator Mansfield, who is a very powerful leader, the Democratic leader of the Senate—that they hit that issue very hard with me was a very per-

suasive item for me to mention to Mr. Bridges and to Mr. Flynn. So, it did have a very good influence on this meeting.

SUPREME COURT APPOINTMENTS

[9.] Q. Mr. President, have you seen any need for any change in your consultative practices with respect to the Senate on the appointment of successors to the Supreme Court?

THE PRESIDENT. Consultation with the Senate with regard to appointments of judges to the Supreme Court has been a problem that has afflicted many Presidents, as you know. I have it as well. That responsibility, however, is, in my case, properly left with the Attorney General. The Attorney General is having broad-based consultations, particularly with the members of the Senate Judiciary Committee, with regard to these appointments.

We are anxious, one, that the appointments be made as soon as we can find qualified people that I can nominate; two, that those appointments will be ones that the Senate will approve quickly. Now, the reason for their approving them quickly and for me to nominate quickly is that we are going into the fall term two judges short, and some very important matters will be coming before that Court. So, I think our consultative procedure is better this time than it has been before. I would hope that the Senate would act as quickly on these two appointments as it did with the confirmation of the Chief Justice, Mr. Burger, and Mr. Blackmun; if so, they will do well.

PHASE 2 CONTROL MACHINERY

[10.] Q. Mr. President, can you discuss some of the alternatives under consideration about the machinery for controls under Phase 2?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, I could discuss it, but it would be premature to do so. I think I can best answer the question by saying that by the 30th of September all of the various recommendations with regard to machinery from government, from labor, from business, from Congress, et cetera, will be in, and then I will make the decision, and it will be announced well in advance of the 30 days before the freeze ends.

I can only reiterate what I have said previously. In order to be effective there must be a Government role. The wage and price restraints that follow the freeze across the board will depend primarily upon voluntary action on the part of both labor and management and depend also to a great extent upon public support.

There must be, in addition to that—in order for it to be effective with recalcitrants—there must be the possibility of Government action to back up what our private or public exhortations may be.

I realize that is a general answer, but for me to, at this time, indicate the direction of our thinking, I think might compromise our ability to make the right decision with all the options in front of us.

QUALIFICATIONS FOR SUPREME COURT JUSTICES

[11.] Q. Mr. President, referring to the Supreme Court appointments, the AP quotes Mrs. Nixon this morning as saying, "The trouble is, the best qualified women are too old." Do you share her thinking, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT. As Secretary Morton knows, any politician that says a woman is too old is nuts.

Could I just add one thing to this, because somebody may feel that I don't want to comment more on the qualifications for the Supreme Court judge. First the two Justices that I will appoint, as I indicated in Detroit, will be men, or individuals [*laughter*], who first—and this is the most important qualification—share the general judicial philosophy and approach of the two men on the Court whom I previously have appointed. That gives you an indication of my direction. That is the most important qualification, in addition, of course, to the basic qualification that the man must be one who is schooled in the law and particularly in constitutional law.

I should also point out that that means that the individual can come from any section of the country. It means that he can come from a court. He can come from the bar, be a practicing lawyer. He can come from a law school. He can be, for example, a law professor, as was Mr. Justice Frankfurter, or he can come from the Congress or the Senate, provided his specialty in the Congress and the Senate has given him the equivalent of experience in the legal field that either active practice of the law or serving on a court or teaching law would give.

So, you see, I will not rule out, as some want me to do, anybody who has not served on the circuit court of appeals. My other two appointees, that I just mentioned, both had served on the circuit court of appeals, and the appointments may be from the circuit court of appeals. But I am not limiting it to that because here we have to go for the best qualified people who have the judicial philosophy that I think is needed in the Court today.

And even an old woman could have that philosophy!

DEFENSE CAPABILITY

[12.] Q. Mr. President, in view of the report on comparative missile capabilities on the reduction of our armed forces, both as to Army and fleets, do you care to comment, sir, on our present or future defensive capability at this time?

THE PRESIDENT. This is Ferd Mendenhall? [2]

Q. Yes.

THE PRESIDENT. I thought so. There are no old men, incidentally, either. [*Laughter*] I have known Ferd Mendenhall for 20 years, too.

Let's look at that relative balance between the Soviet Union and the United States. There is a tendency to point out that because the Soviet Union has been moving ahead during the past 10 years, at a time when the United States has been somewhat limited to the numbers—as far, at least, as the number of missiles are concerned—that we had back in 1962, that because of that fact that the United States has become already inferior.

Now, I would answer your question by saying, first, that what the Soviet Union needs to have a sufficient military establishment to carry out its foreign policy is different from what the United States needs. The Soviet Union is primarily a land power, and it needs, therefore, a different mix than we have.

The United States is a combination of a land and a sea power. Consequently, whereas the United States must have, in order to have an effective foreign policy to meet our needs around the world, superiority on the sea, what the United States may need in terms of divisions on

[2] Ferdinand Mendenhall, editor, Valley News and Green Sheet, Van Nuys, Calif.

land may be much less as compared with what the Soviet Union would have to have.

So, when somebody says the Soviet Union has three or four or five times as many divisions as the United States has, that doesn't mean that what they have makes them, therefore, automatically superior.

I would say at this point that in terms of strategic missiles, there is basically a balance between the United States and the Soviet Union and that neither power at this time is going to be able to gain a clear enough superiority that either would launch a preemptive attack upon the other.

That is the reason why the possibilities of success in the SALT talks, the strategic arms limitation talks, are, in my opinion, good. I think an announcement was made this morning that a significant step has already been taken with regard to accidental war and a more improved hot line.[3] That took a lot of negotiating, but it is important and it will be signed next week in Washington when Mr. Gromyko is here.

That also is an indication that progress is being made on limitations of offensive and defensive weapons, which I announced on May 20—and at the same time it was announced in Moscow—would be the goal for this year.

Now, whether we achieve it by the end of this year, no one can say at this point. We have made progress. And I believe the goal will be achieved. I believe that we will reach an agreement, and the reason we will reach an agreement is this fundamental point that I make: Neither power at this time could, if it wanted to, gain that superiority which would enable it to, frankly, blackmail the other one.

[3] A White House announcement of approval of two agreements that had been negotiated with the Soviet Union at the strategic arms limitation talks was released September 24, 1971, and is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 7, p. 1318).

THE MIDDLE EAST

[13.] Q. Mr. President, Senator Jackson, on the floor of the Senate, stated that the imbalance in the Middle East, as far as military weapons are concerned, is widening to the detriment of Israel. He suggested that there be immediate implementation of at least $500 million worth of jets and other weaponry. Does the Administration support this thinking, or are there facts different from what Senator Jackson suggests?

THE PRESIDENT. Let me respond to the question not simply in terms of Senator Jackson's recommendations, and I have great respect for him in this field because he is an expert, but in terms of what the policy of the Administration is.

First, we support the truce.

Second, it would not be in the interest of either Israel or the U.A.R. to break that truce. I think that we, therefore, have a pretty good idea that the truce may be maintained.

But third, however, neither side should assume, neither Israel nor the U.A.R., that the truce can go on indefinitely, because unless there is progress made toward a permanent settlement, there is inevitably going to develop an imbalance from one side to the other.

Now, having stated those general propositions, let me state the position of the United States toward Israel. I have stated over and over again that the United States will do what is necessary to see that the balance of power in the region is not

altered. That commitment we have kept in the past; that commitment we will keep in the future with regard to Israel. Israel knows it, and Israel's neighbors know it.

But, on the other hand, while at the same time we keep the commitment, and we will keep it in this general context of seeing that the balance does not shift—and we watch it closely week by week, I can assure you—at the same time we are, of course, trying to influence the negotiations along the line of pointing up that simply maintaining the balance of power is not a policy that can survive; it is not viable because in the end it will blow, and that is why we are pushing for a permanent settlement.

MEETING WITH PREMIER KOSYGIN?

[14.] Q. Premier Kosygin will be in Canada next month. There is some talk that he will go on down to New York during that same trip. Is it possible that you will meet with him on that occasion?

THE PRESIDENT. I do have plans to meet with Mr. Gromyko next week, the Soviet Foreign Minister, but I have no plans to meet with Mr. Kosygin on his visit to the United States, if he makes such a visit, and I think that is still in a speculative position.

SOUTH VIETNAMESE ELECTIONS

[15.] Q. Mr. President, will the posture of the unopposed ballot in Vietnam have any effect on your winding down the war? Will it speed it up at all?

THE PRESIDENT. With regard to the unopposed ballot, we, as I have stated on other occasions, would prefer that Vietnam could have an election in which there was a contest. We, of course, noted with approval the fact that the parliamentary elections were very, very vigorously contested, and that over one-third of the Parliament in the National Assembly were elected in what most observers agreed was a very fair, impartial election. Over one-third of them were members of the parties opposing President Thieu, which indicates there was a very active opposition.

It is also to be noted that in the Senate of South Vietnam there is a very active opposition which is able to assert itself. We, however, cannot get people to run for office unless they are willing to run, and under these circumstances, therefore, the problem which confronts us is whether, because South Vietnam has elections but has not yet had elections which we consider to be satisfactory in terms of our standards, whether under those circumstances we, in effect, throw up our hands and say that it makes no difference what happens, let the Communists take it over.

The choice, quite frankly, is not between a South Vietnam and perfect elections, or elections meeting our standard, but the choice is between South Vietnam and no elections, which is what would be the case if the Communists were to come in.

So, as far as our plan is concerned, I would simply summarize it this way: Our plan for ending the American involvement in Vietnam is proceeding. I will have another announcement to make in November with regard to that plan. It is significant to note that over 300,000 Americans have come out of Vietnam. It is significant to note that as far as our casualties are concerned, the casualties for the entire summer were not as great as

they were each week when we came into office in 1968—and they will continue to go down.

Our goal of ending the American involvement, of preventing a Communist takeover, of obtaining the return of our POW's, can be attained, in my opinion, and will be attained, and the complete American withdrawal, consistent with that goal, will occur.

In the event, however, that as a result of a change of policy, a change of policy that might be brought upon the Administration by Congressional action—I don't anticipate this, but it has been speculated about—we move more precipitately, everything that we have fought for in Vietnam could be lost.

So, I would simply say that we feel that our policy of ending American involvement in a way that would prevent a Communist takeover and give the people of South Vietnam a chance to develop a democratic system which more closely meets our standards—that goal can be reached.

I would also point this out: I know many Americans are concerned about the failure of other countries that we aid around the world, people like the people of South Vietnam, to move as swiftly as we think they should toward the democratic society that we have here or that the British have, for example.

I note, for example, a very well-intentioned resolution that some Congressmen have put in, saying we should cut off aid to South Vietnam unless they have a leader elected in a contested, democratic election. Let me say that if we adopted that procedure and that policy, the United States would have to cut off aid to 61 countries in the world today that we are giving it to, because only 30 of the 91 countries to which we give aid have leaders that were elected in a contested election.

That doesn't mean that we like it that way, but it does mean that the road toward democracy and contested elections is a long and hard one. But the main thing is to be on the road and give people a chance to have it that way, rather than to let those people end up on the kind of a road where there is no election and no hope of one in the future, which is the case in North Vietnam.

Q. Thank you, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. We are out of time. It is 5:03. Thank you, gentlemen.

NOTE: The session began at 4:30 p.m. in the Mayfair Room at the Benson Hotel.

Participants in the briefing represented the States of Alaska, Arizona, California, Colorado, Hawaii, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Oregon, Utah, Washington, and Wyoming.

304 Remarks on Arrival at Walla Walla, Washington. *September* 26, 1971

I JUST WISH that on this beautiful Sunday afternoon that Mrs. Nixon and I could have the chance to meet everybody that is here at the airport, but if so, we would never get to Alaska in time to welcome the Emperor of Japan, so we cannot do it.

I do, however, want you to know that to receive such a welcome here at Walla Walla, where I visited 15 years ago, is

really very heartwarming.

I know you know the people from your own State who are here, but I know that you would all want to give a hand to the Governor, Governor Evans. I said when the Governor was elected, and I said in 1968: He is, without question, one of the outstanding Governors in this country—progressive, strong, intelligent. I am very proud that he is here in the State of Washington.

More important, of course, I think you, too, should see Mrs. Nixon and Mrs. Evans.

Now, we have a very distinguished man traveling with us who is going on to Alaska. He is a man you can all see without any problem when he gets up here—he could be playing on that team, incidentally—the Secretary of the Interior, the biggest man in the Cabinet, Rogers Morton.

And also the mayor, Mayor Proctor, and your representative, Representative Bledsoe. Wouldn't you like to say hello to them?

Now that I have introduced all of these celebrities, I would just like to say a word to this wonderful group here about the visit that we are paying to this State and the visit that we will be paying later in the day to Anchorage, Alaska, and its significance.

First, I am very appreciative of the fact that I am in a town, or at least in the airport of a town, that is very much like the town in which I grew up, Whittier, California. I went to a small college, a small coeducational college, a Friends college, and I have always had no regrets about it. I deeply believe in the small, independent colleges, and I am glad that in this city you have two, Whitman College and Walla Walla College.

I also think you should know that I received what to me, in all my travels around the country, is perhaps the greatest compliment in the way of a gift that I could possibly receive. Could you bring that up here a moment? [1]

Now I will tell you a little story. As you probably guessed, I am somewhat of a football fan, as many of you are. But I went out for football 4 years at Whittier College and never made a letter. So, consequently, to meet these men from this team and to know that I was selected as an honorary captain to the team really made me very, very proud.

Let me say, incidentally, speaking here in the State of Washington, I happened to check over the sport pages today—rather big day for Washington teams yesterday. The Huskies beat TCU [Texas Christian University], a strong team in that Southwest Conference.

And Washington State, the Cougars, broke that winning streak—I remember back in the days of Babe Hollingsberry when they used to beat Southern Cal—but now here they go off and beat Minnesota and surprised a lot of people.

But most important, the Missionaries beat Eastern Oregon, and Steve Washburn now is not going to wash his foot for a few days, after that.

But on from football to the subject of much greater seriousness, and one which I know will be of interest particularly to the young people here, and also to your parents, because you are interested, of course, in what happens, as we are, and I am, to our children. I know, too, that a tragedy occurred in this city, and that all

[1] The President received a blue Whitman football jersey bearing his name and the number "1" from Steve Washburn, co-captain of the Whitman College football team.

of us, all of you, share the sympathy for the fine young boy who, in an accident, lost his life.[2] I know, too, that as you think of that tragedy to that young boy, we think of young Americans in the future. What does the future hold for them?

I would like to tell you a little about what I think the future holds for young Americans. Sometimes you may be rather discouraged about the future. We have been passing through a difficult time in this country, the longest and most difficult war in any nation's history, a war that, however, is being brought to an end in a way that we can win a lasting peace.

Finally, you also are looking to the future, wonder what it holds for you in terms of jobs and opportunity and progress and all the rest.

First, on the peace side, let me say that this journey that we are making to Alaska has very great significance. There, for the first time in the whole history of either country, the President of the United States will meet with the Emperor of Japan. This is significant not only symbolically; it is particularly significant because, as you know, our two nations, just 25 years ago, concluded a long and very difficult war for both nations. And incidentally, over half the people in the world living today have been born since that war was over. That shows us the opportunity. It shows us also the challenge of peace.

One of the purposes of this visit, and the other meetings I have been having with Japanese leaders, is to develop the kind of a foreign policy in which Japan and the United States, while we will always be competitors, and friendly competitors economically—let us never be enemies again. Let us never have war again between these two great nations.

Then, at a later time, as you probably have noted, I will be making a trip to Mainland China. There I will meet with the leaders of the People's Republic of China. Eight hundred million people live there, 800 million people who presently are isolated from the rest of the world, in the world community. I would not want any of you to think that this meeting means that the differences between our two nations will end, because they will not. There will be great differences in the years to come.

But it does mean this: It means that now we begin a dialogue. We take the steps in which we have a chance to talk about our differences, rather than to fight about our differences. And as we look ahead to the future, to the future of these young men, and even the younger ones in the grade school here, 15, 20 years from now, I hope and I pray—and I know that all of you on this Sunday join in that prayer—that when they grow up, that they can grow up in a world that will be an open world in which they can travel to all parts of the world; and that they can grow up in a world where the 800 million people of China are not isolated from the rest of the world, where the danger of war that would exist if they were isolated is reduced, because then, whereas we may have differences, we will talk about them and not fight about them. That is something we all want for America and for the future.

Now, having spoken of the promise of peace, we also have some challenges. The

[2] The President was referring to Chuck Anderson, a senior at Walla Walla High School, who died on Wednesday, September 22, 1971, of head injuries sustained in a high school football game the preceding weekend.

State of Washington—as Governor Evans has so often and so eloquently and so vigorously emphasized to me in his visits to Washington since I have occupied the President's Office—the State of Washington has had economic problems due to the fact that we are changing from war production to peace production. Two million men, for example, have been let out of the armed services and defense plants as a result of our success in ending American involvement in Vietnam.

As a result, it has meant that in the Seattle area, in other parts of the country, even this part of the country of this State, there have been problems in terms of unemployment.

But let me tell you, don't be discouraged about it because what we are going to build in this country—and we can do it—we are going to build a new prosperity—a new prosperity without war. That is the kind of prosperity we want: jobs that are based on production for peace rather than production for war; a new prosperity without inflation.

That is why we have a program to stop the rise in the cost of living. But in building that new prosperity, let me just tell you what an enormous stake this State, as a matter of fact, Washington and Oregon, all of this great Northwest, has in it.

I mentioned the visit with the Emperor of Japan. I mentioned the visit that I will be paying to the People's Republic of China. Do you realize that the next quarter of a century will be the era of the Pacific? Think of the millions of people that live there. Think of the trade and everything that will develop in the years ahead there. Here in the Pacific Northwest we have the gateway to the Pacific.

If I were a young man and if I were to choose a place to come where there was opportunity of the future, I would well come to this part of the country. I would come here because, being the gateway to the Pacific, the opportunities for development and progress are enormous.

So, what I am simply saying to you is that in this time of transition from war to peace, in this time when you may be somewhat discouraged about the economic progress: Take heart. Take heart because the future is going to be, I believe, a peaceful future, and the future is going to be one—in that peaceful future—when because of this new opening to the Pacific that we are now developing, that this Pacific Northwest will enter its greatest era.

Let me say that I grew up in a rather large family, five brothers. My youngest brother was born when I was in college, and my mother always said he was the smartest of the lot. You know where he chose to live and where he is still living—in the State of Washington. So believe me, you are in a good State.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:08 p.m. at Walla Walla Airport.

305 Remarks at the Atomic Energy Commission's Hanford Works Near Richland, Washington. *September* 26, 1971

MRS. NIXON and I are really delighted to be here in the tri-city area [1] and get such a wonderfully warm welcome. As we came in on the helicopter, we saw all of the cars parked for miles around. And I just wondered whether anybody was home.

We have some very distinguished guests with us here today. I think you would like to see them, too. Of course, first, somebody who needs no introduction, the very distinguished and very able, progressive Governor of the State, Governor Evans, and Mrs. Evans.

Then we have, also, the biggest man in the President's Cabinet, the Secretary of Interior, Rogers Morton. Do you see what I mean? My football coach, Chief Newman, used to say, "He is big enough to go hunt bear with a switch."

We also have the Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, the new Chairman who succeeded Dr. Seaborg, Dr. James Schlesinger.

Then, two of the top members of the President's staff—these are people you have read about and heard about—first, Mr. John Ehrlichman, who comes from the State of Washington, from Seattle, and who heads up the Domestic Council. Incidentally, you think that Governor Evans is a lobbyist for Hanford and the tri-city area, you ought to hear Ehrlichman—he is all out.

Then, another man that I am sure you have heard about, who is enormously interested in this matter—I understand incidentally—Dan Evans told me—that it was once said that more Ph.D.'s lived in this area than any area of the United States, that was at least the case a few years ago, and probably there are still as many per square acre or mile as the case may be—but we have a very famous Ph.D. on our staff, Dr. Henry Kissinger, our adviser for international affairs.

Now, I would like to speak to you just briefly. Our schedule, as you know, is quite tight because we are going on from here to Anchorage for a meeting with the Emperor of Japan, the first time that an Emperor of Japan and the President of the United States have ever met.

I would like to speak to you because coming to this part of the State, coming to this area that has contributed so much to the defense of the United States, and can contribute so much to the peacetime growth of the United States, I particularly want to express appreciation for what the people of this area have done in the past and give you just an idea of what I think you can look forward to in the future.

First, with regard to where we are now, I mentioned the visit with the Emperor of Japan. That indicates a totally new era in relations between these two countries. We all remember World War II. I see so many young people here, and I think of the fact that over half the people in the world were born after World War II, which is an indication of the fact that that war is over and that now the people who were then enemies can and must be friends. And so Japan and the United States will be friends. We will never be enemies again.

[1] Area including the cities of Richland, Pasco, and Kennewick.

Then, I am sure that when I introduced Dr. Kissinger, you will remember that on July 15 I announced that he had been in Peking and that as a result of his visit, I would be paying a visit, the first President of the United States to visit Mainland China. This meeting will take place at a later time. It is a meeting that has been widely speculated about. And I just say this word about what it means, particularly to the young people that are here, because it means, really, far more to you than it does to our generation.

When we think of what the world is going to be like 15, 20 years from now, just think what it would be like if 800 million of the most capable, able people in the world were isolated from the rest of the world, living—not knowing the rest of the world—outside of the world community and living there with an enormous potential in military power, including nuclear power. It would be a terrible danger.

So we believe, I believe, that it is essential that now we take the steps, the steps to open a dialogue. It isn't going to settle the differences—they are deep—but to open a dialogue that will discuss those differences, so that now and 5, 10, 15, 20 years from now the people in Government of the United States, the people in Government of the People's Republic of China, while we will continue to have differences, we will talk about them; we will not fight about them. This, we think, is important for the future generation.

Now, a word about this area. Everybody in the United States has heard of Hanford, and what it means in terms of the nuclear power that it has created. Everybody knows that it is still important in terms of nuclear weaponry, which is essential as an instrument for keeping the peace in the world, as a deterrent to war, as a deterrent to those who might start war.

But today we must think not only in that respect but we must think far beyond, of what that nuclear power can do in terms of peace.

Let me say something that I know will be understood here, but which too often is not understood in many parts of our country. Many people in this country, because nuclear power is so destructive, are afraid of it. What we have to understand is that when you have such enormous power, let's use it for peace, let's find a way to use it, and that, of course, is the future as far as this area is concerned. Don't be afraid of it; build it for peace.

I live, as you know, in California, down in San Clemente. And right next to us, within about a couple of miles, is one of the new nuclear powerplants. Many are afraid to live there because they fear what could happen with regard to that peaceful nuclear powerplant. I am not afraid to live there. I am not afraid, not because I know much about it, but because what I do know tells me that here we have a new source of energy, a source of energy that is absolutely important to the future of the world.

I know the people of the State of Washington—perhaps as much as any people in this country, due to the fine leadership you have had in the State—are interested in the environment, in preserving it. If you are going to have a clean and beautiful environment in this country, we have to have a new source of energy, plentiful and clean. And we can have that new source of energy. The place to get it—

one of the major places to get it—certainly is through the development of nuclear energy.

That is why I made an announcement on June 4,[2] one that did not get, of course, the enormous publicity of the announcement of the journey to China, one that did not get the publicity of my announcement of the new economic policy to deal with the problems of inflation and unemployment in this country, but one which in terms of the future of the country may be, in long-range terms, even more important in some respects, and that is that the United States was going to go forward in building a breeder reactor.

Now don't ask me what a breeder reactor is; ask Dr. Schlesinger. But don't tell him not to tell you, because unless you are one of those Ph. D.'s, you won't understand it either. But what I do know is this: that here we have the potentiality of a whole new breakthrough in the development of power for peace. And that means jobs—jobs for this area, but jobs and power for hundreds, for millions of people all over the world.

At the time of that announcement, I was able to announce we were going to have one experimental plant to go forward. I want to tell you today—and I have chosen this place and time to make the announcement for reasons you will all understand—that because private industry has already contributed $200 million to the development of the first plant, that I have decided to authorize going forward on a second one.

We are not yet ready to drop the other shoe and to say where they are going to be, except this: This area that has so much talent in terms of brains, that has so much resources in terms of experience, has a role to play in the future in the development of our power. I will just say that, and we hope that you will be able to play it.

One final thought before we go in for the tour. I mentioned a moment ago how all of this business about breeder reactors and nuclear energy is over my head. That was one of my poorest subjects—science. I got through it, but I had to work too hard. I gave it up when I was a sophomore. But I can assure you that it always has been fascinating to me because it seems to me that if a people are to be a great people, we must always explore the unknown. We must never be afraid of it. That is why we have to go to space; that is why we should have built the SST; that is why, as far as this particular matter is concerned, in terms of nuclear power, we must not be afraid. We must explore it.

We can't be sure what it is going to produce, but on the other hand, we know that by exploring the unknown, we are going to grow, we are going to progress, and progress in a way that will be good for all Americans and for other people in the world.

There is a wonderful story about Benjamin Franklin that illustrates my point on that score. A balloon was sent aloft, the first time that Americans at that time had seen a balloon, and somebody asked Franklin, "Of what possible use is that thing?" And his answer was, "Of what possible use is a newborn babe?" So that is what we have here. We have here the possibilities of new breakthroughs.

The fact that you live in this area, and that whether you work here in this installation, whether you are associated with it, it seems to me this is one of the most exciting places to live, one of the most exciting times to be alive in the history of man,

[2] See Item 195.

because you are opening the great vistas of the unknown. And, as a result of exploring them and opening them, it is going to mean a better life for our people, and a better life and, we hope, a peaceful life with peaceful production for all the people of the world.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:58 p.m.

306 Statement Announcing Authorization of a Second Experimental Fast Breeder Reactor. *September* 26, 1971

I KNOW that people in this tri-cities area are aware of our national energy policy announced in my message of June 4, 1971.

At that time I called on the private sector to join Government in financing one demonstration liquid metal fast breeder reactor, to begin to move this Nation into an era of plentiful, clean, and safe atomic power.

Today I am happy to be able to say that private industry has, according to our latest information, subscribed over $200 million for this important project. This assures that our first reactor can go into construction. Further, I have decided to order the authorization of a second liquid metal fast breeder reactor in order that we can move forward as rapidly as possible toward the achievement of our energy goals.

We are not today in a position to announce the locations of these experimental reactors. But those interested in the continued growth of the Pacific Northwest recognize the unique position which the Hanford Reservation occupies in the future of atomic energy in our Nation. I am confident that Hanford will continue to grow and that this area will most assuredly prosper as we move forward with the liquid metal fast breeder reactor and other energy programs.

NOTE: The statement was released at the Atomic Energy Commission's Hanford Works near Richland, Wash.

307 Statement About Government-Industry Cooperation in Energy Resource Development. *September* 26, 1971

AN AMPLE supply of energy has long been recognized as a central element in a healthy economy. To improve the quality of life for all, it is also important that Americans have energy that is clean, energy that does not pollute.

On June 4 of this year, in a special message to the Congress on the subject of our national energy, I announced a broad program of commitment and action to insure that this generation of Americans and future ones will enjoy adequate supplies of clean energy.

The Hanford fast flux test facility now under construction is a major advance in this program. This technology will develop into the liquid metal fast breeder reactor, a process that will yield abundant energy that is clean and inexpensive.

In the June 4th message, I committed

this Administration to a partnership with industry in the joint construction of a liquid metal fast breeder reactor demonstration plant. The funds requested from the Congress to support the accelerated breeder program have been made available through the enactment this past week of the public works appropriation bill for fiscal year 1972.

I am especially pleased to note that not only the Congress but also the electric power industry has responded to my call. On August 26, the Edison Electric Institute announced commitments, totaling approximately $180 million, to support a demonstration plant for the liquid metal fast breeder reactor program by 53 electric utilities from throughout the country. This response is the largest single research-development commitment in the history of the electric power industry.

Large as it is, additional commitments from the remaining investor-owned facilities are needed, as well as from the rural electric cooperatives and from the publicly owned utilities. Privately owned electric equipment manufacturers, which serve all sectors of the industry, must also bear their share to make this effort succeed.

In my June 4th message, this Administration also committed itself, again in partnership with industry, to the development of coal gasification technology. This process would convert our vast coal deposits into clean gas. Through underground pipelines—many of which are now operational—gas could be channeled across the Nation into homes and industry. In August, the American Gas Association and the Department of the Interior contracted for a jointly funded program to underwrite this coal gasification technology. I am pleased to note that here, too, the industry has already obtained commitments for virtually all of its $10 million share of the first year's outlay.

In this case, however, progress by the private sector has not yet been matched by the Federal Government. The Federal contribution of an additional $10 million has yet to be acted upon by Congress. Since this country is in need of a variety of energy options, fossil fuel as well as nuclear, I urge the Congress to act swiftly to fund the Government's share of the coal gasification program.

The development of these two new technologies for clean energy marks a level of cooperation between the Federal Government and industry that is truly gratifying. I hope that this mutual sharing will expand and mature. Collaboration between the Federal Government, industry, and the general public will be required if we are to develop and use our energy resources in a way that is responsible and efficient.

NOTE: The statement was released at the Atomic Energy Commission's Hanford Works near Richland, Wash.

308 Statement About the Trans-Alaskan Pipeline. *September 26, 1971*

THE QUESTIONS raised by the proposed Trans-Alaskan Pipeline involve two resources of great magnitude and great value: the Alaskan environment and Arctic oil.

Under the law, we are required to move

systematically and analytically toward an accommodation between these resources. Our efforts have been painstaking and innovative. They have taken us nearly 2 years, because we have to satisfy not only the high standards I demand within the executive branch of Government but also the stern and impartial scrutiny of the judicial branch. Only this comprehensive analysis can truly fulfill the intent of the law and avoid long periods of reexamination and delay in the future.

Secretary Morton informed me just before my departure from Washington that the Department of the Interior is in the final stages of preparing the legally mandated environmental statement on the pipeline proposal. That statement will examine not only the environmental impact of the pipeline and marine transport systems but also their economic impact on the State of Alaska, their effect on Alaskan Natives, and alternative means for the movement of Arctic oil.

Significant portions of the impact analysis have been prepared with the assistance and active collaboration of the State of Alaska and the University of Alaska. We are deeply grateful to all those who have contributed to this complex study.

Based on the information now at hand, I do not believe that the apparent conflict between oil and the environment represents a permanent impasse. Instead it presents a challenge—a challenge to our engineering skills and a challenge to our environmental conscience. I believe we can meet that challenge, proving that natural resources—in the Arctic or elsewhere—can be developed and transported in a responsible manner which respects environmental values.

Governor Hickel, with whom I am meeting today, put it this way last February: "God gave to America an abundance of resources not to use with abuse but to use without abuse, and this is the issue."

When the Federal task force on Alaskan development was established in 1969, I directed that "we consider the ways in which we can explore and develop without destruction and with minimum disturbance, the oil resources of Northern Alaska." The Department of the Interior has been rigorously observing that difficult charge.

In the safe development of our natural resources, the marketing of Arctic oil is of high priority. The development of the Prudhoe Bay reserves is of great importance both to the State of Alaska and to the oil reserve posture of this Nation. Dr. Paul McCracken, the Chairman of my Council of Economic Advisers, has estimated that utilization of the Prudhoe Bay field would save this Nation $15 to $17 billion which we would otherwise have to spend if we imported a like quantity of foreign oil. But the manner and pace of its development will depend on the environmental analysis that is required by the National Environmental Policy Act.

This Administration is committed to the development of our Arctic resources in a way that will stress environmental compatibility and technological safety. Secretary Morton is well on the way toward balancing this difficult equation which has many complex engineering, economic, and environmental variables. I

have been assured that the highest level of professional support is going into the preparation of the analysis. I am fully confident that the conclusion, which I am informed Secretary Morton will be able to announce this fall, will be sound.

NOTE: The statement was released at Anchorage, Alaska.

309 Remarks of Welcome to Emperor Hirohito of Japan at Anchorage, Alaska. *September* 26, 1971

Your Imperial Majesties, our honored guests:

I am deeply honored, Your Imperial Majesties, on behalf of all the people of the United States, to welcome you to our country.

As you departed from Tokyo just a few hours ago, you received a magnificent farewell tribute from the people of Japan. Tonight, the American people are proud to join in that tribute to Your Majesties.

Just 50 years ago, Your Majesty became the first Crown Prince of Japan to travel to a foreign country. Tonight Your Majesty becomes the first reigning monarch of Japan in your long history to step on foreign soil.

Your journey symbolizes Japan's growing position in world affairs. We meet in Anchorage, Alaska, a place which is approximately the same distance between Tokyo and Washington, D.C. And this fact reminds us that for the past quarter century that we have built a structure of political, economic, and cultural ties which spans the space between our two countries. And may this historic meeting, the first meeting in history between the Emperor of Japan and the President of the United States, demonstrate for all the years to come the determination of our two great peoples to work together in friendship for peace and prosperity for the Pacific and for all people in the world.

Your Majesties, we are most proud and happy to have you on American soil and, as you go on your journey, our thoughts and our prayers go with you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:12 p.m. at Elmendorf Air Force Base where Emperor Hirohito was given a formal welcome with full military honors.

The Emperor spoke in Japanese. His remarks were translated by an interpreter as follows:

Distinguished guests:

I thank you very much, Mr. President, for your cordial words of welcome. I am deeply moved by your presence here with Mrs. Nixon. You have come over a long way to meet us personally on the occasion of our stopover here on our way to seven European countries.

When you are so pressed with matters of state, I highly appreciate it as a manifestation of your very special good will and interest for the Japanese people and ourselves. Together with the Japanese people, I constantly raise to heart that all the Presidents of the United States, and her Government and people, have given us unstinted assistance, materially and morally, after the end of the war, in the restoration and building up of our country. I take this opportunity to express my most sincere gratitude for it.

I have no doubt whatever that the friendly relations between our two countries, cultivated during the past quarter of a century, will be increasingly strengthened by close contact and cooperation between our Governments and peoples.

I thank you again, Mr. President, for your kindness and extend my best wishes for the prosperity of the United States of America.

Thank you.

310 Statement About the Meeting With Emperor Hirohito of Japan. *September* 26, 1971

IT IS a very special honor for me—on behalf of the American people—to extend our warmest welcome to Your Majesties as you arrive in our country.

We understand that on your departure from Tokyo you received a magnificent farewell tribute from the people of Japan. As you make the first stop on this momentous journey, the people of the United States want to add their voices to that tribute—along with our best wishes for your further travels.

It was exactly 50 years ago this year, in 1921, that Your Majesty became the first Crown Prince in the long history of Japan to travel in a foreign country. Now, at this moment, just one-half century later, you become the first Japanese reigning monarch to step on foreign soil.

This journey also has great contemporary significance. For it helps to symbolize Japan's growing position in world affairs. This is true, of course, in the economic sphere, where Japan has developed one of the world's fastest growing and most dynamic economies. It is true in the political sphere, where Japan has been increasingly active in international councils which are helping to shape the future of Asia—and of our entire planet. And it is true, also, in the cultural sphere, where Japanese art and literature and music and science have won growing acclaim throughout the world.

When the Japanese novelist Kawabata received the Nobel Prize for literature in 1968, the citation praised him for building "a spiritual bridge spanning between East and West." Those same words can be used to describe Japan's accomplishments in many other fields. For in a wide variety of ways, the Japanese people have been helping to bring the East and the West into closer communication. Your Majesties' journey represents another significant step in that important process.

Our visit this evening also symbolizes the friendship between Japan and the United States.

We meet this evening in a part of the United States which is approximately the same distance from Tokyo as it is from our own capital in Washington, D.C. This fact reminds us that our two countries are not only friends but neighbors as well, separated by an ocean which grows smaller every day.

Finally, let me speak of this meeting in personal terms. For I am most grateful for this opportunity to reciprocate in some measure the gracious hospitality I received during my visit to Japan as Vice President in 1953. I was honored when that visit was accorded the status of a state visit—and I was particularly honored when I was granted the first audience that Your Majesty granted to any state visitor in the postwar period. I have looked forward to the day when I could welcome Your Majesties in this country, and I am pleased that that day has now arrived.

A year ago, the great exposition at Osaka caught the imagination of the entire world. The theme of that exposition was this: "Progress and Harmony for All Mankind."

Those words express the hope which unites our peoples—and people everywhere. I know your journey will provide an eloquent expression of that hope. As you continue that journey, our best wishes will go with you.

NOTE: The statement was released at Anchorage, Alaska.

311 Remarks at a 75th Birthday Celebration Dinner Honoring Mamie Doud Eisenhower. *September 27, 1971*

I KNOW that at this particular moment that everybody is rather waiting for somebody to leave. And since I understand nobody can leave apparently until we leave, I didn't want this opportunity to pass without speaking for all of this audience to thank those who have entertained us tonight so wonderfully.

I was trying, of course, to get my speech ready, but Julie wrote it, and the alphabet just was too difficult. And so, I will ad lib this one or "wing it" as they say.

First, to the women in radio and television, this is a great night for all of you. We are, all of us, I think, appreciative of the fact that you have honored Mrs. Eisenhower in a way that I know the General would particularly appreciate. And I think all of us who are your guests want to congratulate those who have built a great profession in the field of radio and television, the women in radio and television. To all of you our congratulations and our thanks.

Second, to those who have participated in the program, they are all here on the stage, but let me say that I came with Mrs. Nixon farther than anybody else, 5,000 miles. I just love to come and see some celebrities, believe me. [*Laughter*]

I think all of us collectively want to recognize Ray Bolger, Ethel Merman, "Private" [Red] Skelton, and, of course, Lawrence Welk. Let's give them all a hand now.

And the great Cadet chorus [West Point Glee Club].

And as soon as they are released from the service, Lawrence Welk's orchestra.[1]

And then just one thought for Mrs. Eisenhower. I think, first, on a serious note that the General perhaps would have most deeply appreciated the fact that she was honored in this way with the scholarship fund for Eisenhower College to go to all of the 50 States and that this will play a great part in providing that.

And second, to think of something that would be appropriate to say about her. It was said so eloquently in the presentation of the Military Wife of the Century,[2] I think perhaps I could put it in somewhat of a different context, and even an almost personal one in this sense.

We often think of men in battle—whether it is in the battle of war or the battles of peace, in the battles of politics,

[1] The President was referring to the Marine Band, under the direction of Lawrence Welk.

[2] The Military Wife of the Century Award was presented to Mrs. Eisenhower at the dinner by Alfred J. Stokely, president, Stokely-Van Camp, Inc., as part of the annual Military Wife of the Year awards program, a worldwide effort to honor wives of servicemen who are active in volunteer work.

whatever the case might be, the competition—as being the ones that have the difficult time, those that are the strong men, and so forth. As many of you who have heard me discuss this on occasion know, I do not feel that way. The man is in the arena and he is in there fighting and he is battling and so forth, and the one that really has to be strong is his wife, the woman, who sometimes has to suffer when he is having reverses or stand by him when he is going through difficulties.

Let me say in that respect: All of us know we have enormous respect for those women in our country who enter the professions, these excellent, these certainly superb examples here of women in radio and television, who can compete with anybody. There isn't any question about that.

I see the Attorney General here. Let me say a woman can compete with anybody on the Court, too, but let him decide that. [*Laughter*]

But, let us also recognize that in the very highest sense, the wife, the role of a woman as a wife, as a mother, is also a very great profession. And I think Mrs. Eisenhower, in the over 50 years that she was the wife of General Eisenhower, so well illustrated that.

And then in this personal note. I did not know her well—until the year '55—and then I knew her very well. I flew to Denver then. The General had a heart attack. I talked to her, and I saw her stand by him, stand with him, comfort him, bring his spirit up. I saw her again when he had a stroke. It was a difficult time for him, but she was strong. She gave him the strength that he needed and, of course, added to the great strength that he already had. And then I saw her, too, in those last days, when there was never a time she was not by his side.

A woman, of course, is always proud when she can stand by her husband when he is on top, when he is winning, when things are going well. But when it really matters, when a woman really demonstrates that she is a great lady is when, like Mamie Eisenhower, she stands by her husband when he is going through those difficult days.

And so tonight, I am very honored on behalf of all of you, to wish her "Happy Birthday" and to congratulate her for being the great lady she has been through all these years.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:35 p.m. in the International Ballroom at the Washington Hilton Hotel.

The dinner was sponsored by American Women in Radio and Television for the benefit of establishing the Mamie Doud Eisenhower Scholarship Fund at Eisenhower College, Seneca Falls, N.Y.

312 Statement on Signing Bill Authorizing Extension of the Draft and Increases in Military Pay. *September* 28, 1971

TODAY I am signing into law H.R. 6531. This legislation achieves two objectives of major significance:

—It is a significant step toward an all-volunteer armed force, as it remedies the longstanding inequities in military pay for the lower grades.

—It introduces important, additional

reforms of the draft, making it as fair and equitable as possible as we progress toward the volunteer force.

I am most hopeful that this is the last time a President must sign an extension of draft induction authority. Although it will remain necessary to retain a standby draft system in the interest of national security, this Administration is committed to achieving the reforms in military life as well as the public support for our Armed Forces which will make possible an end to peacetime conscription. The more equitable pay scales provided by this act are essential to achieving this goal.

Much of the money authorized by this bill will be used to raise the pay of first-term recruits, whose pay scales have been unconscionably low. A married man without children who has just completed basic training and lives off the military base now receives only $255 a month, including his allowances. Under this new law, he will receive $450 a month. A single man living on base who now receives $149 will receive $299 under this new law.

By law the pay increases provided in this act are subject to the 90-day wage-price freeze. I should further point out that under a plan I have previously submitted to the Congress the annual comparability pay adjustment for the military, like the Federal civilian employees pay adjustment, will take effect July 1, 1972, rather than on January 1, 1972. However, these short deferrals will not materially impair our ability to achieve an all-volunteer force.

I thank the Congress for its cooperation in enacting this legislation. In particular, I want to express my own gratitude and that of the Nation for the fine leadership of Senators John Stennis and Margaret Chase Smith and Congressmen F. Edward Hébert and Leslie C. Arends, who conducted the most penetrating hearings on the draft since 1948, and skillfully guided this legislation to final passage.

NOTE: As enacted, H.R. 6531 is Public Law 92–129 (85 Stat. 348).

On the same day, the White House released an announcement outlining the provisions of the bill.

313 Remarks to the National League of Families of American Prisoners and Missing in Southeast Asia. *September* 28, 1971

Mrs. North, Mr. Secretary, and all of the distinguished guests who are at the head table, and all of those who are in this audience:

I have spoken in this room many times over the past, believe it or not, 24 years, starting as a Congressman. I can assure all of you that this brief remark that I will now address to you is spoken more from the heart, I think, than anything I have ever said before.

The Secretary of Defense—and I have had an opportunity to read his remarks and endorse them—will address you later. He will tell you what we have been doing, what we are doing, what we hope to do with regard to the great objective in which all of you and all of us are interested—and that is obtaining the release of all of our POW's and missing in action wherever they may be in Southeast Asia.

But I wish to underline what the Sec-

retary will tell you by indicating the personal commitment of the President of the United States. As you can imagine, whoever holds the Office of the Presidency cannot take upon himself all of the various assignments that come across his desk. Much must be delegated.

I want each and every one of you to know, however, that from the time in the White House Library, at Christmastime 1969, I met a group of the wives and one mother of some POW's and missing in action—from that time, as the Secretary of Defense can tell you, as the Secretary of State can tell you, I have considered the problem of obtaining the release of our POW's and missing in action as being one that has Presidential priority.

I can assure you that every negotiating channel—and now I say something here that I am sure all of you will understand—including many private channels that have not yet been disclosed, have been pursued, are being pursued, and will be pursued.

I can assure you that with regard to this problem, too, that whenever any matter comes to the attention of the Secretary of Defense or the Secretary of State, from a Senator or Congressman or the rest, it is brought to my desk and we run out the lead, whatever it may be.

You know the tragedy we have found so often—hopes raised and then dashed, because we are dealing here with a savage enemy, one who have no concern for humanitarian ideals.

But on the other hand, we believe that it is essential to check every possible lead; we don't care where it comes from. We are doing that, I have personally ordered that, and we will continue to do so. And I believe that we will eventually succeed in our goal. That is my commitment that I make to all of you.

Now, I have delayed your dinner too long, but I would like to add one other rather personal note. Many times when I travel around the country, people—particularly young people that are in school—will say, "You know, Mr. President, that must be a terribly awesome responsibility to serve as President of the United States." And people sometimes feel that all of the great burdens of the world are on the shoulders of the President and that the responsibilities are indeed awe inspiring. I would be less than candid if I were not to say the responsibilities were heavy.

But let me tell you something: Any day that I sometimes feel that it has been a rather hard day, and that I have had to make some real tough decisions, and that I haven't had very much support, and when any time I begin to feel a bit sorry for myself, I think back to that day just before Christmas in '69.

I think of airports where children have come up and said, "My daddy is missing in action." I think of the wives that I have seen and the mothers and the rest. I think of their courage and what they have done and what they have given for their country, and then I realize my job isn't all that hard.

I am just so proud of how great you have been, and I am not going to let you down, I can assure you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 7:15 p.m. to a dinner meeting of the League in the Statler-Hilton Hotel.

Carol North was national chairman of the League.

314 Remarks on Presenting the Presidential Medal of Freedom to Manlio Brosio, Secretary General of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. *September 29, 1971*

Ladies and gentlemen:

In this room are men and women who have had an enormous interest for over 25 years in NATO and, consequently, who will well understand why we have selected the Secretary General as the first man in this Administration to receive the Medal of Freedom, other than, of course, an American.

The Medal of Freedom, as a matter of fact, Mr. Secretary General, has been presented only to three others than those who are American citizens. In presenting it to you today, I think that I would like to be permitted a personal word.

It is the Medal of Freedom, and freedom and NATO certainly go very well together, because when we think of NATO—why it was set up, what it has accomplished—it has been a great instrument in support and defense of freedom. The Medal today, however, in view of your service and in view of what NATO has done for 25 years and what it will do and can do in the future, could be described as the Medal of Peace.

In presenting it to you, it could very well be described as the Medal of Peace, because for 25 years NATO's strength has never been used and has never been maintained for the purpose of threatening the peace, but always to keep the peace. And NATO continues to be strong and will be kept strong for peace and for freedom.

All of us who know the Secretary General, who knew him before he became Secretary General and before he served—longer in that position than anyone else who has held that position—know of his labors in the cause of peace through the years, the years that he was Ambassador to this country, the years that he was Ambassador to the Soviet Union and to other major countries, one of the truly great diplomats of the world; a man who has given his public life to the service of peace and then capped it finally as Secretary General for NATO, an instrument for peace, of course, as well as an instrument for freedom.

So it is with very great pride, as representing the people of the United States, as a member of the NATO community, but also pride personally as one who has been privileged to know the Secretary General for almost 20 years, to make this presentation today of the Medal of Freedom. I shall read the citation now:

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AWARDS THIS PRESIDENTIAL MEDAL OF FREEDOM TO MANLIO BROSIO

A distinguished diplomat, he has nobly served freedom in the world as Secretary General of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. He has won the highest respect in his untiring work for both defense and détente, and he has performed his task with exceptional skill, perseverance, and fairness. In his dedication to the cause of comity among nations, Manlio Brosio has demonstrated that those who work to keep the peace are as blessed as the peacemakers.

[At this point, Secretary General Brosio spoke. The President then resumed speaking.]

Ladies and gentlemen, I know that all of you would like to meet and congratulate the Secretary General. We will be glad to receive you, those who can work it into

your schedule, at the entrance to the State Dining Room at this time.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:25 a.m. in the East Room at the White House.

On the same day, the White House released a biography of Mr. Brosio and a fact sheet on the Presidential Medal of Freedom.

Mr. Brosio responded to the President's remarks as follows:

Mr. President:

I am honored, happy, and proud of this distinction you have awarded to me more than I could ever say. It is for me an undeserved and, in any case, an unexpected privilege to receive the Medal of Freedom after the few Europeans who have already received it, and alongside such personalities as Paul Henri Spaak and Jean Monnet, two names which represent, in my mind, the highest virtue and merit of great European and great Atlantic men to a degree which I have always admired and by far never reached.

Another special reason of satisfaction for me is to receive this award from you, Mr. President, and as far as I know, as the first European to whom you have presented it. You know, Mr. President, that our acquaintance is not recent. You mentioned it. It goes back to the time when, in '55, you were Vice President, and after those 6 years of my mission as Ambassador of Italy in Washington, to the intermediate 7 years in which you were preparing your comeback, and our relationship continued.

In all that time, my admiration and trust in you has never failed, and in these last years of Presidential responsibility, facing tremendous world and national problems, old and new, it has never diminished. Indeed, it has increased with the size of your difficulties and of your statesmanlike courage.

So my thanks to you today are genuine, and strengthened by a personal touch which I hope you appreciate. But I believe that the deepest reason for my satisfaction today is my conviction that your generous gesture is directed not only, and perhaps not mainly, toward a man worthy or unworthy, as he may be, but to an institution and to a policy. I see it as a reaffirmation of fidelity and attachment to the Atlantic Alliance as the main foundation of the foreign policy of the United States and of free Europe.

Of this fidelity and attachment, you have given during your term of office repeated demonstrations in deeds and in significant gestures. Your first visit to Europe at the very beginning of your term in 1969 was to Brussels and to the seat and the Council of NATO. Later on, when the problems of the Mediterranean and of American forces in Europe required your attention, you met with us in Naples and reassured us of your unfailing support.

Now, as I withdraw from NATO, you have chosen to stress again the basic importance of the links the United States has with it. This is most appropriate in a moment of great hopes and of great uncertainty in our Western free world. The might of the Warsaw Pact is growing. The trade and monetary difficulties within the free world are now at a serious turning point. The situation in the Middle East is difficult, and in the Far East is obscure. The third world is anxious and restless.

At the same time, we are today as near as we have ever been to the promising possibility of real negotiations and honest understanding between East and West and Europe, which requires all our good will and our attention.

In these critical moments, critical in a positive, no less and indeed even more than in a disturbing, sense, the link between Europe and North America remains vital and decisive. We must overcome our differences and draw from their settlement a stronger basis for pursuing and accomplishing together our unfulfilled mission of civilization: peace and freedom.

I am stepping down today, a small wheel in a continuing movement, which can easily be replaced. Your recognition will remain with me not only as a cherished memory but as a pledge for all of us, a pledge of loyalty and solidarity between Americans and Europeans.

Thank you very much.

315 Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Reports on Highway, Traffic, and Motor Vehicle Safety Programs. *September* 29, 1971

To the Congress of the United States:

Safety on the Nation's roads and highways is a subject which affects virtually our entire population. Everyone who drives or who rides in a motor vehicle, everyone who walks on and crosses the roadways has a very high stake in the promotion of traffic safety. But safety measures and remedial programs can succeed only if they have the active support of governments at every level, of business and industry, and of the general public.

In previous years, two reports have been submitted to the Congress which separately described the administration of the two principal laws in this important area: the National Traffic and Motor Vehicle Safety Act of 1966 and the Highway Safety Act of 1966. This year a single general summary report has been prepared concerning the operation of these laws. Two separate, supplementary volumes—one for each of the laws—contain additional and more detailed information.

It is my hope that the Highway Safety and the Traffic and Motor Vehicle Safety Annual Reports for 1970 will do much to increase public understanding of this pervasive menace to life, limb, and property. The summary report in particular tells a great deal about what must be done to fight this danger. It discusses the enormous toll of highway accidents in both human and financial terms, and indicates some favorable effects of remedies instituted since the 1966 legislation was passed. In addition, it describes the lifesaving nature of programs which are now receiving priority attention, tells about the major efforts in 1970 to develop and enforce motor vehicle safety standards, and reports on efforts to expand and improve State highway safety programs in accordance with Federal standards. The report also touches on some of the basic research projects which are advancing the technology of automotive and highway safety.

As I transmit these Reports to the Congress, I emphasize again the commitment of this Administration to advance the cause of highway safety. With the cooperation of the Congress, we can continue to make great strides in this critical field.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
September 29, 1971

NOTE: The reports are entitled:

"Highway and Traffic Safety 1970, U.S. Department of Transportation, National Highway Traffic Safety Administration" (Government Printing Office, 54 pp.).

"1970 Report on Activities Under the Highway Safety Act" (Government Printing Office, 50 pp. and appendixes).

"1970 Report on Activities Under the National Traffic & Motor Vehicle Safety Act" (Government Printing Office, 60 pp. and appendixes).

71-234—72——67

316 Remarks to Officials of the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. *September* 29, 1971

Mr. Secretary and ladies and gentlemen:

I hope you will not allow these microphones to frighten you into thinking that after all the speeches you have been hearing, you are going to hear a long one as you are standing here in the East Room of the White House.

But I did want this opportunity to welcome you officially as those who have come to this historic meeting, before having the chance to greet each of you personally on this occasion.

I have just been reading some notes with regard to meetings of the Fund that have taken place over the years. It is always, perhaps, difficult to try to compare one year with another. I think, however, that in terms of the great issues that are involved, it might well be said that this meeting, in terms of what follows, in terms of what is built for the future, could well prove to be the most important meeting that has occurred since over 25 years ago, or approximately 25 years ago.

The reasons for that, I think, are quite obvious to all of you as world statesmen: the fact that the world has changed so much in the past 25 years. I was just thinking, for example, when I was greeting the Emperor of Japan in Anchorage the other day, that over half of the world's people, approximately 60 percent, had been born since World War II. Half of all the people in the world now living were born since World War II. Over half of the nations in existence in the world today have come into being since World War II.

I think we should also, perhaps, agree, that as we look at the situation now, compared to what it was then and even 10, 15 years ago, that today the dangers of war on a world scale are significantly less than they have been. The challenges of peace, therefore, have significantly increased. They have increased in ways that we should all be very happy about, in many ways at least: the fact that nations that were devastated by war now are strong and vigorous competitors of other nations in the world; the fact that new nations are beginning to develop economic strength with cooperation and assistance from older ones.

All of this means that the situation that the world confronts today is totally different than the one it was confronted with 25 years ago when the United States had over half of the world's production, with only 7 percent of the world's people.

Now, turning to the role of the United States today, and without just indulging in the glittering generalities that you expect on such occasions, let me simply say with all of the sincerity at my command, that as one who came to Congress 25 years ago, who supported the Marshall Plan, who has supported reciprocal trade, who believes in the world role of the United States, who has traveled to more countries in the world than anyone who has ever served in this office, that I believe that the United States, for its own interest as well as for the world interest, must play a forthcoming and constructive role in international affairs.

I would be less than candid if I were

not to say that there is a growing and disturbing isolationism developing in our country because of the burden that America has carried, because of two wars that we have fought since World War II, because of other developments in world affairs. But whatever you may read about what the attitudes of people may be with regard to the desire to build new barriers for trade, with regard to the desire for the United States to lay down the burden or lay down at least a great part of the burden that we bear militarily and in terms of foreign assistance around the world, with regard to the idea that the United States should turn its attention almost exclusively to the problems within and forget the problems without, those are not views that I share. They are not views that are shared by the Secretary. They are not views that are shared, I trust, by the leaders of both major parties in this country.

We believe in the international role. We believe that one of the reasons we have come so far in the world in the past 25 years is because the United States has been willing to play a role. We trust that we can continue to play it.

Now, of course, we come to the present situation. You wonder, after these words, how was it possible that we have taken the action that we have on the international front. The reason that we have taken those actions—I do not and should not try to go into in detail before such a sophisticated group, except very simply to say that we have taken those actions because if the United States is to play a world role and not turn inward, the United States must be strong and sound economically.

A weak United States will be isolationist without question. A strong United States will continue to play a role that is responsible in the world. That is the reason that I had to take some of these actions, actions that I know were distressing to some of you, but actions that we felt were essential to strengthen the position of the United States so that we could continue to be as forthcoming in world affairs in the future as we have in the past.

Looking to the future, you can be assured of our cooperation in reducing barriers of trade, rather than raising them; our cooperation in sharing the burden, and sharing it fairly with others, of free world defense; our cooperation, also, in the area in which you, of course, are so expert, in the area of international monetary affairs.

On that score, I can only add one, perhaps, interesting anecdote. Perhaps most Americans' favorite humorist, at least that was as far as the 19th century was concerned, was Mark Twain. And he had something, usually, to say about virtually everybody in our society, something that was quite appropriate about lawyers, politicians, and also about bankers. This was his description of a banker:

He said, "A banker is someone who will loan you his umbrella when the sun is shining and ask for it back when it's raining."

Now, let me say, we understand that at this particular period there will be hard bargaining between bankers representing other countries and our own. And that is all to the good. I think a banker does no favor to a borrower by making a bad loan. It appears that it is a favor, but in the end the banker is right in insisting on responsibility and the ability to pay.

It certainly does not mean that we are going to have a sound structure for the future if it is based on simply going back

to one that has broken down from time to time. The measures we have taken are temporary. How long "temporary" is depends upon what we want to come up with. If we want to go to another temporary system, it would be very, very short; but if we want to build permanently for the future and build well, then we must have that kind of discussion in which all sides bargain hard in their own interest—we expect you to, we expect to—and then have an understanding which is in all of our mutual interest. It can be done, and it will be done.

One final thought: I just concluded a meeting with the Foreign Secretary of the Soviet Union. And it was a very constructive meeting—however, a meeting which as we both recognize, still discussed many differences that we have and will continue to have. But as I thought of that meeting, I thought back to the time when so many in this world immediately after World War II talked about one world politically. That is something that is not going to happen, not in our time, and probably it should not happen because of the differences that people have and will inevitably have in their political systems, their economic systems, what they want, what kind of government they want.

But while that may not happen, certainly, as we look at the free world today, as we look at Europe, as we look at Latin America, we look at Africa, we look at the rim of nations around Asia, the mainland of Asia, we can think of the possibility of one world economically. And as we move toward one world economically, one world which is highly competitive, but with rules of the game which are fair to all, this means that those political differences that otherwise would divide us can be substantially reduced.

What has happened in Europe—free Europe—over the past 25 years has eloquently demonstrated that. So, I say to you: I greet you today as bankers, as great experts in this field. I know that you will build well for the next 25 years as you have built well for the past 25. I can assure you, as you help to develop this new monetary system, you are not only doing something which is good for international finance but you are making an immeasurable contribution to world peace.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 5:29 p.m. in the East Room at the White House during a reception for finance ministers and central bank governors who were attending the annual meetings of the Boards of Governors of the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development in Washington, D.C.

Secretary of the Treasury John B. Connally was present at the reception.

317 Message to the Senate Transmitting a Protocol to the Convention on International Civil Aviation. *September* 30, 1971

To the Senate of the United States:

With a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, I transmit herewith a certified copy of a protocol dated at New York, March 12, 1971, relating to an amendment to the Convention on International Civil Aviation.

The protocol, embodying a proposed amendment to Article 50(a) of the convention, enlarges the membership of the Council of the International Civil Aviation Organization from 27 to 30.

I also transmit herewith, for the information of the Senate, the report of the Secretary of State regarding the protocol.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
September 30, 1971

NOTE: The text of the protocol and the report of the Secretary of State are printed in Senate Executive K (92d Cong., 1st sess.).

318 Statement About Additional Funds for Humanitarian Relief and Refugee Rehabilitation in South Asia. *October* 1, 1971

I AM today requesting the Congress to appropriate additional funds to meet human needs in South Asia. The United States has been deeply concerned over the situation in South Asia, both on humanitarian grounds and because of the implications for peace.

Recent events in East Pakistan, compounding the destruction from natural disasters, have led to widespread human suffering. Unchecked, this situation could drift toward greater disaster in the form of famine or even war. It is a primary objective of the Administration to relieve suffering and help avert such a situation.

Acting on its mandate as the conscience of the world community, the United Nations, under the leadership of the Secretary General, has focused concern on the plight of those who are caught in this situation. Through its special missions in Dacca and New Delhi, the United Nations has also provided the operational framework for channeling relief supplies to the millions who need them both in India and in East Pakistan.

Many countries and private donors are responding to this enormous challenge. The United States has already provided substantial amounts of food and foreign exchange to support the programs of the United Nations in aid of the millions of refugees in India and the millions who could face starvation in East Pakistan.

But more needs to be done by the United States and by other donors. The costs of dealing with this problem through this fiscal year are expected to be over a billion dollars—far beyond the means of India and Pakistan. The House of Representatives early recognized the need for unusual humanitarian relief for South Asia and on August 3, 1971, authorized $100 million in additional funds under the Foreign Assistance Act. Since that time, however, the magnitude of the need has grown. It is also important that we be able to play our proper role promptly if contingencies in the relief operation arise.

I therefore urge that, in addition to completing action on the House initiative, the Congress authorize and appropriate an additional sum of $150 million for the relief and rehabilitation of refugees from East Pakistan and for humanitarian relief in East Pakistan under the Foreign Assistance Act. Together with food supplied under Public Law 480, these funds will enable us to do our share in mitigating the effects of this human crisis, and thus

help avert the deeper tragedies that all too easily could follow.

NOTE: The statement was released at Key Biscayne, Fla.

A White House announcement of the creation of an Advisory Panel on South Asian Relief Assistance and designation of the Panel's membership was released by the White House on August 21, 1971, and is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 7, p. 1208).

319 Statement About the Retirement of Dr. Ralph Bunche as Under Secretary General of the United Nations. *October* 1, 1971

IT WAS with deep regret that I learned that Dr. Ralph Bunche is leaving his important post with the United Nations. From those wartime days when he helped to plan for the establishment of the U.N., and throughout the subsequent history of that organization, Dr. Bunche has dedicated himself fully to its advancement. His wisdom, his creativity, and his courage have been an inspiration to all who have come to know him.

Dr. Bunche will be sorely missed at the U.N. As he enters his retirement he can do so with the certain knowledge that he has earned the deepest thanks and warmest best wishes of this Nation—and of his fellow men everywhere.

NOTE: The statement was released at Key Biscayne, Fla.

Dr. Bunche had served as Under Secretary General for Special Political Affairs since 1957.

320 Statement About Deferment of Federal Pay Raises. *October* 2, 1971

NEXT WEEK the Congress faces the acid test of its determination to cooperate in the national campaign to control rising prices. The House will either sanction, or veto, deferral of Federal pay raises from January 1 to July 1, 1972. That deferral has been made necessary in order to do equity and to help balance the Federal revenue loss resulting from the tax cuts I have proposed as part of the new program to create jobs and stop inflation.

The sacrifice being asked of Federal workers is not so heavy as to be inequitable, at a time when all Americans are being asked to sacrifice. The average Federal white-collar worker earns almost $13,000 in pay and benefits; his pay has risen 21 percent since mid-1969. With this deferral, the principle of comparability is maintained. The comparability increase will become effective July 1, 1972.

In the Federal Pay Comparability Act, when the Congress declared that alternative pay plans could be submitted "because of national emergency or economic conditions affecting the general welfare," it anticipated the present situation. Such conditions now exist.

If we are to ask the private sector to make unpopular decisions on wages, then we in the Federal Government—the largest employer in the United States—must demonstrate the courage to make a similar decision. Political pressures, however, are

building on the Congress to reject deferral of Federal pay increases. If the House or the Senate should cave under that pressure, the inflationary consequences for the American housewife and American workingman would be rapid, extensive, and severe.

If the Congress should veto the deferral, an unmistakable signal will be sent to business, to labor, and to skeptical friends abroad that the legislative branch has unilaterally withdrawn from the national alliance of private and public institutions determined to halt inflation in the United States. There must be no political profiteering in the war against inflation.

Like all Americans, Federal employees will benefit from the new prosperity—a peacetime prosperity without inflation and without war. But if Congress rejects this pay raise deferral, then other Americans will have to bear the cost either in diminished benefits, deferred programs, or through other stern budgetary measures.

Let the Congress and the executive branch avoid the inevitable recriminations that will come if the new economic policy—and the prosperity it is designed to bring—is torpedoed. Rather, let us work cooperatively together so that all Americans can share the benefits of the new prosperity.

NOTE: The statement was released at Key Biscayne, Fla.

321 Telephone Remarks to Students and Educators Attending a Drug Education Seminar in Monroe, Louisiana. *October* 4, 1971

THE PRESIDENT. I just wish I could be there with you, because this has to be one of the greatest meetings held ever, anywhere, anyplace in the country on a subject of such great interest to the Nation.

CONGRESSMAN OTTO E. PASSMAN. It certainly is, Mr. President. You are going to get a very favorable report on the meeting. I want to assure you I speak for all the citizens of Louisiana when I say to you that you have honored us greatly by accepting our invitation to address this drug seminar. This is the largest gathering ever assembled in the city of Monroe. We are very much in your debt, and we are very appreciative, Mr. President.

And now, ladies and gentlemen, it is a high privilege, a distinct honor, and a great pleasure for me to present to you the President of the United States. Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. Thank you very much, Congressman Passman.

I simply want to say to you, to Governor McKeithen, Governor Noe, District Attorney Kostelka, Mayor Howard, Mayor Hatten, to all of the thousands who are gathered there in Monroe, Louisiana, as I just told the Congressman a few minutes ago, this is without question not only the biggest meeting of its kind ever held in Monroe, Louisiana, it is the biggest meeting of its kind ever held in the United States of America.

I congratulate the people of Louisiana for supporting this great program for dealing with drug abuse and giving an example to the rest of the country.

When we look at the vicious, destructive effects that drugs have on individual lives, on society as a whole, there is no question but that drug abuse is public

enemy number one in the United States today. What we must do is to wage an all-out offensive against that deadly enemy. That offensive is underway right now. Government is playing a large part, educators are, scientists and doctors are.

But these efforts, by themselves, will not be enough. The only way we can conquer public enemy number one is by meeting it with public defender number one. By that I mean the people gathered in Monroe, Louisiana, today. I mean mobilizing thousands, and even millions, of individual Americans on the basis of their absolute refusal to tolerate the drug menace as a part of our national life any longer.

What you are doing in Monroe this morning is an indication that this kind of fighting spirit is taking hold all over this land, and I say more power to you.

Let's look for a moment at the dimension of the drug problem. Heroin, the most dangerous of all illicit drugs, is coming into wider use. Vicious criminal networks push it ruthlessly, and far too many people—and, most tragically, young people—continue to believe the lie that heroin is a source of pleasure. In fact, it is a source of enslavement or death. Only a small minority of heroin users ever get rid of that deadly habit.

At the same time, we also find that other drugs are being shoved aggressively at Americans behind a smokescreen of false claims and half-truths.

The Government is moving against the drug problem on a number of fronts. We are moving hard to cut off the drug supply. In doing so, we are getting increasing cooperation from other countries where smuggling and production have been most troublesome. Here at home we have put a lot more money and manpower into law enforcement. We are requesting still more.

At the same time, we are working to help the people who have already been victimized by drugs. We have set up a new White House office to coordinate rehabilitation and treatment work across the country, as well as in Vietnam, and among those veterans who have become drug users in the service, wherever they were in the world.

We are making a major effort at heading off the problem among young people before it gets started, through educational programs which get them the facts on what the law is, what the effects of these various drugs are, and what a poor risk it is from any standpoint for a young person to gamble on drugs.

I particularly want to congratulate those who planned this conference for your enlisting thousands of young people, high school students and college students, in this great battle against drug abuse, because that is the key. Young people are the target of the peddlers of drugs, and they must be the ones who must lead the fight against them.

But none of these efforts, important as they are, get to the fundamental question of why—why do people turn to drugs in the first place? The answer lies in the erosion of moral and spiritual values to the point where people look to a pill or a shot of drugs for support, when they should be able to look to the strength of their own character and the vitality of the American spirit.

So no matter what else we do, we are going to continue to have a drug problem until we have a new birth of individual character and of national character to give people something finer and higher to live for.

I hope your conference will consider this great need, for it is truly the key to solving

the drug abuse problem. If America means anything, it means freedom—free men, free ideals, freedom to reach new heights of greatness and progress. The slavery of drugs is the very opposite of this cherished dream. So, as you fight to conquer it, you are doing a great service to America and to the cause of freedom for which this Nation stands.

Thank you very much for giving me the opportunity to talk to you at this great conference.

CONGRESSMAN PASSMAN. Thank you, Mr. President. Your message has been received most enthusiastically. The thousands assembled here are giving you an outstanding and enthusiastic ovation. I have never witnessed anything like that before. Thank you again, Mr. President, for your message.

THE PRESIDENT. Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:13 a.m. from Key Biscayne, Fla., to participants attending the seminar in the Monroe Civic Center.

During his remarks the President referred to John J. McKeithen, Governor of Louisiana; James A. Noe, a former Governor of Louisiana; Robert Kostelka, district attorney of Monroe; Jack Howard, mayor of Monroe; and Bert Hatten, mayor of West Monroe.

322 Statement on Signing Bill Extending the Insured Loan Authority of the Farmers Home Administration. *October* 5, 1971

I HAVE today signed into law H.R. 10538, a bill extending the authority of the Secretary of Agriculture to insure loans through the Farmers Home Administration that will benefit rural people throughout the United States.

The largest appropriation in these programs is for the insuring of loans to enable farmers to buy and expand farms. This fiscal year that appropriation is $350 million, an increase over last year of almost $82 million.

The second largest appropriation in these programs is for the insuring of loans for water supply facilities and waste disposal systems. This fiscal year that appropriation amounts to $300 million, an increase of 15 percent over last year.

I am delighted that the permanent extension of this insured loan authority also makes it possible for the Secretary of Agriculture to double loans for Indian tribes.

Earlier in the year, this Administration urged extending the insured loan authority of the Farmers Home Administration for these purposes. I am pleased that the Congress approved this bill with reasonable speed, so that the continuity of operation of these insured loan programs has not been interrupted. This credit assistance is of significant importance to the agricultural and rural sectors of our economy.

Since this Administration took office, the water and waste disposal loan program has almost doubled in size and the farm ownership program has increased by almost one-third. Farm and rural people all over America will benefit from the enactment of this legislation.

NOTE: As enacted, H.R. 10538 is Public Law 92-133 (85 Stat. 364).

71-234—72——68

323 Statement About Congressional Action on the Proposed Revenue Act of 1971. *October* 6, 1971

TODAY'S vote by the House of Representatives in favor of the tax bill reflects an overwhelming national will for prompt legislative measures to stimulate the economy, create jobs, and halt inflation. I am deeply grateful for this timely action by both the House and its Committee on Ways and Means.

The scheduling of hearings on the tax bill tomorrow by the Finance Committee of the Senate is another welcome indication of the bipartisan Congressional support for the new economic program. I am confident that, with Senate cooperation, the American people will soon have an effective tax bill enacted into law.

324 Statement About Congressional Action on Deferment of Federal Pay Raises. *October* 7, 1971

I AM most gratified by today's Senate vote supporting the deferral of the scheduled wage increase for Federal employees.

As a result of the support voted by the House 3 days ago and by the Senate today, I feel sure that Federal employees will better understand the necessity for this delay, and the integral part that it has in our efforts to achieve a new prosperity for all Americans.

NOTE: The legislation was introduced as H. Res. 596 and S. Res. 169.

325 Address to the Nation on the Post-Freeze Economic Stabilization Program: "The Continuing Fight Against Inflation." *October* 7, 1971

Good evening:

Seven weeks ago I announced a new economic policy to stop the rise in prices, to create new jobs, and to protect the American dollar.

Tonight I want to report to you about how that new policy has been working and to describe how that policy will be continued.

On the international front, I am glad to report substantial progress in our campaign to create a new monetary stability and to bring a new fairness to world trade. This Nation welcomes foreign competition, but we have a right to expect that our trading partners abroad will welcome American competition.

It is a healthy development that the world has come to understand that America believes in free trade as long as it is fair trade. This will mean more sales of American goods abroad and more jobs for American workers at home.

Further on the job front, the House of Representatives just yesterday passed a tax program based on my recommendations that will create an additional half-million jobs in the coming year. I call upon the United States Senate, which has begun hearings on this bill today, to act as

promptly as the House so that we can move forward to our goal of full employment in peacetime.

Secretary Connally and I will be meeting tomorrow morning at breakfast with Chairman Long of Louisiana, of the Senate Finance Committee, to work toward this goal.

On the inflation front, I can report to you tonight that the wage-price freeze has been remarkably successful. As you heard on your evening news, the figures bear out that statement. Wholesale prices in September posted the biggest decline in 5 years. And the price of industrial commodities has gone down for the first time in 7 years.

The primary credit for the success of this first step in the fight against rising prices belongs to you; it belongs to the American people. It is you who have shown a willingness to cooperate in the campaign against inflation. It is you who have answered the call to put the public interest ahead of the special interest.

Thousands of letters have come to this desk since I made the announcement of the wage-price freeze 7 weeks ago. Listen to what people all across America, from all walks of life, have written to me, the President, about this program.

Here is a letter from a schoolteacher in New Jersey:

"I am a widow raising two sons on my teacher's salary. I will lose about $300 because of that freeze, yet I sincerely feel that we must all support your efforts to bring the economy into balance."

Here is a letter from a wage earner in Wantagh, New York:

"As one who was expecting an increase in income this December, let me say that I will gladly go without it if that will curtail inflation."

The wife of a Government employee in Pampa, Texas, writes:

"We are willing, as a family, to forego our pay raises in order to see stability in prices. Let us all hope that Americans will once again realize that we must be willing to sacrifice for a long-term goal, and once again have pride in our country."

Then from a man in Klamath Falls, Oregon:

"Your Administration's recent freeze on wages and prices means that I will not receive the four percent raise that was written into my contract this year. Nevertheless, I support your efforts to halt inflation, including the wage freeze. The fight against inflation is everybody's fight."

I want to express my appreciation to the thousands of others of you who have written me letters like this. And I want you to know how much it has meant to me to hear that most Americans will put their country's interest above their personal interest in fighting this battle.

Now, let's look at the future. Because of our strong beginning, because of the determination Americans have shown to pull together during the freeze, I am confident that our further action in stopping inflation will succeed as well.

Over the past 7 weeks, I have consulted with scores of representatives of labor and business, of farmers and consumers, of the Congress, and State and local government. They have been virtually unanimous in their belief that the battle against inflation must be fought here and now. They are together in their determination to win that battle.

And consequently, I am announcing tonight that when the 90-day freeze is over on November 13, we shall continue our program of wage and price restraint.

We began this battle against inflation

for the purpose of winning it, and we are going to stay in it till we do win it.

I am appointing a Price Commission to hold down prices. It will be made up of persons outside of government—all public members, not beholden to any special interest group. The Price Commission will develop yardsticks and will be empowered to restrain price and rent increases to the necessary minimum and to prevent windfall profits. Its goal will be to continue to drive down the rate of inflation.

This goal, however, can only be achieved with the active cooperation of workingmen and businessmen, farmers and consumers, Members of the Congress, of our State and local governments. That means all of us.

I am also appointing a Pay Board to stop inflationary wage and salary increases—the kind of increases that do not really benefit the workingman. For example, in the past 6 years workers have received big wage increases, but every wife of a worker who has to do the family shopping will tell you that those increases have practically all been eaten up by rises in the cost of living.

The Pay Board will be made up of representatives of labor, management, and the public. Both the Price Commission and the Pay Board will seek voluntary cooperation from business and labor, but they will be backed by the authority of law to make their decisions stick. Their staffs will be small. Stabilization must be made to work not by an army of bureaucrats, but by an all-volunteer army of patriotic citizens in every walk of life.

The Cost of Living Council, which is headed by the Secretary of the Treasury, will have the power to back up the Pay Board and the Price Commission with Government sanctions where necessary.

I have today named Counsellor Rumsfeld as a member of that Council, and he will spend full time as the Director of Operations for the Council.

Secretary Connally, the Chairman of the Council, will be on television tomorrow at 1 o'clock to answer technical questions with regard to the continuing program.

Our experience over the past 7 weeks proves conclusively that the vast majority of Americans will cooperate wholeheartedly with the system of voluntary restraint. But if there are some who try to take advantage of the patriotic cooperation of their fellow Americans, I can assure you that the Government must be and will be prepared to act against them. For that reason, in a meeting with the bipartisan legislative leaders today in the Cabinet Room, I have asked the Congress to extend for 1 year the Economic Stabilization Act which gives the President the power he needs to stop inflation.

Holding the line against inflation means holding all of that line. Consequently, I am appointing a Government Committee on Interest and Dividends to apply a yardstick to both of those areas. That Committee will be headed by Dr. Arthur Burns, Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System.

The Nation needs interest rates as low as they can be to meet the credit requirements of American families on equitable terms and to stimulate noninflationary economic expansion. I am confident that this can be accomplished on a voluntary basis. As a safeguard, however, as I informed the bipartisan leaders today, I will ask the Congress for standby controls over interest rates and dividends.

Let me turn now to the subject of profits. Many of my good friends in the field

of politics have advised me that the only politically popular position to take is to be against profits. But let us recognize an unassailable fact of economic life: All Americans will benefit from more profits. More profits fuel the expansion that generates more jobs. More profits mean more investments, which will make our goods more competitive in America and in the world. And more profits mean there will be more tax revenues to pay for the programs that help people in need.

That is why higher profits in the American economy would be good for every person in America.

"Windfall" profits, however, as I will describe them, are quite another thing. When wages and other costs are held down by the Government, even though prices are also held down, circumstances could arise in some cases that might generate exorbitant profits—in other words, where someone will profit from the wage-price stabilization program.

In the few cases where this happens, rather than tax such excess profits, the Price Commission's policy will be that business should pass along a fair share of its cost savings to the consumer by cutting prices.

We have lived too long in this country with an inflation psychology. Everybody just assumes that the only direction of prices is to go up. The time has come for some price reduction psychology. Let's see some prices go down. This is not only in the public interest; it makes good, competitive business sense.

Summing up these actions to stop the rise in the cost of living, here is what we will do and what we will not do:

We will permit some adjustments of prices and wages, adjustments that fairness and equity demand, but we will not permit inflation to flare up again.

We will concentrate on those major portions of the economy that are the primary causes of inflation, but we will not hesitate to take action against any part of the economy that fails to comply.

We will continue wage and price restraints until inflationary pressures are brought under control, but we are not going to make controls a permanent feature of American life. When controls are no longer needed we will get rid of them.

We will rely primarily on the good faith and voluntary cooperation of the American people to make this program work, but we will not let any selfish interest escape the fair enforcement of the law.

I call upon all of you tonight to look at this program, not as Democrats or Republicans, workers or businessmen, farmers or consumers, but as Americans. Let us recognize this profound truth: What is best for all of us is best for each one of us. We cannot afford a business-as-usual attitude anywhere, because fighting inflation is everybody's business. Let us look for a moment into the future. Some of you have heard me say that 1972 will be a very good year for the American economy. Let me broaden that estimate tonight. The coming year can be more than a very good year for the American economy. It can be a great year for America and the world.

It can be a year, for the first time in 15 years, in which we can achieve our goal of prosperity in a time of peace. It can be a year in which great progress can be made toward our goal of full employment without the inflation that robs working people of the full value of the dollars they earn. It can be a year in which the American competitive spirit is reborn as we

open up new markets for our goods abroad and new careers and job opportunities for our workingmen at home. It can be a year in which we and our international trading partners build upon the most significant initiative in monetary affairs in 25 years; a year in which we replace the crisis-prone system of the past with a new system attuned to the future.

It can be a year in which historic events will take place on the international scene, events that could affect the peace of the world in the next generation—even in the next century.

We often hear people say, "These are troubled times." I say these are great and exciting times. We are at the threshold of a great new era—an age of movement and challenge and change. We have an unparalleled opportunity to create a better world for ourselves and for our children.

Let us dedicate ourselves tonight to make the most of that opportunity—to join in a great common effort to stop inflation—and to create a new prosperity in a world of peace.

Thank you and good night.

NOTE: The President spoke at 7:30 p.m. in the Oval Office at the White House. His address was broadcast live on radio and television.

An advance text of the President's address was released on the same day.

On October 15, 1971, the President signed Executive Order 11627 further providing for the stabilization of the economy and establishing the Price Commission, the Pay Board, and the Committee on Interest and Dividends. On the same day, the White House released a fact sheet and the transcript of a news briefing on the Executive order by Donald Rumsfeld, Counsellor to the President and Director, Cost of Living Council, and Frank C. Carlucci, Associate Director, Office of Management and Budget.

On October 19, the White House released a fact sheet and the transcript of a news briefing on proposed legislation to extend the Economic Stabilization Act of 1970 by Mr. Rumsfeld, Charls E. Walker, Under Secretary, Department of the Treasury, and Stanley Rose, Deputy General Counsel to the Cost of Living Council.

A White House announcement of appointment of the membership of the Price Commission and the Pay Board was released on October 22 and is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 7, p. 1438). The White House also released the transcript of a news conference on the appointments by Mr. Rumsfeld, C. Jackson Grayson, Jr., Chairman, Price Commission, and George H. Boldt, Chairman, Pay Board.

326 Remarks at the Mountain State Forest Festival in Elkins, West Virginia. *October* 8, 1971

Your Majesty Queen Sylvia, Your Royal Highnesses of the Mountain Festival Court, all of the distinguished guests who have participated in this program, and all of you who are gathered here on the campus of this great college:

I want you to know that I am privileged to be here, and since, in the introduction, mention has been made of the historical significance of a visit of the President of the United States anyplace on the earth, let me tell you that this has a special meaning to me today for some very personal reasons.

Since I have assumed this office, I have traveled further in that space of time than anyone who has held it. That is not because particularly of what I was able to do, but because transportation speeds up and we have faster planes; we can go further and faster than ever before. But as I stand here today, this is a moment when,

for the first time since we had 50 States, a President of the United States has visited every one of the States of the Union. West Virginia is number 50.

When Governor Arch Moore came to talk to me about coming here, he, along with Congressman Staggers and the two Senators were also speaking on that subject, I reminded him that it would be the 50th State. He said, "We don't mind your coming to West Virginia as the 50th State, but remember, we are not the 50th State; we are the first State in this country."

It is that kind of State pride, that kind of competitive spirit, that has made this country great, that makes this State great, that makes the people of these hills and these mountains have the character and the strength that you have had from the time you were a State.

I want you to know that in all of my travels to 50 States, I have seen many beautiful days, many great crowds, but I can say without fear of contradiction—and all the members of the press, of the White House corps who are traveling with me, will agree—that never in any one of the 50 States have we seen a more beautiful day, a more beautiful court, or more beautiful country than we have here in West Virginia today.

Could I also on this occasion pay tribute not only to the queen and her court, those lovely ladies, but also to those who have served with me and are serving with me at the present time, working for your State and for this country: to your Governor, who is in my office on so many occasions working for what West Virginia needs and for what it is entitled, a man that I have great respect for and one who has demonstrated on so many occasions that he is one who is extremely effective in advocating what the people of his State need and what they should have in terms of Federal cooperation; to your two Senators.

I know that Senator Jennings Randolph once taught at this school, and as I stand here on this campus I am reminded somewhat of my own college. I attended a small college, a coeducational college like this, with a religious background, a college on a hill. And I have always been very happy that I went to that college, a small college; proud of it. I agree that much can be learned and gained from going to a large school. I took my graduate work at a large school, Duke University, but I can assure you that those who have the tradition of smaller colleges—and I will include in that not only Davis-Elkins but also Marshall University, the alma mater of our queen—let's give a hand to small colleges today, as well as to the large ones.

Also, when we refer to our queen, I feel very fortunate and very close to this particular festival because Mrs. Nixon's top administrative assistant in charge of her staff was the queen of this festival—and you can't tell it from looking at her, she doesn't look nearly that old—in 1959, Connie Stuart. We are happy to have one of your alumni working on our White House Staff.

Now a word about your two Senators. They are members of a different party than I happen to belong to, but I can tell you that when the problems of West Virginia are involved, there are no differences between Arch Moore, Jennings Randolph and Senator Byrd and Harley Staggers and Richard Nixon. We agree in attempting to work on and to solve those problems.

I can also say, speaking of your two Senators particularly, and I will have more to say about the Congressman in a moment, that when the great issues of national defense are involved, the security

of America, they do not vote Democrat or Republican or partisan; they vote American, and that is what we need in this country. So I pay my respects to two members of the Democratic Party who have served this State and served this Nation well in their service. One is the Whip of the Senate; one is the longtime leader of the Senate—Bob Byrd and Jennings Randolph.

Now, to my friend Harley Staggers, I know what this festival must mean to him on this day: to think last year his daughter was the queen, on other occasions two of his daughters have been princesses, and his fourth daughter was the vice president of the student body of the University of West Virginia, and the university, the Mountaineers, as you know, furnished our fine ROTC color guard today. I look at Harley Staggers. Here in his family, he has a queen, he has two princesses, he has a vice president, and he is just a Congressman.

Now, I think that the man of the family should have the top rank. I cannot suggest that he be the President—I have that job—but I think that today we ought to make Harley Staggers king, king for today at least, so that he can rank in his own family.

Now I have perhaps one other surprise for you. It might have been covered in the papers, but many of you have been reading about a long journey that I will be taking in the near future which will take me to Mainland China—the first time that a President of the United States has visited that country in which a fourth of all the people of the world live.

Since I have been President, I have traveled to 50 States. As a matter of fact, I have traveled a quarter of a million miles and never had a bad landing. Also, I have traveled to 24 countries. In about 2 weeks the man who has flown me to these 50 States, who has flown those 250,000 miles, a quarter of a million miles, will be taking Dr. Kissinger and the advance party to Peking to prepare for my trip, and then will fly back and later will take me.

Wouldn't you know it? When I checked his background, he was a tailback for Morgantown High School when they used to play Elkins many, many years ago. So, a man who has a distinguished record of defending his country in war and who now flies the President on missions of peace: I think you would like to see Colonel Ralph Albertazzie, the President's pilot.

He had better not make a bad landing in Peking.

I would not want this splendid occasion, this beautiful day, this joyful ceremony, to end on a note that was too serious, but it seems to me only appropriate, having spoken of these wonderful young people who are members of this court, this ROTC guard—thinking back, as all of us do, with sadness, to that Marshall University football team,[1] thinking of our young people and their future, wanting them to grow up in a world of peace—let me just say that as I look to the future today, and as I speak to this great audience of Americans here in these beautiful hills of West Virginia, I think that you can look to the future with confidence, more confidence than you could have had any time since the end of World War II, that we can build a world of peace, a safer world, a

[1] The President was referring to the plane crash near Tri-State Airport, Huntington, W. Va., on November 14, 1970, which took the lives of 43 members of the Marshall University football team.

better world, a more prosperous world, than we have had previously.

That has been the purpose of my travels abroad. That will be the purpose of this trip, a trip to Mainland China, a purpose that does not involve what will happen this year, next year, or even 3 or 4 years from now, but that will see to it, we hope, that 15 or 20 years from now, when that child who brought the crown here will possibly be a queen, that she grows up at a time when we have an open world, when the United States of America is not separated from any other nation without any communication with that nation.

I think it is the responsibility of whoever is President of the United States to do everything that he can not just to bring peace for this generation, but to build a peace for the next generation. We have not had that for a century; that is what we are dedicated to do and that is something we believe that we can contribute to.

I can tell you that looking over this great crowd, recognizing that so many are represented here from all walks of life, recognizing, particularly, that so many represented here are young people in college and high school, recognizing too that this State has a great tradition of defending America if war ever became necessary—let me tell you, I will take away memories of a beautiful day, of a wonderfully warm reception, but also a renewed dedication to this proposition:

This America of ours is a beautiful country. The people of this country are a good people. The people of this country deserve peace. The people of this country deserve prosperity without war, and we are going to work for that, and we are going to have it with your help.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:33 p.m. at Davis and Elkins College.

The queen of the 35th annual festival was Catherine Grace Sparacino. "Sylvia" is the traditional name used by each festival queen.

327 Statement About a Labor Dispute in the Coal Mining Industry. *October* 8, 1971

THE current strike that has shut down most of the Nation's coal mines hits the State of West Virginia harder than any other State in the Union. West Virginia leads the Nation in the output of bituminous coal. One-third of the Nation's coal miners live and work here. This strike is costing workers in this State a daily payroll loss of $1.5 million, and it is costing the State a daily revenue loss of $300,000. Workers in other affected industries also suffer losses.

This State has a special interest in preserving industrial peace in the coal mines. The parties are now back at the bargaining table in response to the urging of the Secretary of Labor. I urge the negotiators of both sides to work diligently to bring this crippling strike to a speedy end. Labor contracts are being settled daily in other industries—there is no reason why a settlement should not be reached in the coal mining industry. It should be reached by collective bargaining, and it should be reached quickly.

NOTE: The statement was released in connection with the President's visit to West Virginia.

328 The President's News Conference of *October* 12, 1971

The President's Meeting With Soviet Leaders

THE PRESIDENT. [1.] Be seated, please.

Ladies and gentlemen, I have an announcement which is embargoed till 12 noon Washington time and 7 o'clock Moscow time. In order for you to have the chance to file before the 12 o'clock deadline, I have asked Mr. Kempster [Norman Kempster, United Press International], who has the right to end the conference, to break it off at 5 minutes till 12. Between that time and the time that I read this announcement, of course, I will take questions on this announcement or any other subject that you would like to have covered.

The announcement is as follows:

"The leaders of the United States and the Soviet Union, in their exchanges during the past year, have agreed that a meeting between them would be desirable once sufficient progress had been made in negotiations at lower levels.

"In light of the recent advances in bilateral and multilateral negotiations involving the two countries, it has been agreed that such a meeting will take place in Moscow in the latter part of May 1972.

"President Nixon and the Soviet leaders will review all major issues, with a view towards further improving their bilateral relations and enhancing the prospects of world peace."

We will go to your questions.

Questions

The Trips to China and the Soviet Union

[2.] Q. Mr. President, what relationship does this have to your visit to China?

THE PRESIDENT. The two are independent trips. We are going to Peking for the purpose of discussing matters of bilateral concern there, and I will be going to the Soviet Union for the purpose of discussing matters that involve the United States and the Soviet Union. Neither trip is being taken for the purpose of exploiting what differences may exist between the two nations; neither is being taken at the expense of any other nation.

The trips are being taken for the purpose of better relations between the United States and the Soviet Union and better relations between the United States and the People's Republic of China. And any speculation to the effect that one has been planned for the purpose of affecting the other would be entirely inaccurate.

Q. Mr. President, why announce a trip of this nature so far in advance?

THE PRESIDENT. It is vitally important, both in the case of this trip and the trip to the People's Republic of China—which, as you know, we announced far in advance, the date yet to be selected. Mr.

Kissinger will work out that date on his trip, which will take place within the next 2 or 3 weeks.[1]

But it is vitally important that the meeting accomplish something. It is, therefore, important that the preparation for the meeting be adequate in every respect. And in the discussion that I had with Mr. Gromyko when he was here, and at discussions prior to that time that were had at other levels with regard to the setting up of this trip, it was felt that May of 1972 would be the time when progress on a number of fronts in which we are presently involved with the Soviet Union would have reached the point that a meeting at the highest level could be effective.

POSSIBILITY OF SALT AGREEMENT

[3.] Q. Mr. President, do you expect to be able to sign an agreement on strategic arms when you go to Moscow next May?

THE PRESIDENT. As you will recall, we at the highest level, in May, indicated that our goal would be to try to achieve an agreement on strategic arms this year. We are making progress toward that goal. We will continue to move toward achieving that goal, either at the end of this year or as soon thereafter as we possibly can.

If the goal can be achieved before May of 1972, we will achieve it, and that, incidentally, is also the view of the Soviet Union.

I will not speculate as to failing to achieve that goal. If it is not achieved, certainly that would be one of the subjects that would come up.

AGENDA FOR SOVIET VISIT

[4.] Q. Mr. President, what would you expect other items on the agenda to be in addition to anything that is concluded at the SALT talks?

THE PRESIDENT. I have already indicated that we will review all major issues. Now, to indicate what the issues will be is quite premature. For example, the question that has just been raised with regard to the SALT talks is one that may be behind us at that point.

Both governments are working toward that end. And then the question would be: What do we do in arms control going beyond simply the limitation of strategic weapons at this point? And the same would be true of the Mideast, which is a possible subject. The same is true in a number of other areas where presently the Soviet Union and the United States are having negotiations.

The fact that we are going to have a meeting in May does not mean that the negotiating tracks that we are engaged on with the Soviet Union, in a number of areas, are now closed or that we are going to slow down.

We are going to go forward in all the other areas so that in May we can deal with unfinished business.

Q. Mr. President, would this include Cuba?

THE PRESIDENT. The questions as to whether peripheral areas—and I mean

[1] The announcements of Dr. Henry A. Kissinger's second visit to Peking and the itinerary for the visit were read by Press Secretary Ronald L. Ziegler during his regular news briefings at the White House on October 5, 1971, and October 14. The announcements are printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 7, pp. 1374 and 1407).

by "peripheral areas," areas that do not directly involve the Soviet Union and the United States—would be involved would depend upon the situation at that time.

For example, Cuba is one possibility. The question of Southeast Asia is another. As far as Southeast Asia is concerned, I would emphasize there, again, however, that completely without regard to this meeting and completely without regard to the meeting that will take place with the Chinese leaders at an earlier date, we are proceeding both on the negotiating track and on the Vietnamization track to end American involvement in Vietnam. We trust that we will have accomplished that goal, or at least have made significant progress toward accomplishing that goal, by the time this meeting takes place.

BACKGROUND FOR SOVIET SUMMIT

[5.] Q. Can you tell us the mechanics, sir? How did the meeting come about? Did their Ambassador come here? Was it hotlined? And can you tell us, sir, when the ball started rolling toward this meeting?

THE PRESIDENT. The ball started rolling toward this meeting, I think, in my first press conference when, you recall, the inevitable question came up, "Are we going to have a summit with the Soviet Union?"

I pointed out then that I did not believe a summit would serve a useful purpose unless something was to come out of it. I do not believe in having summit meetings simply for the purpose of having a meeting. I think that tends to create euphoria. It raises high hopes that are then dashed, as was the case with Glassboro. We are not making that mistake.

Both in our meeting with the Chinese which is being very carefully planned, as evidenced by Dr. Kissinger's visit to help prepare the agenda and the final arrangements, and in our meeting with the Soviet Union, we have agreed to summit meetings only on the basis that we would have an agenda in which there was a possibility of making significant progress, and also on which items would be on the agenda on which progress could best be made, and in some instances might only be made, by decisions at the highest level.

Now, I stated that, or at least made that point, in several press conferences, including my first one. In the spring of last year there was some discussion with the Soviet Union at lower levels with regard to the possibility of a summit. There was further discussion of the possibility of a summit when I met with Mr. Gromyko in the fall of last year when he was here to the United Nations.

Those discussions have continued on and off, not at my level, but at other levels, until Mr. Gromkyo arrived for his visit with me on this occasion. On this occasion he brought a formal invitation.

Let me say on the Soviet side that they agreed basically with my principle, which is also theirs, that a summit meeting should be held only when both sides are prepared to discuss matters of substance. And it is because both of us have been waiting for the time that we felt there were matters on which major progress could be made that the summit meeting is being held at this time, rather than at an earlier time.

I should also point out the very significant areas in which we have made progress in Soviet-American relations, both on our part and on their part. We have felt unless we were able to make progress in this era of negotiation rather than confrontation and other areas, that a meet-

ing at the summit might mean simply an impasse; but when we look back over the record of the last 2 years, 2½ years, significant progress has been made.

We have had a treaty with regard to the seabeds. We have had one with regard to biological weapons. We have had an agreement coming out of the SALT talks with regard to the hotline and accidental war and, of course, most important of all—and I think this is the item that, for both us and for them, led us to conclude that now was the time for a summit meeting—we have had an agreement on Berlin. The Berlin negotiations, of course, are not completely wrapped up; but on the part of the Soviet Union and the United States and, of course, the other two powers involved, this agreement had historic significance.

In view of the progress that we have made, Mr. Gromyko, speaking for his Government, I, speaking for ours, agreed on the occasion of his visit that this was the time for a summit meeting.

DATES OF SUMMIT MEETINGS

[6.] Q. Mr. President, this then was the reason you announced you would go to Peking before May? You had this May date in mind at that time?

THE PRESIDENT. No, Mr. Theis [J. William Theis, Hearst Newspapers and Hearst Headline Service], when we announced that we would be going to Peking, we did not have an understanding with the Soviet Union that we were going to have a visit to the Soviet Union. However, I should point out that as far as the announcement with regard to the Soviet summit is concerned, that the Government of the People's Republic of China was informed that this announcement would be made today and is aware of the date of the Soviet visit that I have mentioned, the latter part of May.

I should also point out that the Government in Peking is aware of the fact that we will be working toward agreement on a date with them, which will be prior to the meeting with the Soviet leaders.

TALKS WITH SOVIET LEADERS

[7.] Q. Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Horner [Garnett D. Horner, Washington Evening Star].

Q. Mr. President, with which Soviet leader do you expect to have your most significant talks, Kosygin, Brezhnev, Podgorny, or with all three of them or any two of them?

THE PRESIDENT. Generally speaking, in the Soviet system, the talks that take place will, of course, cover all three, but the Chairman, in this case Mr. Brezhnev, is the man with whom I would expect to have very significant talks. I would expect certainly to have significant talks, also, with Kosygin and perhaps Mr. Podgorny.

But in the Soviet system, as I pointed out—the same is also true of the People's Republic system—in any Communist system, the Chairman of the Communist Party is the man who is the major center of power.

DOMESTIC POLITICS AND THE SOVIET TRIP

[8.] Q. Mr. President, at the time that the Red China trip was announced, sir, I believe we were told that it was going to be before May 1 because you didn't want to get it involved in domestic political politics. I wonder how this differs, since

this is after May 1, as far as domestic political politics is concerned?

THE PRESIDENT. We have this just as close to May 1 as we possibly could. This was the best date that the Soviet Union and we could agree upon, and it will come, as I said, in the latter part of May.

We both deliberately agreed that it should not come—which would generally have been their first choice, because June or July is a better time to go to Moscow than May, I understand—we agreed for the reasons that we have mentioned that it should be in May.

AMERICAN INVOLVEMENT IN SOUTH VIETNAM

[9.] Q. Mr. President, you said that it is your goal to end the American involvement in South Vietnam or at least make significant progress towards that by the time you meet in Moscow. Is it your goal that you can end at least the American ground combat involvement by that time?

THE PRESIDENT. I will have another announcement on Vietnam in November. That announcement will speak to that question, and other announcements after that will also speak to that question.

I will not speculate further on that. The American presence in Vietnam, both in terms of our residual forces, the ground combat forces to which you refer, and the use of our airpower, will be maintained to meet the objectives that I have oftentimes spelled out, including among others, the return of our POW's and the ability of the South Vietnamese to take over the responsibility themselves. But I would strongly urge the members of the press not to speculate as to what I am going to say in November.

LABOR AND THE PAY BOARD

[10.] Q. Mr. President, a question on Phase 2, sir. Are you prepared to give the tripartite Pay Board complete autonomy in order to gain labor's cooperation?

THE PRESIDENT. A meeting is taking place at this moment, and perhaps may be nearing conclusion, in which the AFL–CIO Council is discussing their participation in the tripartite Board and the question as to the extent of their cooperation with our efforts to control inflation.

I believe, first, that Secretary Connally answered your question—and that is our position—in his press conference. As far as any further discussion with regard to the role that labor will play, and the relationship of the Board to the Cost of Living Council, I think it would be well to wait until their meeting has been concluded.

If they make a statement today, I will issue a statement from here commenting upon that specific matter, if it is raised.

CONSULTATIONS WITH ALLIES ON THE TRIPS

[11.] Q. Mr. President, could you tell us what consultations were made with the NATO allies or Japan on these two visits?

THE PRESIDENT. All were informed.

THE SUPREME COURT

[12.] Q. Mr. President, can you tell us when you may make a nomination or nominations to the Supreme Court and is Senator Byrd of West Virginia on the list of those you are considering?

THE PRESIDENT. He is definitely on the list, and I will make the nominations next week, both.

Q. Both?

THE PRESIDENT. Both.

Q. Sir, you are going to have a woman on there, aren't you? [*Laughter*]

THE PRESIDENT. I would simply add that I don't rule out Senator Byrd, and I certainly don't rule out a woman for consideration.

Incidentally, the speculation with regard to the Court, I know, is naturally a subject of very great interest, but I can assure you that the dope stories that a man is certain to get it and then a dope story this morning, he is out of the running—both are wrong.

Senator Byrd, as a result of several of his colleagues recommending him, is one that is being considered. And I will also say in answer to Mrs. McClendon's [Sarah McClendon, Sarah McClendon News Service] question that at least two women are under consideration at this time.

EXPECTATIONS FOR THE VISITS

[13.] Q. Mr. President, to clarify your expectations on the Moscow visit, it would be equally your expectation to have significant talks with Chairman Mao in Peking rather than meetings with Chou En-lai or ceremonial meetings with the Chairman?

THE PRESIDENT. The question as to what kind of meetings will take place in Peking will be worked out by Dr. Kissinger when he is there. There will, of course, be meetings with Chou En-lai. I would assume that there would be meetings with the Chairman. However, in each system, the Soviet system and the Chinese system, the question as to which individual should cover which subject varies, and, of course, I will be prepared to meet with whatever leader in the Soviet Union or whatever leader in the People's Republic of China has the responsibility for the particular subjects that we have in mind.

For example, take the Soviet. It may well be that Chairman Brezhnev may have the responsibility in certain political or foreign policy areas. It might be that Prime Minister Kosygin would have responsibility in trade areas. I am not trying to say what they have decided, but we are prepared, and both governments know that we are prepared, for me to meet with the head of government or the Chairman of the party, or any other that they designate who has responsibility.

I should also point out that the Secretary of State will accompany me to both Moscow and Peking; Dr. Kissinger will accompany me, and it will be a small working group. And meetings will take place not only between the President and various leaders on their side but between the Secretary of State and their people designated by them on their side.

We expect to have a very busy, working visit, not a ceremonial visit. Ceremony, I should indicate, will be at an absolute minimum in both the Soviet Union and in the People's Republic.

I emphasize again, the purpose of both visits is not simply cosmetics. We are not taking a trip for the sake of taking a trip. The purpose of these visits is, at the very highest level, to attempt to make progress in negotiating in areas where there are very significant differences—differences between us and the People's Republic, differences between us and the Soviet Union.

I should emphasize, too, that in pointing out the progress we have made with the Soviet Union, that Mr. Gromyko and I agreed that we still have very great differences. We do not expect all those dif-

ferences to be resolved, but there is one thing in which we agree at this point and that is that the interests of neither country would be served by war.

If there is another world war, if there is a war between the super powers, there will be no winners. There will be only losers.

Also, I think we can both agree that neither major power can get a decisive advantage over the other, an advantage which would enable it to launch a preemptive strike or an advantage because it was able to launch a preemptive strike which might enable it to engage in international blackmail.

It is because we have reached the point that the competition in terms of escalating arms race cannot gain an advantage—and both of us emphasized this in our meeting—it is for that reason that now the time has come to negotiate our differences, negotiate with regard to our differences, recognizing that they are still very deep, recognizing that, however, there is no alternative to negotiation at this point.

TEXTILE NEGOTIATIONS

[14.] Q. Mr. President, are we going to have textile agreements this week in advance of the October 15th deadline which, reportedly, the Administration has set down for mandatory quotas?

THE PRESIDENT. At the present time very intensive talks are going on with the Japanese on the textile question. We are hopeful that those talks will produce a mutual agreement. In the event that there is not a mutual agreement, and in the event by October 15th there is either not an agreement or a process underway which points to the negotiating of an agreement, then the United States will move unilaterally.[2]

EUROPEAN SECURITY CONFERENCE

[15.] Q. In connection with the agenda for the Moscow talks, what is the position of the United States at present on the question of a European Security Conference and, specifically, is it the U.S. position that we will not agree to a European Security Conference until there is a final agreement on Berlin and a first-stage agreement on SALT?

THE PRESIDENT. The European Security Conference is a matter that has been very widely discussed between our two governments. As a matter of fact, it was one of the subjects for discussion, I think it is proper to reveal, when I met with Mr. Gromyko. I have noted that the press has so speculated, and the press, in this case, is correct.

With regard to the European Security Conference, you are correct in saying that, until the Berlin matter is wrapped up, the discussions with regard to the possibility of a European Security Conference would not serve a useful purpose. After it is wrapped up, then we shall go forward with preliminary discussions to see whether or not a European Security Conference could serve a useful purpose.

[2] The transcript of a news briefing by Peter G. Peterson, Assistant to the President for International Economic Affairs, on textile agreements between the United States, Japan, Hong Kong, and the Republic of Korea was released by the White House on October 15, 1971, and is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 7, p. 1408). On the same day, the White House released a fact sheet on the U.S. textile and apparel industry.

Both governments agree, with regard to a European Security Conference, that it, like a summit conference, should not be held unless there are areas where there can be substantial chances for agreement. The Secretary of State will have the primary responsibility, after the Berlin settlement is totally wrapped up, to explore with our allies, as the Soviet Union will be exploring with theirs, whether or not the European Security Conference should be held, and if it should be held, when it should be held.

I should also point out, because it does raise the other question I mentioned in answer to an earlier question, that our allies had been informed and that Japan had been informed. Prior to the visit to the Soviet Union, there will, of course, be extensive consultations with our allies on matters which may affect them. For example, mutual balanced force reductions, European Security Conference, and matters of this sort, if they are to come up at a summit conference, will, of course, be discussed with our allies, just as we expect the Soviet Union to discuss those matters with their allies.

SOUTH VIETNAMESE ELECTIONS

[16.] Q. Now that the South Vietnamese election returns are official, will you be sending your congratulations to the winner, and do you have any comments on those elections?

THE PRESIDENT. On September 16, I indicated my view about the elections, and I stand by that view. I believe, that as the Secretary of State pointed out in his television appearance Sunday, that we have to keep this matter in perspective. We would have preferred, just as we would prefer in all countries of the world, a contested election somewhat along the lines that would meet our standard.

On the other hand, the situation in South Vietnam has been that they have made great progress toward representative government there. They have a very lively opposition in both the National Assembly and in the Senate.

As far as President Thieu is concerned, he is aware of my statement of September 16, and I will be sending a representative, of course, to his inauguration. Let me say in that respect that if the United States followed the practice of not sending representatives to inaugurations unless the president or the prime minister was there as a result of a contested election, we would only have one-third as many delegations to send, and we wouldn't want to do that.

MR. KEMPSTER. Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: President Nixon's twentieth news conference was held at 11:30 a.m. in the Briefing Room at the White House on Tuesday, October 12, 1971.

329 Remarks About the AFL–CIO Decision To Participate on the Pay Board. *October* 12, 1971

Ladies and gentlemen:

You earlier have received a statement from Mr. Ziegler setting forth the position of the Administration on the Pay Board and, also, a statement has been issued by the AFL–CIO Council which has already been published on the wire. Since those two statements have been pre-

sented to you, Director Shultz and I have been in conference, and we have also consulted with Secretary Connally by phone.

Director Shultz will brief the press on the record after I read this statement, which is in response to the statement made by Mr. Meany and which sets forth the position of the Administration. As Director Shultz makes his statement, let me say that it represents the views of the Cost of Living Council, of Secretary Connally, and, of course, it represents my views as well.

"I welcome the participation of organized labor in the work of the Pay Board and in helping make the Nation's efforts at wage and price stabilization succeed. Bringing the cost of living under control requires the public-spirited cooperation of all Americans, and, in giving such cooperation, the leaders of organized labor have acted in the best interests of their own members and the best interests of the Nation.

"I also, at this time, want to reaffirm my concern that the economy expand and attain full employment. Prompt action in the Senate on my tax proposals, which will create over 500,000 new jobs, is essential in attainment of this objective."

I will add to this formal statement these remarks: The question that inevitably arises after a discussion of this sort is, "Who won? Did labor win or did the Administration win?" And the answer is, "The country won."

There was a misunderstanding as to what the original position of the Cost of Living Council was when we announced the setting up of the Pay Board and the Price Commission. That misunderstanding now has been removed as a result of the statement that I have issued and as a result of Mr. Meany's statement, in which he agrees to have organized labor participate on the Pay Board.

When I say the country wins, I mean very simply that the experience in other countries which have tried programs of wage-price restraints has been that, without the support and cooperation of organized labor, such programs inevitably break down.

Director Shultz is quite familiar with that and has briefed me on it today and yesterday with regard to the experience in other countries. And he feels that the action, therefore, is extremely important in terms of the success of our program, the fact that organized labor in the United States has now, by its action, assumed responsibility for helping to keep down the cost of living by keeping the wage component of the wage-price spiral within reasonable limits.

Director Shultz will answer any of the technical questions you may have.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:22 p.m. in the Briefing Room at the White House.

On the same day, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing on the AFL–CIO decision by George P. Shultz, Director, Office of Management and Budget.

The summary statement, referred to by the President in his opening remarks, on the respective roles of the Cost of Living Council, the Pay Board, and the Price Commission is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 7, p. 1394).

330 Remarks at the Unveiling of a Portrait of Representative F. Edward Hébert, Chairman, Committee on Armed Services. *October* 12, 1971

Mr. Speaker, Speaker McCormack, Mr. Chairman, Archbishop Hannan, Congressman Hébert, all of the members of the committee, the delegation from Louisiana, the distinguished guests from the armed services, from the Senate, Secretary Laird:

It is a very great privilege for me to be here, to be back in the House again where I began my political career 24 years ago. And after listening to this program today, I realized how much I miss the House. I do not want to make invidious comparisons between the Senate and the House—Members of the House will do that [*laughter*]—but I do want to say that there is a certain feeling of friendship and comradeship among House Members that cannot be duplicated anyplace.

I was told when I first came to the House that where one really gets to know another Member is serving with him on a committee. And I did serve with Eddie Hébert on the Committee on Un-American Activities. We were involved in some very difficult and challenging assignments of investigation.

He has spoken very generously of my role on that occasion. I have written of his role, and I would remind all of you now that his courage, his eloquence, but also his brilliance—and I can only describe it with that—in questioning a witness, was as responsible as anything I did for the success of our investigations. I add that to the Hébert legend which, of course, has been certainly embellished by the many things that have been said about him by his colleagues for his service on the Armed Services Committee.

I thought that when I assumed my present office I would have the opportunity to do many things that I had never done before, and this is one of them.

Reference has been made to the fact that I am somewhat of a sports fan. And I must say that if anybody had told me I would ever give up a World Series game for a hanging, I wouldn't believe it. I will let you in on a little secret, though. I had a radio in the car on the way down. The score was 5 to 2 in the bottom of the eighth—Pirates, in case anybody missed it.

I would like at this point to bring this ceremony to a conclusion, as far as my own participation is concerned, by referring to the work of Congressman Hébert, to his life, and to relate that work to the Members of the Armed Services Committee of both the House and the Senate, and to those Members of the House and the Senate who have supported a strong national defense, and that is, of course, a substantial majority in both parties, Democrat and Republican.

Reference was made earlier to the fact that I had made an announcement today with regard to a meeting that will take place next spring at the highest level between the leaders of the United States and the leaders of the Soviet Union. And, of course, all of you are aware of the fact that at an earlier date a meeting will take place between leaders of the United States, including the President, and leaders of Mainland China.

There could be a tendency to interpret such meetings at the highest levels, un-

precedented between the great powers of the earth, as being the end of a period in which the United States needed to be concerned about its strength. That, of course, is not the case.

We are now in a period of negotiation, as I have often said, but we are in a period, also, when we must never substitute the fact that a meeting is to take place, the fact that negotiations are going on, for the reality of an agreement. Certainly that would be the attitude of the leaders of the Soviet Union. That would also be the attitude of the leaders of the People's Republic of China, Mainland China, and it must be our own.

We want peace in the world. We want a reduction of tensions in the world. We would like to have some limitation, if we can safely have it, on the burden of arms that we bear. But unless and until we have a mutual agreement, a mutual agreement among the great powers in which we both limit what we do in terms of our defense, the United States must maintain its defense at adequate levels. And in that respect, I want to say that over these past 2½ years that I have served in this office, that the fact that in this committee, and its counterpart in the United States Senate, and in both bodies—the fact that clearly apart from partisanship, the President of the United States could count on the House and the Senate voting for a strong national defense—that fact, I can assure you, has made it possible for us to reach the position where we could negotiate from strength, not from weakness.

I would simply add this word: Let us be sure that anyone who represents this country as President of the United States will be able to negotiate from strength, not from weakness. That does not mean that he negotiates with belligerence; it does not mean that he negotiates unreasonably; but it does mean that the road to any mutual agreement, any successful agreement, will be when both parties recognize that there must be mutuality, and that neither is coming to that conference table in a position of weakness.

So I express appreciation to you, Mr. Chairman, to all the Members of this committee, to your counterparts in the Senate, to the Members of the House and the Senate, Democrat and Republican, who have had disagreements—as you should have, and as we always will have in this country—on some other issues, but when the great issue of national defense is concerned, you have voted for strong national defense so that we could build what we all want in the world, build a lasting peace.

I think one of my favorite quotes from Eddie Hébert's many gems, and he has many—I would love to sit in this committee and hear what he says sometimes—but one of them, as I recall, went something like this: He said, "I am a Hawk, but no Dove could want peace more than I do."

I think that is what all America needs to hear. Strength, reasonable strength, a willingness to negotiate, that is the road to peace, not weakness. And that is what Eddie Hébert stands for. He is for strong defense. He describes it, "I am a Hawk." But he means by that, I am a Hawk not in terms of wanting war, but I am a Hawk because I want a strong national defense, because only through a strong national defense are we going to have a lasting peace. That is Eddie Hébert's legacy.

Now a word about the portrait. I know very little about art, but it seems to me to be an excellent likeness, and I would simply suggest that as I look at this portrait

and compare it with the others around this room, there is one difference. The difference is that in the lapel of Eddie Hébert is an American flag.

That does not mean that others would not have had American flags in their lapels if that had been the custom in their time, but I think that all of us would say today, in our tribute to Eddie Hébert on his three score and ten birthday, in appreciation for his years of service to the country, in recognition of his chairmanship of this great committee, that he not only wears that flag in his lapel, he wears it in his heart.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:57 p.m. in the Carl Vinson Room in the Rayburn House Office Building.

Carl Albert, Speaker of the House of Representatives, John W. McCormack, the former Speaker, the Most Reverend Philip M. Hannan, Archbishop of New Orleans, and Secretary of Defense Melvin R. Laird were present for the unveiling. Representative Leslie C. Arends, Chairman of the Portrait Committee and ranking minority Member of the House Committee on Armed Services, presided over the ceremony.

Representative Hébert of Louisiana was elected to the Congress in 1940. He served as a member of the House Committee on Armed Services for 30 years and as its chairman from February 4, 1971.

331 Statement on the Death of Dean Acheson. *October* 12, 1971

OF THOSE who stand for a time in places of power, many are quickly forgotten. It is a measure of Dean Acheson's stature as man and statesman that almost 20 years after his service as Secretary of State, he continued to be recognized as one of the towering figures of his time. He was a man not only of great achievement but also of rare intellect, of rigorous conscience, and of profound devotion to his country. As President, I have been deeply appreciative of the advice that I have asked, and that he has so freely and graciously given. I shall greatly miss both his wise counsel and his penetrating wit.

The Nation, the Western Alliance, and the world all share in the loss of one of their staunchest champions.

NOTE: Mr. Acheson, 78, died of a heart attack at his home, Harewood Farm, in Sandy Spring, Md. He had served as Secretary of State from 1949 to 1953.

The statement was posted for the press.

On October 13, 1971, the President signed Executive Order 11626 providing for the flying of the flag at half-staff as a mark of respect to the memory of Mr. Acheson.

Secretary of State William P. Rogers represented the President at memorial services for Mr. Acheson at the Washington Cathedral on October 15.

332 Special Message to the Congress Urging Expansion of the Minority Business Enterprise Program. *October* 13, 1971

To the Congress of the United States:

Approximately 35 million Americans are of Black, Spanish-speaking, or Indian ancestry—about 1/6 of our total population. Yet these same minority Americans presently own only about 4% of Amer-

ica's businesses. And these businesses, in turn, account for less than 1% of our Nation's gross business receipts.

In my statement on school desegregation of March 24, 1970, and again in my statement on equal housing opportunity last June 11, I committed this administration to the untiring pursuit of a free and open society, one which gives all citizens both the right and the ability to control their own destinies. I emphasized that such a society should be diverse and pluralistic, affording all of its members both a range for personal choice and the mobility which allows them to take advantage of that range of choice. Both in law and in practice, I argued, we owe every man an equal chance at the starting line and an equal opportunity to go as high and as far as his talents and energies will take him.

Throughout our history, one of the most effective ways in which we have advanced these goals has been by expanding the opportunity for property ownership and independent business activity. On many occasions our Founding Fathers spoke eloquently about the close relationship between property rights and human rights, and the wisdom of their words has been abundantly demonstrated throughout our national experience.

One of the most effective means now available for advancing the cause of human dignity among minority Americans is by expanding managerial and ownership opportunities for minority entrepreneurs.

On March 5, 1969, in one of my first executive orders [11458] as President, I established two new mechanisms for promoting expanded minority business activities: an Office of Minority Business Enterprise within the Department of Commerce to coordinate and oversee all Federal efforts in this field and to stimulate private sector initiatives; and an Advisory Council for Minority Business Enterprise to study this complex subject and recommend further action. Since that time, both of these units have been diligently carrying out these assignments. The further steps which I am announcing today have grown in large measure from their suggestions and their experience.

The Record to Date

The record of this administration in promoting minority enterprise is a record of which we are proud. The aggregate total of Federal business loans, guarantees and grants to minority enterprises and purchases from them has increased almost three-fold over the last three fiscal years—from nearly $200 million in Fiscal Year 1969 to an estimated $566 million in Fiscal Year 1971. Federal purchases involving minority businesses alone have increased more than eleven-fold—from $13 million in Fiscal Year 1969 to $142 million in Fiscal Year 1971. Our program to stimulate minority banking, which began just one year ago this month, has surpassed its goal of generating $100 million in new deposits in minority banks; firm commitments have been received for more than $35 million from the Federal Government and $65 million from the private sector.

In addition, the Small Business Administration has licensed 39 Minority Enterprise Small Business Investment Companies (MESBICs), with an aggregate capitalization in excess of $10 million. When Federal monies available to these 39 MESBICs are fully utilized, they

should be able to generate some $150 million additional dollars in overall financing for minority business ventures. Moreover, a number of new MESBICs are now in the process of formation. At the same time, the Opportunity Funding Corporation, which has received $7.4 million from the Office of Economic Opportunity, is also developing new projects which will stimulate minority ownership.

Other promising developments include new legislation which provides crime insurance at reasonable rates to minority businessmen, new legislation which assures the availability of surety bonds to minority contractors, and new regulations which require affirmative action to increase minority subcontracting under all Federal prime contracts and increased minority business participation in all Federally financed housing projects.

The Government has also stepped up the collection and dissemination of information critical to the development of minority enterprise, including the first census ever taken of minority-owned businesses. Meanwhile, an Inter-Agency Committee on Minority Business Enterprise has been formed in Washington and a series of Minority Business Opportunity Committees have been set up across the Nation.

Government efforts have also helped stimulate the private sector to provide increasing assistance for minority enterprise—including resources such as equity and debt capital, franchise offerings and other business openings, management services and technical assistance, and a range of market opportunities. For example, there are nearly three times as many minority-owned franchises and more than six times as many minority auto dealerships today as there were 2 years ago.

The Challenges Which Remain

In a wide variety of ways, then, we have been working to give disadvantaged groups a greater stake in the American economy. But, as the Advisory Council on Minority Enterprise concluded in its recent report, there are still "enormous economic inequities" which challenge the will and the resourcefulness of our Nation. The elimination of those inequities must be a national objective of high priority in the 1970s. Accordingly, I am today calling on the Congress to join with the administration in a still more intensive and far-reaching effort to foster business development among minorities.

This program should be guided by several important principles. It should be a comprehensive and pluralistic effort, one that moves forward on many fronts, since the barriers to minority enterprise are varied and numerous. It should also be a flexible approach, one that maximizes local control, since local realities are diverse and changeable. Our program should encourage the private sector to join with Government in creating an economic environment conducive to the development of minority businesses.

Another important principle is that we should carry out this program without overpromising or raising false hopes. There is no automatic road to economic success for any group in our society. A sound program which enables more Americans to share in the rewards of entrepreneurship will find them sharing in the risks and the responsibilities of entrepreneurship as well.

An Expanded Budget

With these considerations in mind, I am calling today for a significant expansion of our minority enterprise budget. In addition to the $3.6 million appropriation which we originally requested for the Office of Minority Business Enterprise in fiscal year 1972 we have asked the Congress to budget an additional $40 million—bringing the total budget for the current fiscal year to $43.6 million. I repeat that request today—and in order to provide for continued expansion of the minority enterprise program, I intend to propose that OMBE be given a budget for fiscal year 1973 of $63.6 million. Altogether, we are asking for a new two-year program of $100 million.

What would this money be used for? Primarily, these funds would provide for an expanded program of technical assistance and management services. Approximately 10 percent of these new funds would be used at the national level—to strengthen minority business and trade organizations, to generate broad private programs of marketing and financial assistance, to develop training programs, and to foster other national efforts. The remaining 90% of the new money would be spent on the local level—supporting a variety of efforts to identify, train, advise or assist minority businessmen and to put them in touch with one another and with non-minority businessmen who can provide them with additional help.

In talking about encouraging expanded ownership, we are talking about an impulse which is already strong among minority groups in this country. The desire to gain a bigger piece of the action is already there; it is not something that depends on government stimulation. What government must do, however, is to help eliminate the artificial obstacles to expanded ownership—including the complex array of regulations and forms and bureaucracies which often stand between minority entrepreneurs and the resources which are available to help them.

This is why we are emphasizing the development of local centers which can bring together a vast array of training, advice and information for minority businessmen. Such centers can help them put together in an effective way the many elements which are necessary to build a successful business. We hope to develop more than 100 of these centers over the next three years.

I would emphasize that the money we are requesting for OMBE does *not* include grants, loans, guarantees, and purchases with minority businessmen by many other Federal agencies. Such direct aid, however, will also be expanded. We have, in fact, budgeted for $700 million in minority loans, grants guarantees and purchases in the current fiscal year, an advance of half a billion dollars—more than three-fold increase—over 1969.

Bolstering the MESBICs

In addition to expanded budgets, I am also submitting to the Congress legislation to strengthen our growing program for Minority Enterprise Small Business Investment Companies. This legislation would:

(1) Lower the level of private financing required to qualify for financing from the Small Business Administration on a three for one basis. At present, a MESBIC must raise $1 million before it can obtain

Federal dollars on a three for one basis rather than the two for one basis that otherwise applies. I propose that the qualifying figure for three for one assistance be cut in half.

(2) Provide increased equity to MESBICs in the form of preferred stock to be purchased by the SBA in place of part of the debt instrument purchased by the SBA under current law. This would reduce the debt load presently carried by MESBICs and stimulate added investments to create larger and more vigorous MESBICs.

(3) Lower the interest rate on SBA loans to MESBICs to three points below the normal rate set by the Treasury Department during the first five years of the loan.

These provisions should greatly increase the resources which are available to minority businesses through the MESBIC program.

Better Coordination

I am also issuing today an executive order [11625] giving the Secretary of Commerce—and, through him, the Office of Minority Business Enterprise—increased authority over all Federal activities in the minority enterprise field. This order gives the Secretary a clear mandate to establish and carry out Federal policy concerning minority enterprise and to coordinate the related efforts of all Federal departments and agencies. It also directs the departments and agencies to develop systematic data collection processes concerning their minority enterprise programs and to cooperate in expanding the overall Federal effort. The substantive provisions of Executive Order 11458 of March 5, 1969 are also carried over into the new order.

Unfinished Business

In addition to these new initiatives, I again urge action on a number of older proposals. Among these is my suggestion that a new Assistant Secretary for Minority Enterprise be created in the Department of Commerce—an important step in giving greater cohesion and greater emphasis to Federal involvement in this area.

Other important legislation includes Senate Bill 544, which would alter tax laws so as to ease the burden on small, marginal businessmen. I also urge passage of the Small Business Amendments Act of 1971. Finally, I again ask the Congress to enact the Indian Business Development Program Act, the Indian Financing Act, and the Washington, D.C. Development Bank Act of 1971.

Conclusion

The best way to fight poverty and to break the vicious cycle of dependence and despair which afflicts too many Americans is by fostering conditions which encourage those who have been so afflicted to play a more self-reliant and independent economic role.

This goal will not be achieved overnight for there is no easy way to eliminate the barriers which now prevent many who are members of minority groups from controlling their fair share of American business. Yet the long range health of our economy—and, indeed, of our entire society—requires us to remove these barriers as quickly as possible. Both morally and economically, we will not realize the full

71-234—72——69

potential of our Nation until neither race nor nationality is any longer an obstacle to full participation in the American marketplace.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
October 13, 1971

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released a fact sheet on the message and the transcript of a news briefing on the minority business enterprise program by Maurice H. Stans, Secretary, and John L. Jenkins, Director, Office of Minority Business Enterprise, Department of Commerce; and Sam Wyly, Chairman, and Berkeley G. Burrell, Vice Chairman, Advisory Council for Minority Enterprise.

333 Remarks at Ceremonies Honoring Billy Graham in Charlotte, North Carolina. *October* 15, 1971

Mr. Chairman, all of the distinguished guests who have come from Washington and other places to this meeting, and friends of Billy Graham:

It is a very great honor for me to be here, and also a very great challenge. Charlie Jonas [1] mentioned, as I came into the room, that I had spoken in this hall before, and I have, and in thousands, as a matter of fact, across this Nation, across the world. I must say, to follow Billy Graham is the hardest assignment I have ever had in all those speeches.

I have very much in common with him. He has mentioned some of those things. I remember particularly, and I am proud to mention it here on a visit to North Carolina, that I, like he, have a North Carolina background. The 3 years that I spent in North Carolina, in Durham at Duke, I well remember; and my law degree and what I know about the law I owe to this State and to that great university. And I am one of the few lawyers in the country who is not a candidate to be appointed to the Supreme Court of the United States.

But as a result of that experience, also in the middle of the depression to which Billy Graham has referred, I have friends that have been lifelong friends in this State and throughout this Nation, friendships for which I am grateful.

In thinking of what to say on behalf of the Nation and on behalf of all of you out here, thousands of you who want to pay your tribute to Billy Graham, I tried to put myself in his place, to think of what he would want me to say. And I thought that, first he would think of the fact that he is being honored today; but he knows that without many others he could not have stood here as he did, he could not be recognized as he was, as the evangelist who has been heard by more people in more parts of the world than any in the history of the world.

This is the season in which we are all interested in sports. A great quarterback will be the hero after a game on a Saturday or a Sunday, but he will be the first to say, "Had it not been for that blocking that I had, I would have been sacked a few times, and we would have lost," or "If it had not been for the defense, or a couple of great pass receivers, we would not have won." In other words, the quarterback who is written up as the hero will say, "The team made it possible."

In the World Series, a pitcher who shuts

[1] Representative Charles Raper Jonas of North Carolina.

out the other team will be a hero the next day, but he would be the first to say, "If it hadn't been for those marvelous defensive plays that were made by the shortstop and the second baseman and the first baseman, and that catch against the wall, and if it hadn't been for the fact we also had a pretty good hitting team, I couldn't have been the hero." So the great pitcher will say: "It is because of the team that I was able to do it."

In the times I have talked to Billy Graham about his ministry and the enormous success of his crusades in America and around the world, how well organized they are, he always gives the credit to the team. So I pay tribute to Billy Graham's team today.

First to his family team: Many in his family I could mention, but two women who are on this stage, particularly, I think, have affected his life—his mother and his wife. They are strong women. Let me just say this: We all think of Billy Graham as a strong man, but as I look at the Graham family, if I am asked who are the stronger, Billy Graham or the women in his family, I will say the women every time.

Speaking as Billy Graham might, I can say that the Bible tells us that when we look at the strength of the two sexes, that God made man out of the soft earth, but he made women out of a hard rib. The woman is the stronger of the two.

I think of Billy's mother. I had the privilege of having a drink in her house—iced tea—and she had the privilege of having a drink in the house that we now live in. I say we live in it. Those who are in the Presidency come and go; the house is always there. And we remember the occasion that Mrs. Graham graced that house for one of our worship services. We were reminded what a wonderful background he had.

I think of his wife, Ruth, who has been by his side, born in China of missionary parents, lived there 300 miles from Shanghai for 17 years, and now giving him the support, the strength that any man who is in the arena needs, needs when he goes home.

So I think he would want me to pay tribute, and I do it now, to his family team, and also to the Graham organization team. You hear a great choir like this. You think of the fact that the Graham team goes into city after city, and they can mobilize choirs like this, even bigger than this. You think of the organization, hundreds and hundreds of able people that he has been able to inspire.

And so, Billy Graham, the minister, the top evangelist, the top preacher in the world, we honor today. We also honor his team, his family team, his organization team.

Now I would like to speak of what this Nation owes to Billy Graham, and how important his ministry at this time in our history is to America and to the world. He mentioned the fact that I shall be making a journey to Mainland China. You also have heard of the fact that I will be making a journey to the Soviet Union. And as these trips take place, and as we end the longest and most difficult war in America's history, or in any nation's history for that matter, hope springs up in America, as it can, as it should, that we may be seeing an era in which we can have peace, peace not just for a year, or 5 years, or 10 years, but maybe for a generation, maybe longer than that. That is what we are trying to build.

Hope springs up that peoples that have been divided and have not known each

other may get to know each other, that our children may have what we do not have: an open world in which millions of people living in other lands can have communication with the millions who will live in the United States.

These are ideals; they are not easy to come by. The announcement of trips, and even the negotiations that take place between nations that have very great differences in philosophy, do not solve or end those differences. But at least we can take some comfort in the fact that we start a process, putting it one way, of negotiation rather than confrontation; putting it another way, we have differences, but maybe we are starting a process in which we will talk about our differences in the future and not fight about them, and then our people, our young people, can grow up in a world of peace.

This is a great goal for America and a great goal for the world. And America's leadership—whether we, as the leader of the free world, can have the wisdom, the strength, in every way, to provide that leadership will determine perhaps whether we are going to have peace in the world and in America in the next generation or maybe for the next period after that into the next century.

So we look at America. Can America meet this test? Are we strong enough, strong enough to provide the leadership that is required of us in the next 5, 10, 15, 20 years, so that we can build a world of peace?

As we look at America, we see many assets. We are the richest nation in the world. Anyone who has traveled abroad comes back knowing that we are very fortunate to live in America. There is more freedom, there is more opportunity, there is more wealth here than in any other nation. We have many, many problems, but we all must recognize that the greatness of America is that we have a process through which we can correct what is wrong, and as we try to correct what is wrong, let us never forget what is right about America, because there is very much which is right about America.

It would be rather easy to look at America's wealth, to look at America's strength militarily, and to sit back and say, "Of course we will meet the challenge."

But then we read the pages of history and we find, as Billy Graham has already inferred in his own message, that the wealth of a nation or the military might of a nation may not be enough in determining whether that nation will survive.

I know many of you have visited Washington. I hope everybody here who is listening to me in this hall or on television or radio will visit our beautiful Nation's Capital and particularly drive through the Capital at night, see the statue of Lincoln at the Lincoln Memorial, go down to the Jefferson Memorial, the White House, all now lighted; go, too, by the Archives. Of all the buildings in Washington, to me, it is the most impressive—impressive, first, because that Declaration of Independence that was signed here, as Billy pointed out, 2 months before it was signed in Philadelphia, is there. The Constitution is there. The Bill of Rights is there.

But at night as you see the Archives, that gray, massive building with its columns, one gets the impression that they will last forever, that building will last. It may. It is a strong building; they are powerfully built columns in marble. But as I see those columns at night—and I have many times driven by at night—I think of times that I have been in Rome

and have seen the columns, the ruins in the Roman Forum. I think of walking on the Acropolis and seeing the great Grecian columns of the ancient civilization of Greece. I think of Samarkand in what is now a part of Russia, what was then part of the Persian Empire, and the magnificent blue columns rising up over a dead civilization.

I read the history of those civilizations, and I find that in the case of Greece, in the case of Rome, in the case of ancient Persia, that their civilizations died not when they were weak and not when they were poor, but when they were rich, when they were the best educated, and also when they thought they were strong militarily. They died because as they became wealthy, they became soft; as they became better educated, without principle, they became weak. And as a result, other civilizations, not as well-educated, not as wealthy, not really as strong, overran them.

And so the lesson of the past for America today is that we need, of course—and we can be thankful that we do have a country that is wealthy—we need certainly education for all of our people, and better education, and opportunity in the years ahead, because without wealth and without education we cannot do the great things for our people at home and provide the leadership abroad that we can provide. But we must also remember that those things alone are not enough.

It is the character of a nation that determines whether it survives. It is the spiritual and moral strength of its people that determine whether it survives. Where does that come from? We have here distinguished Members of the Senate and of the House of Representatives and the Governor of this State and the President of the United States and the Secretary of the Treasury. We, as Government officials, cannot decree that a nation shall be morally and spiritually strong. Legislators cannot legislate it.

The moral and spiritual strength of our country must come from each individual American. It comes from his home, it comes from his school, but most of all, it can and it must come from his church, from his religious faith.

We in this Nation have the great heritage of different religious faiths. Each chooses his own way. But what is important is that we have it. And what Billy Graham has done for millions of Americans is to inspire in individuals that religious faith which means moral strength and character, without which a nation, no matter how rich it is or how strong it is, cannot be great.

So today, this afternoon, I want to say to Billy Graham's friends here in this city and in this county and in this State which did so much for him, where his roots are, who helped to build his character, I want to say to you that when the history of this last third of this century is written, and the contribution that America made—and I am confident it will make it—to peace in the world and freedom for most of the world, when that history is written, it will be written about what Presidents did and what Generals did and about what businessmen did or legislators did. But it is very possible that what will have been most important in making sure that America meets the great challenge of leadership, leadership for peace and freedom in the world, will be because of what a man from this county, Mecklenburg County in North Carolina, did—his message, simple, direct, moving, inspiring in young people, in older people, that

religious faith, that morality, that strength of character that America had when it was young, that we still have today, but that it is most difficult to keep as a nation becomes wealthy, particularly at a time that it has great responsibilities, as we have today.

I want all of you to know that as I stand here today, after the wonderful welcome that Billy received as we drove through the streets of Charlotte, that I have great faith about the future of America.

I have faith in it not because we are the strongest nation in the world, which we are, and not because we are the richest nation in the world, which we are, but because there is still, in the heartland of this country—and the heartland of America is in every State of America—there is still a strong religious faith, a morality, a spiritual quality which makes the American people not just a rich people or a strong people, but makes the American people a people with that faith which enables them to meet the challenge of greatness.

I thank Billy Graham's hometown and the people of his community for what you have done in producing this fine man. You have contributed to America and the world one of the great leaders of our time.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:25 p.m. in the Charlotte Coliseum.

"Billy Graham Day" was sponsored and organized by the citizens of Charlotte where the evangelist was born.

334 Remarks Announcing the Conversion of Fort Detrick, Maryland, to a Center for Cancer Research. *October* 18, 1971

Senator Beall, Senator Mathias, Congressman Byron, ladies and gentlemen:

I am glad to see that, despite what happened to the Orioles yesterday, everybody is happy here today in Maryland.

I have come here today for the purpose of making an announcement with regard to this facility, which has, of course, an effect on all of the people who live in this area; but it also has an enormous effect in terms of the future of the people of the United States, and probably the future of the people of the world.

As I flew over this facility—and I have flown over it many times on my way to Camp David—I was impressed by its size. As I looked down upon it today, I realized that up until 2 years ago this facility was one of the most highly classified top secret facilities in the whole United States. As all of you who live in this part of Maryland know, there was no way you could get into this area without a top secret clearance. The reason was that this facility was being used for the purpose of research in biological warfare weapons.

In November of 1969, I made a decision that the United States would take the leadership in discontinuing research in the development of weapons for biological warfare. As a result of that decision, this facility, therefore, no longer could be used in that way. But it was one of the finest facilities in the world, and consequently, we found that, in January of this year when I made an announcement with re-

gard to a new initiative for conquest of cancer, we needed just what this facility had to offer.

Consequently, today we are making an announcement that, where we have previously had scientists—some of the best people that we could possibly find in the United States—working on weapons of war, we now have scientists devoting their efforts toward saving life, rather than destroying life.

So I think all Americans are very appreciative of the fact that, in terms of our conquest of cancer program, we have one of the best facilities in the world right here which will be used for the purpose of making progress in that area.

I think all of us, too, are very happy that we have here an indication of how the genius of man, which could be used to destroy life—that same genius can better be used to save life.

I would finally say this: This facility, which once was so top secret, which was closed not only to Americans but, of course, to anybody from foreign lands, now is open to all people in the world. Wherever scientists or doctors may be, whether in Europe or Latin America or Africa or Asia, they can come here. They are welcome to come here to see what we have done, just as we hope they will welcome us, so that we can see what they have done. And whether they come from the Soviet Union, or perhaps later from Mainland China, we want people from all over the world who are working on what is one of the great initiatives for mankind, finding some way that we can have a conquest of cancer, a cure for it, and a prevention of cancer, so that scientists from all over the world can share the information and work together toward that end.

I am confident that this day, therefore, is a very significant day, significant in terms of the people who live in this area, and whose Senators and Congressmen were so anxious to have us not simply say that this is surplus, and that would mean that the jobs that were available here, that were caused by this facility, would be gone; but you are also happy that this facility is being used for a cause that helps not only the people in this community, but in the future may help the people of all the United States and all of the world.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:25 a.m. at Fort Detrick.

On the same day, the White House released a fact sheet describing the conversion of the Fort Detrick facilities to cancer research.

On January 27, 1971, the White House released an announcement of the conversion of the biological warfare facilities at Pine Bluff Arsenal, Pine Bluff, Ark., to the National Center for Toxicological Research. The announcement is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 7, p. 123).

335 Statement About Conversion of Facilities at Fort Detrick, Maryland, to a Center for Cancer Research. *October* 18, 1971

FOR thousands of years, mankind has dreamed of turning swords into plowshares and spears into pruninghooks—of changing the implements of war into instruments of peace. Today we mark another chapter in the realization of that dream as we announce that one of our largest facilities for research on bacterio-

logical warfare is being converted into a leading center for cancer research.

This announcement grows out of two major initiatives which this Administration has taken over the past 2 years. The first was my decision in November of 1969 that the United States would no longer engage in the research, production, or stockpiling of offensive biological weapons. The second was the decision, which I first announced in my State of the Union Message last January, to launch a major campaign to conquer cancer.

The decision to terminate biological weapons has made available for other uses some of the Nation's most sophisticated scientific facilities—including the Army's Biological Defense Research Center at Fort Detrick, Maryland. Fort Detrick's nine major laboratory complexes and its additional smaller laboratories constitute a major portion of this Nation's containment facilities for high-hazard microbiological research. In addition, the scientists and technicians who have worked at Fort Detrick represent a pool of talent and dedication which should also be regarded as an important national asset.

It is my strong feeling that these unique physical and human resources should not be wasted or dispersed. And this is especially the case since the particular facilities and expertise which are found at Fort Detrick can be converted so effectively and so inexpensively to an intensive program of cancer research.

It is my hope that this specific conversion will help illustrate the general potential for using defense related facilities to meet pressing domestic challenges. Cutbacks in certain defense needs have provided a considerable supply of expertise and equipment which can now be used for nondefense purposes—if only we take advantage of them. By mobilizing these resources, we can help advance important public goals even as we alleviate the economic burdens which threaten idled workers and their families.

The National Cancer Institute has decided that the best way of utilizing Fort Detrick is by contracting for its operation with the private sector. This arrangement will do much to enhance the flexibility of its operations. A private contractor, for example, is usually in a better position to draw upon a diversified range of public and private assistance. Such an arrangement has been used most successfully by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, and by the Atomic Energy Commission in its work at Brookhaven and Oak Ridge. It is our hope that the converted Fort Detrick laboratories will be fully operational by the early months of 1972.

The standards of excellence which have been fostered at Fort Detrick and the distinguished scientific reputation which it has achieved give us every reason to believe that it will play a major role in the battle against cancer in the years ahead. That battle must now be waged with all the determination and effectiveness this Nation can muster. We lose more people to cancer each year than died in battle in all of World War II. If the present rates of incidence were to continue, some 50 million Americans who are now alive would someday be victimized by this disease.

The action of the Congress in approving my $100 million request for the cancer cure program was an important step in the campaign against cancer; so was the vote of the Senate approving the Conquest of Cancer Act—which provides for an independently budgeted program

with a director who is responsible directly to the President. I again urge the House of Representatives to act promptly on this matter so that we can get on with this important work.

As this project goes forward, we will be working to get the best scientific minds in this country involved in charting its course. In that connection, we are pleased to announce that 40 distinguished members of the biomedical scientific community have agreed to participate in the initial phase of this work. This group will hold its first meeting in Washington from October 25 through October 29, 1971.

NOTE: The statement was released at Fort Detrick, Md.

336 Veterans Day Message to the Armed Forces. *October* 21, 1971

ON THIS day our nation proudly honors the millions of Americans who have served in our Armed Forces both in times of war and peace.

Without the sacrifices which these brave Veterans so freely and generously made to protect our freedom, we would not be the great nation we are today. It is fitting that all Americans pause to reflect on their splendid service.

No nation has been more committed to peace than America, and no Americans have done more to achieve a lasting peace than the members of our Armed Forces, past and present. They represent the spirit that has made and preserved us as a nation.

RICHARD NIXON

NOTE: On September 23, 1971, the President signed Proclamation 4083 designating October 25 as Veterans Day, 1971.

337 Address to the Nation Announcing Intention To Nominate Lewis F. Powell, Jr., and William H. Rehnquist To Be Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States. *October* 21, 1971

Good evening:

During a 4-year term, the President of the United States, sitting at this desk, in this historic room, makes over 3,000 major appointments to various Government positions. By far the most important appointments he makes are those to the Supreme Court of the United States.

Presidents come and go, but the Supreme Court, through its decisions, goes on forever. Because they will make decisions which will affect your lives and the lives of your children for generations to come, I should like to share with you tonight my reasons for selecting the two individuals whose names I will send to the Senate tomorrow for confirmation as Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States.

Over the past month, I have received thousands of letters from all over the country recommending scores of able men and women for appointment to the two vacancies on the Court.

71-234—72——70

Because one of the vacancies is that left by the retirement and death of Mr. Justice Black, who was a United States Senator before he was appointed, there has been a strong support for the appointment of a Member of the Senate or House, so that the point of view of the Congress would be represented on the Court. A great number of letters have recommended the appointment of a woman, since no woman has ever been appointed to the Supreme Court of the United States, and a number of others have recommended the appointment of representatives of religious, racial, and nationality groups not presently represented on the Court.

I believe, as I am sure all Americans do, that the Supreme Court should, in the broadest sense, be representative of the entire Nation. But with only nine seats to fill, obviously every group in the country cannot be represented on the Court.

These are the criteria I believe should be applied in naming people to the Supreme Court:

First, the Supreme Court is the highest judicial body in this country. Its members, therefore, should, above all, be among the very best lawyers in the Nation. Putting it another way: In the legal profession, the Supreme Court is the fastest track in the Nation, and it is essential that the Justices on that Court be able to keep up with the very able lawyers who will appear before that Court arguing cases. The two individuals I am nominating to the Court meet that standard of excellence to an exceptional degree.

The second consideration is the judicial philosophy of those who are to serve on the Court. Now, I emphasize the word "judicial" because whether an individual is a Democrat or a Republican cannot and should not be a decisive factor in determining whether he should be on the Court.

By "judicial philosophy" I do not mean agreeing with the President on every issue. It would be a total repudiation of our constitutional system if judges on the Supreme Court, or any other Federal court for that matter, were like puppets on a string pulled by the President who appointed them.

When I appointed Chief Justice Burger, I told him that from the day he was confirmed by the Senate, he could expect that I would never talk to him about a case that was before the Court.

In the case of both Chief Justice Burger and Mr. Justice Blackmun, and in the case of the two nominees that I shall be sending to the Senate tomorrow, their sole obligation is to the Constitution and to the American people and not to the President who appointed them to their positions.

As far as judicial philosophy is concerned, it is my belief that it is the duty of a judge to interpret the Constitution and not to place himself above the Constitution or outside the Constitution. He should not twist or bend the Constitution in order to perpetuate his personal political and social views.

Now, this does not mean that judges who adhere to this philosophy that I have just described will find that they always agree on their interpretation of the Constitution. You seldom find two lawyers who will agree on any close question.

We have an excellent example of this in the record of the two judges whose vacancies I now have the duty to fill—Mr. Justice Black, Mr. Justice Harlan. When they retired from the Court a month ago, most observers labeled Mr. Justice Black as a liberal and Mr. Justice Harlan as a

conservative. There was a measure of truth in this, but I would say that both were constitutionalists.

It is true they disagreed sharply in many cases. But as I learned, not only from reading their opinions over the years but from appearing twice before them and arguing a case before the Supreme Court, both were great judges with the brilliant ability to ask questions that went to the heart of a matter and then to make a decision based on their honest interpretation of the Constitution.

In the debate over the confirmation of the two individuals I have selected, I would imagine that it may be charged that they are conservatives. This is true, but only in a judicial, not in a political sense.

You will recall, I am sure, that during my campaign for the Presidency, I pledged to nominate to the Supreme Court individuals who shared my judicial philosophy, which is basically a conservative philosophy.

Now, let me give you an example of what that philosophy means.

Twenty-one months ago, Mr. Walter Lippmann wrote, ". . . the balance of power within our society has turned dangerously against the peace forces—against governors and mayors and legislatures, against the police and the courts." [1] I share this view.

Over the past few years, many cases have come before the Court involving that delicate balance between the rights of society and the rights of defendants accused of crimes against society. And honest and dedicated constitutional lawyers have disagreed as to where and how to maintain that balance.

As a judicial conservative, I believe some Court decisions have gone too far in the past in weakening the peace forces as against the criminal forces in our society. In maintaining, as it must be maintained, the delicate balance between the rights of society and defendants accused of crimes, I believe the peace forces must not be denied the legal tools they need to protect the innocent from criminal elements. And I believe we can strengthen the hand of the peace forces without compromising our precious principle that the rights of individuals accused of crimes must always be protected.

It is with these criteria in mind that I have selected the two men whose names I will send to the Senate tomorrow.

LEWIS F. POWELL, JR.

Everything that Lewis F. Powell has undertaken he has accomplished with distinction and honor, both as a lawyer and as a citizen. Excellence has marked his career since his days as a student at Washington and Lee, where he was Phi Beta Kappa and first in his class at law school. He has practiced law in Richmond since 1931, except for 4 years of distinguished service during World War II.

In his unique legal career he has received virtually every honor the legal profession can bestow upon him. He has been president of the American College of Trial Lawyers, president of the American Bar Foundation, president of the American Bar Association. In that latter role he provided leadership in the provision of legal services for the needy and for the revision of the standards for administra-

[1] The President was quoting from one of Mr. Lippmann's syndicated columns which appeared in the Washington Post of March 11, 1965.

tion of criminal justice.

Lewis Powell is from Virginia. But like another great Virginian, Chief Justice Marshall, Lewis Powell is recognized by his legal colleagues throughout the Nation as being a man who represents not just Virginia and the South—he is first and foremost a very great American.

WILLIAM H. REHNQUIST

William Rehnquist has been outstanding in every intellectual endeavor he has undertaken. He was graduated from Stanford University Phi Beta Kappa, 1948. He graduated first in his class from the Stanford University Law School in 1952. And then he was awarded one of the highest honors a law graduate can achieve: He was chosen as law clerk for Mr. Justice Robert Jackson, one of the most outstanding members of the Supreme Court in the past half-century.

In this position, he acted as legal assistant to the Justice, and his duties included legal research of the highest order.

Upon leaving the Court, Mr. Rehnquist engaged in the general practice of law for 16 years in Phoenix, Arizona, until 1969, when I appointed him Assistant Attorney General, Office of Legal Counsel.

Now, that is a very technical name. Let me tell you what it means. The Legal Counsel has a very special function in the Department of Justice, serving as the chief interpreter, for the whole Government, of the Constitution and the statutes of the United States. He is, in effect, the President's lawyer's lawyer.

I was a member of a major New York law firm, a senior partner. I have had the opportunity both in Government and in private practice to know the top lawyers in this country, and, as a matter of fact, some of the top lawyers in the world, and I would rate William Rehnquist as having one of the finest legal minds in this whole Nation today.

He has discharged his responsibility in his capacity as the President's lawyer's lawyer with such great distinction that, among the thousands of able lawyers who serve in the Federal Government, he rates at the very top as a constitutional lawyer and as a legal scholar.

Lewis Powell. William Rehnquist. Those are names you will remember, because they will add distinction and excellence in the highest degree to the Supreme Court of the United States.

I am asking the Senate to approve their nominations promptly, so that the Court can move forward in the backlog of cases that is building up because of the two vacancies which have occurred in recent weeks.

Let me add a final word tonight with regard to a subject that is very close to my heart because of my legal background and because of years of study of the American system of government. I have noted with great distress a growing tendency in the country to criticize the Supreme Court as an institution. Now, let us all recognize that every individual has a right to disagree with decisions of a court. But after those decisions are handed down, it is our obligation to obey the law, whether we like it or not; and it is our duty as citizens to respect the institution of the Supreme Court of the United States.

We have had many historic, and even sometimes violent, debates throughout our history about the role of the Supreme Court in our Government. But let us never forget that respect for the Court, as the final interpreter of the law, is indispensable if America is to remain a free society.

Except for the contribution he may be able to make to the cause of world peace, there is probably no more important legacy that a President of the United States can leave in these times than his appointments to the Supreme Court.

I believe that Chief Justice Burger, Mr. Justice Blackmun, by their conduct and their decisions, have earned the respect not only of those who supported them when I nominated them but also those who opposed them.

It is my firm conviction tonight that Lewis Powell and William Rehnquist will earn the same respect, and that as guardians of our Constitution, they will dedicate their lives to the great goal of building respect for law and order and justice throughout this great land of ours.

Thank you and good night.

NOTE: The President spoke at 7:31 p.m. in the Oval Office at the White House. His address was broadcast live on radio and television.

On the same day, the White House released biographical information on the nominees.

The text of a letter from Attorney General John N. Mitchell to Leon Jaworski, president, and Lawrence E. Walsh, chairman of the Standing Committee on the Federal Judiciary, American Bar Association, discussing ABA consultation on Supreme Court nominations was made available to the press on October 21, 1971, and is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 7, p. 1434).

338 Remarks at the Convention of the National Federation of Republican Women. *October* 22, 1971

Mrs. Gladys O'Donnell, all of the distinguished guests here on the rostrum, and all of the distinguished delegates and guests to the convention of the Women's Federation:

I feel somewhat lonely here, in one sense. I am the only man on the platform. I must say, that is a better break than a woman gets when she goes before the American Bar Association, however.

I am proud of the two men that I announced last night as appointees to the Supreme Court. They are men who, I think—like the other two appointees that I have named, Mr. Chief Justice Burger and Mr. Justice Blackmun—are fine legal scholars, and also, they share the philosophy of judicial conservatism that I think the Supreme Court and the Nation wants at this point.

While I know that a great number in this audience, including my wife, felt very strongly that not only should a woman be considered but that a woman should be appointed, let me say that at least we have made a beginning, and there will be a woman on the Supreme Court in time.

As a member of the American Bar Association, and with great respect for that august organization, just let me say that when its jury of 12 decides on the qualifications of individuals that the President of the United States, through the Attorney General, submits to them for consideration, the jury should at least have one woman on it, not all men, if they are going to consider a woman. I am sure that will come.

Let me say with regard to this Federation that I am delighted to welcome you here, and because of the people that have appeared on your program already this morning and because of what has happened up to this time, I would like to be permitted some personal notes.

First, I am glad that you have heard

from Lenore Romney. She is a fine and eloquent speaker. Second, she represents a group of women that I am very proud of and that the Nation, I think, should be very proud of. She is one of our Cabinet wives. I think the highest compliment that I can pay to them is that they are intelligent. I know that because, for the first time in history, Cabinet wives have attended Cabinet meetings on occasion.

Second, she has, as the rest of our Cabinet wives have, not only an interest in Government but they are loyal to their husbands; they support them; they are loyal to the Administration. And third, they are ladies, and that is what, certainly, a Cabinet wife should be.

Second, I would like to have had the opportunity to meet everybody here personally. However, since I did not have that opportunity, you got the best of the bargain, because I know my wife Pat said that yesterday she shook hands with 2,700, which is a record.

Third, I want to pay a tribute to your outgoing president, Gladys O'Donnell. I really helped to raise her, at least in politics certainly, because I remember the campaign of 1950, 21 years ago, when Gladys O'Donnell headed a women's organization that went up and down the State of California. If it had not been for Gladys O'Donnell and that group of devoted women, I might not have been in the Senate, and I would not be here today. So, thank you, Gladys, for what you have done.

Now, that admission indicates to you how much power I think women have, how much you can contribute to a campaign, how much your support will count, particularly in a hard-fought and close election. I, however, am not going to talk to you in partisan terms today. I am not going to talk to you in terms of what the issues will be next year when we go into the great campaign of 1972.

I would prefer at this time, over a year before the election of 1972, to talk about the theme of your convention: "The Spirit of '76."

Now, if the photographers would please sit down so that the ladies in back could see—thank you very much.

What does "The Spirit of '76" mean to America? Why is it that you have selected it for a theme? Let me put that spirit in the context of great events that are occurring on the world scene today, events that I know you have heard about. You have studied them. Some of you may be concerned about them.

But I think by putting them in perspective, we can see how "The Spirit of '76" is so needed in America today and may be decisive in determining where America will be in the last third of this century.

Obviously, the eyes of the world are on the great events in the field of foreign policy. When we look back to the year 1968 and early 1969, when this Administration came into office, we see that we had a war that had no end in sight, with 300 casualties a week, 550,000 Americans were in Vietnam. There was no peace plan on the table. There was a rather hopeless feeling about foreign policy, a hopeless feeling about ending that war in an honorable way, and a hopeless feeling about developing a policy that would avoid other wars.

Because changes occur so gradually, some of us fail to realize how much the world has changed in those 3 years, and changed for the better because it is not hopeless now. We are ending the longest and most difficult war in America's history, and in an honorable way. We are

ending it in a way that will not jeopardize the peace that we are trying to build, in a way, as a matter of fact, that will build for the peace in the Pacific and peace in the world which we are all interested in.

But we have gone far beyond that. Just ending a war would be an accomplishment; but as I look down to the end of this century, I think of the fact—particularly, as I see these teenagers here in front of us, these wonderful pages that you have, and I see them all over the country at the meetings that we have, I think of their future—I think of the fact that in this century we have not yet had one full generation where we have had peace for the United States.

We had World War I, and when it was over everybody thought, "Well, we are not going to have a war now for the next generation," then World War II came along. Then with the end of World War II and the United Nations conference, there were great hopes for peace until the end of the century, and then Korea came along. Then after President Eisenhower ended Korea, we thought that, "Well, we are not going to have to go through this again, at least for some time," and then Vietnam came along. Now Vietnam is coming to an end.

So the question is not just ending a war; the question is building a peace. There is nothing that I want more in the world than to see these teenagers, young Americans today, to have what we have not had in this century: a generation of peace. I believe we can do it.

But you build a generation of peace by talking not just to your friends but to your opponents. That is one of the reasons why I am making an historic trip to Mainland China. That is one of the reasons why I am also making a trip to the Soviet Union.

I have no illusions, just as they have no illusions, that these trips are going to solve the differences that exist between great powers that have philosophical and geographical and national differences that cannot be resolved by one meeting, or perhaps by any series of meetings.

But I do know this: As I look to the future of the world, as I look at the 750 million people who live in Mainland China, as I look at the 300 million people who live in the Soviet Union, I realize that it is far better, even though we have differences that cannot be settled, to talk about those differences than fight about them. And that is what we are going to do.

I believe that these trips, combined with the other initiatives that we have taken, talking to our friends in Europe, in Latin America, in Africa, and Asia, will help to build the structure which is essential to have a generation of peace.

We cannot guarantee it. That would be unfair. It would raise hopes that might be dashed. But we shall work toward it, and we have a better chance to get it than we have had at any time since World War II, because we have a policy and a plan directed toward that end; not one that looks just to the next election, not one that looks just to the end of the present war, but one that says, "How do we avoid other Vietnams; how do we open the world so that we can travel freely throughout the world; how do we have negotiation rather than confrontation?"

This is what we work on, and this is the great goal that "The Spirit of '76," of course, will, we trust, be celebrating.

Then we come to the other side of the coin. We have peace in the world—let's

assume that we have it—what does that mean for America?

Well, peace in the absence of war is one thing, but that is a very limited and a very inadequate goal. What we must recognize is: As we have peace in the world, the challenges of peace become very great, because as the danger of war goes down, the challenge of peace inevitably rises.

You can see how that would be the case. Nations that before this have not been our competitors will be our competitors. Take the situation even since World War II. Who would have thought 25 years ago that Japan and Germany, on their backs economically as a result of the war, would now be the two major competitors in the free world of the United States of America?

As we look further down the road, certainly the Soviet Union, Mainland China with its 750 million very able people, will be increasingly competitors of the United States in the world economically, militarily perhaps, but also competitors in those things of the spirit to which your convention is addressed.

I want to say to this group of ladies today: You are a group of Republicans, but the cause in which you are engaged, working for "The Spirit of '76" becoming infused throughout this land of ours, among our people, is bigger than party; it is as big as America; it is as big as the whole world itself. I want to tell you today that in this last third of a century as we have peace and as we work for peace, we must use it.

We must remember that in order to keep the peace America must be strong—strong militarily—as long as that strength is necessary. We, therefore, must not reduce our arms strength unless we have an agreement with others, who might threaten us, to reduce theirs. This is a sound position.

We need also be strong economically. That is why we have a new economic policy. And let me say that there has been nothing more gratifying during the years I have been in public life than to hear from thousands of Americans all over this country—workers who gave up a wage increase, businessmen who gave up a price increase—to find that Americans are willing to give up a wage increase or a price increase that would benefit some of the people in order to stop the rise in the cost of living for all of the American people.

A strong economy means employment for Americans and jobs for Americans. But it means employment and jobs without war. Do you realize that you have to go clear back to the Eisenhower Administration, 1955 and 1956, to find full employment in America without war? We can get it again, and that is what we are working toward at the present time.

But a strong America also means an America that is strong in spirit. I often refer to the time when America's spirit was probably strongest. It is hard to say "certainly," but certainly we can say "probably." I refer to the period 1776. Just think of that country then: 1776—13 colonies, 3 million people, weak militarily, poor economically, and yet with the spirit, a flaming idealism that caught the imagination of the whole world. That was the America that we had and that we inherit today.

It was that spirit—a spirit that did not not depend on military strength, that did not depend on economic wealth, a spirit that came from the soul, from the hearts of the American people—it was that spirit that has made this country move now into

the first ranks of all the nations of the world, the strongest nation in the world militarily, the richest nation economically.

But let me leave this great lesson with this group of women of America: As we look at the civilizations of the past, many that were strong militarily and rich economically were destroyed. And they were destroyed from within because they had lost that strength of spirit, that faith, that idealism, that patriotism that is essential—love of country—for a country to survive.

Let's not let that happen in America.

Today, therefore, as you go back to your cities, remember: You are working for a generation of peace. You are working for a strong America that can keep that peace, strong militarily. You are working for a strong America economically in which our young people can look forward to employment without the cost of war and without inflation. These are great goals.

But also remember that the greatest service that you can render is to help to reinstill in America's young people a love of country, a faith in God, a faith in themselves that is essential if a nation is to be truly a great nation.

We had it 200 years ago. We have had it through most of our history. The great question is: Now, as America becomes rich and strong, are we going to lose it? We must not let this happen. That is why the theme "The Spirit of '76" is so important.

From having raised this question, don't get any idea that I have any doubts about the faith in this country and "The Spirit of '76." It is here, all right.

I was talking to an ambassador the other day. He was a new ambassador. He had just presented his credentials and he came in to see me. He had had an opportunity to travel for 2 months around the country. He said, "You know, Mr. President, I have been amazed by what I find in the country." He said, "I am in Washington here and I have been reading the papers and talking to my colleagues in Washington and I get an entirely different picture of America in Washington than I get in the country. In the country there is belief in this country. There is strength. There is a different America out there than there is here." And he is right.

This is no reflection on the city of Washington. We are proud of the fact, incidentally, that we have now reduced crime in the city of Washington, and this is no longer the first city of the Nation in terms of crime.

It simply means that in a nation's capital—and this is true in most nations' capitals—you usually have emphasis on the bad news, on what is wrong about the country, and they pound it and pound it and pound it because it is news, not because they are against the country.

But let me say this: Sometimes it is essential, in order to keep your sense of perspective, to leave Washington and go out into the country. I am the first President to have visited all 50 States, and I am glad that I have done it. Every visit has given me a lift, given me hope and strength to come back and do the job which is my responsibility to do.

A woman from Virginia came to see me a few months ago. She was a lovely lady, about 75 years of age. She had stitched a flag for me, an American flag. It had taken her a year and 2 months to make. She told me there were 78,000 individual stitches in it. I said, "My, that must have been a terrible burden, a terrible chore." And this was her answer: She said, "No, Mr.

President, it was not at all." She said, "Every stitch in that flag represents something right about America."

Then yesterday, while you were taking your tour of the White House, another lovely lady came to see me. She was from Cincinnati, Ohio—Mrs. Ruth Voss, the mother of eight children. She worked for the Cincinnati Enquirer. Incidentally, whenever I get discouraged with the Washington Post, I read the editorials in the Cincinnati Enquirer. But she works as their teenage editor. Over the past few years, this woman, with eight children, has given over 50 percent of her time working on projects for teens. Her present project is to develop in Cincinnati a halfway house for girls who have gone to correctional institutions and then come back into productive life and, of course, need a chance, a chance to get some hope, a job, and so forth.

As she described what she was doing, not in a boasting way because I was probing her to find out what she was doing, I realized what a perfectly remarkable woman she was. I also realized that across this country there are hundreds of thousands of women like her doing volunteer work, with young people, with older people, with those who have not had a chance, with those who were disabled.

I think of the volunteer spirit of America, and I think what a good country this is.

Mrs. O'Donnell, I simply want to say that I am proud to appear here, to be before you, to thank all of you in this room for the support you have given, not just to our party but to the cause for which we stand over the past years. But most of all, I want to thank you for having faith in this country, for believing in America. I want to thank you for having as the theme of your convention "The Spirit of '76."

The spirit of 1776 is going to mean that in 1976 America will still be strong and good, the best country in the world.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:05 a.m. in the International Ballroom of the Washington Hilton Hotel to delegates attending the Federation's biennial convention.

339 Veterans Day Address. *October* 24, 1971

Good evening:

When Pericles was asked to speak in honor of those men of Athens who were the first to fall in the Peloponnesian War, he spoke not of their deeds, but of Athens herself. He spoke of the life there and the people, and of the glory of Athens. He spoke of the Athenian warriors and of all they had fought to maintain.

It is appropriate, on this Veterans Day, to recall the origins of our own Nation—because it was established by the first American veterans—and to recall the purposes of our own people, for they continue to be protected by those fighting men who all of us wish might be the last American veterans.

The United States was conceived in the quest for freedom and born to a people committed to the preservation of their God-given rights—life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. They neither cov-

eted empire nor sought to rule any people. From the beginning, to live in peace has been one of the most fervently held goals of the American people.

But, while we have sought peace, we have also understood that where peace cannot be kept with liberty, it cannot be kept at all. As Pericles himself noted, happiness depends on being free, and freedom depends on being courageous.

When freedom was challenged, Americans fought. They fought to preserve for other generations a land of liberty and justice for all, and they preserved it with the old dream of peace.

As we look back on our history, we see that there have been thinkers and builders, poets and prophets, statesmen and philosophers—men and women with tomorrow on their minds. All helped to create America. But none have been more important than those who defended our Nation—nor are any more important today. It is to our veterans that we owe the final debt for America's greatness, and we intend to pay that debt.

Many veterans of World War II and Korea were educated under the GI bill. Today we continue to bear part of the cost of educating our returning veterans, and already more than 2½ million young Vietnam-era veterans have taken advantage of this benefit.

The coming of peace and the conversion from a wartime to a peacetime economy have contributed to the problem of unemployment by already eliminating more than 2 million defense-oriented jobs. As we complete the transition to a peacetime economy, let us all, as Americans, join in this commitment: to do all that we can do to insure that those who have borne the burdens of war are not made, because of their sacrifice, to bear disproportionately the burdens of the peace they are winning.

To help prevent this, I directed Secretary Hodgson on June 11 to institute a special six-point program to provide increased employment and training opportunities for veterans. I am happy to report that during July and August alone, more than 121,000 Vietnam-era veterans were placed in jobs or in training for jobs. Beyond these programs, each of us in his own community must also hold out a helping hand to those who have served America.

In addition to jobs and education, we have taken comprehensive steps to provide the best medical care possible, including treatment for drug users. Other benefits have also been increased; the budget for veterans and dependents in 1972 is nearly $11 billion.

But the most appropriate tribute to America's veterans would be to accomplish the secure and lasting peace for which they fought, and for which their comrades died. On this Veterans Day, 1971, we have a greater opportunity to build a lasting peace than at any time in this century. We have before us the best chance in this century to make the present generation of American war veterans the last generation of American war veterans.

In the past 2½ years we have made positive steps toward that goal:

We have ratified a treaty to halt the further proliferation of nuclear weapons.

We have signed a treaty barring the use of the seabeds for implanting nuclear weapons.

We have renounced the use of biological and toxin weapons.

We have had significant progress and

several substantive agreements in the strategic arms limitation talks with the Soviet Union. We have had an historic agreement on Berlin.

Today we are preparing to take additional steps toward an end to the conflicts which have divided so many of the world's people and which have threatened all of the world's people. My trips to Moscow and Peking are directed toward that goal. We go there with no false hopes, and we intend to leave behind us in America no unrealistic expectations.

There are great differences between the Government of the United States and the Governments of the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. But we have much in common with the Russian people and the Chinese people. We share this earth. We share a love for our children. And we share an understanding of the ultimate futility of war.

And so, while the road to a lasting peace may still be long and difficult, yet all that reasonable men may do to accomplish that lasting peace will be done.

There is a theory that nations flourish in war. Nevertheless, as we study the ancients we see that the old warrior empires have perished and the fruits of conquest are gone. But so much that was created in peace remains through the ages—old aqueducts that once brought water to cities; old theaters where men were entertained and enlightened; the literature of those times remains; there are works of art that still move us with their grace; there are laws and forms of government that still influence us. So we see what things in ancient societies had lasting values and what things have passed.

In America there is a unity of purpose that distinguishes our people from the ancients. The things we are willing to die for, we are equally willing to live for. Where in other states the periods of peace were used to prepare for war, in our own we work for peace, and when it is achieved, we work to maintain it.

We seek peace again today. We are ending one war and moving to prevent others. We have a new generation of veterans, and they are returning from the most publicized and the least understood war in our history.

Because it has been so little understood, this war has been especially difficult for many Vietnam veterans. All too often they have suffered from the frustration which this war has generated among many Americans.

We must not permit this. A nation which condemns those who serve it will find itself condemned in turn.

It is rather for us now to redeem the sacrifices our men have made in Vietnam and to grasp again the old dream, the old possibility which they have preserved—the dream of peace. It is for us now, as one people, to make that dream a reality, to insure at last what American fighting men have struggled to insure for two centuries—that this generation of veterans might truly be the last; that the world will see a new dawn of hope for the old ideal of human brotherhood; and that men and nations will find at last a larger purpose in peace than they ever found in war.

Thank you and good night.

NOTE: The President spoke at 7:30 p.m. from Camp David in Maryland. The address was broadcast live on nationwide radio.

An advance text of the President's address was released on the same day.

340 Remarks of Welcome to President Josip Broz Tito of Yugoslavia. *October* 28, 1971

President Tito, Madam Broz, our distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

Mr. President, I am very honored on behalf of the American people to welcome you again to the United States and to our Nation's Capital. I welcome you on this occasion first as the leader of a nation with which the United States has very friendly relations, but I welcome you also as a world statesman of the first rank.

I recall on the occasion of the visit that I made to your country—the privilege of being the first President of the United States to visit Yugoslavia—the long talks that we had, not only about relations between our two countries but about the problems of the world generally. I look forward to resuming those talks today and on the occasions that we will meet while you are here. I know that our discussions will further the interests of better relations between our two countries, but will also contribute to the goal of peace in the world, to which you are dedicated and to which we are dedicated.

A moment ago, across these south grounds of the White House, we heard the music of your national anthem. The words of that national anthem also have very great meaning. One phrase reads like this: "We will stand steadfast and strong, like a granite mountain." Mr. President, may our friendship between Yugoslavia and the United States always be steadfast and strong, and may our dedication to the principle of the right of every nation in the world to be independent in a world of peace be as steadfast and strong.

Mr. President, we welcome you warmly not only to our Nation's Capital but also to the other parts of America that you will visit in the days that you are here.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:06 a.m. on the South Lawn at the White House where President Tito was given a formal welcome with full military honors.

See also Items 342 and 343.

President Tito began his remarks in English; he then continued in Serbo-Croatian, which was translated by an interpreter. His remarks follow:

Mr. President, Mrs. Nixon, ladies and gentlemen:

May I thank you most warmly on behalf of my wife, my associates, and in my own name for this solemn and friendly welcome, and for your kind words.

I find great satisfaction in the fact of meeting you again after your important visit to my country, the first visit paid by an American President to Yugoslavia. Our encounters and talks eloquently reflect the traditionally friendly relations prevailing between our two countries, allies in the World Wars, participants in the founding of the United Nations, which have had much in common in their past history.

Today we are also bound by the fact that the fate of all countries and peoples is becoming ever more common, as we live in a world in which, in view of the present level of progress of mankind, we can achieve general prosperity or suffer general catastrophe.

Founded on mutual respect and enriched by new possibilities for equal cooperation, our relations are developing in all fields. We have come here, in the same way as you came to Yugoslavia, to strengthen and promote precisely such relations still further. This is in the interest of our two countries, while, at the same time, these relations constitute a significant factor of peace and stability in Europe and in the world.

Mr. President, we are looking forward with particular interest to our talks with you and your associates on many important questions of international relations in which your country plays a very important role and bears a great responsibility. As an independent and nonaligned

country, firmly resolved to remain the sovereign architect of its own internal development and of its foreign policy, Yugoslavia is vitally interested in the broadest democratic international cooperation and in the removal of all barriers and divisions that are hampering it.

Striving to contribute to the utmost to such cooperation in a world of indivisible peace and freedom, we are following with great attention and understanding the new trends in the "era of negotiations" to which you personally, Mr. President, are contributing with your initiatives and active involvement.

We are confident that this time, too, our open exchange of views will contribute to better mutual understanding, to the expansion of bilateral cooperation and strengthening of joint efforts for the easing of tensions and peaceful solution of international problems which are burdening the world.

I am gratified, esteemed friend, that this time I shall also have the opportunity to visit some parts of your great and beautiful country, whose talented and enterprising people are engaged in accomplishing great achievements as well as in a search for solutions for the problems and needs of man in this dynamic epoch of development of science and technology.

I bring to the American people and to you, Mr. President, the friendly greetings of the peoples of Yugoslavia.

PRESIDENT NIXON. *Zivila* [Long live] Yugoslavia!

PRESIDENT TITO. *Zivila* America!

341 Remarks to a National Association of Manufacturers Teleconference. *October* 28, 1971

Good morning, Mr. Gullander, ladies and gentlemen:

I regret that I am unable to be with you today in person, but I do wish to take this opportunity to greet you and to make a few remarks on the subject of this very important NAM teleconference. I am happy to report that the 90-day wage-price freeze we put into effect in mid-August has been extraordinarily successful. This success has been a great tribute to the patriotism and the pride of the American people.

In just over 2 weeks we shall move into the post-freeze program. In formulating this economic stabilization program, I have talked with representatives of all segments of the population, including labor leaders, business leaders, manufacturers, agricultural groups, industrialists, Congressional leaders, and consumers. Through this program the existing price and wage freeze will be replaced by price and wage control exercised by the Pay Board and the Price Commission working with the Cost of Living Council.

We are confronting inflation head on with this program. We have launched an offensive in this battle against inflation, and we are going to win this battle. I say that with confidence because the American people and you, an important and influential segment of the American people, have shown such cooperation during Phase 1.

The ideal of prosperity in a world of peace has caught the imagination and summoned up the will of the American people. And I call upon you this morning, the leaders of American business, to join with me during the post-freeze period in

the great task of revitalizing America's economy so that together we can achieve that great goal of full prosperity in a world of peace.

I wish you every success in today's NAM teleconference.

NOTE: The President's remarks were recorded on audiotape for closed-circuit television replay to regional meetings of the National Association of Manufacturers in 26 cities. Some 20,000 business and civic leaders attended the sessions.

W. P. Gullander was president of the Association.

342 Toasts of the President and President Tito of Yugoslavia. *October* 28, 1971

Mr. President, Madam Broz, our distinguished guests from Yugoslavia, and all of our distinguished guests from the United States:

As I was talking to President Tito tonight, my memory went back to other occasions in this State Dining Room of the White House when other world leaders have occupied the chair which he now sits in. The great leaders of the world have been here.

I recall the evening when Winston Churchill was in this chair, Charles de Gaulle, Adenauer, Nehru, Sukarno. I think of those leaders and many others, and then I think of President Tito of Yugoslavia, our distinguished guest tonight.

The men that I have mentioned all headed countries that were bigger than Yugoslavia, both in territory and in numbers. But I think that I can say without fear of contradiction that no world leader who has been honored in this room has personally met and known more world leaders in his capacity as head of state and government than President Tito of Yugoslavia.

This means that one who is so fortunate to have the opportunity to talk to him is able to talk to one who is as well informed, if not better informed, than any world leader in all the world today. This tells us something about both the man and his country.

Yugoslavia is a country about the size of Wyoming. It has 20 million people, a diverse country in terms of its people, just like the people of the United States are diverse. Yugoslavia has followed, under the leadership of President Tito, a policy of what is sometimes called nonalignment, but which I would say simply would be one of trying to have good relations with all nations, whatever their philosophies, whatever their geography, whatever their background.

For this reason, our distinguished guest tonight has traveled throughout the world, has been received, honored, and respected in nations throughout the world; and, consequently, he has demonstrated that it is possible to have good relations with nations who may not have good relations with each other. This makes him rather unique on the world scene today.

For that reason, the talks that I had with him a year ago, and again on this occasion, have been most helpful and constructive. His contribution not only as a leader in war but even more as a leader in peace, to the cause of peace, to which he is dedicated and we all are dedicated, will be one which history will record is

unique because of the position that he has held.

In proposing a toast to him tonight, I can refer to him as the President of a friendly country, I can refer to him as a leader in war, but I think that he would prefer to be referred to as one who is a leader in peace.

I know that all in this room, including the several of our guests from America who have backgrounds—as do so many millions of Americans—from Yugoslavia, that all of you will want to join me in the toast that I will propose not just to the man, President Tito, a world renowned figure, but to a country of brave people and courageous people with whom we are fortunate to have friendly relations, and to the future of that country and all countries like it in the world. They may not be large in terms of territory, they may not be numerous in terms of numbers, but they are proud, they cherish their independence, and they have a right to that independence. We respect it.

To the man who stands for the right of every country in the world to choose its own way, to have its own policy, the man who stands for independence and peace in the world, President Tito, I propose his toast tonight.

To President Tito and Madam Broz.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:05 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House.

See also Items 340 and 343.

President Tito responded in Serbo-Croatian. His remarks were translated by an interpreter as follows:

Mr. President, Mrs. Nixon, ladies and gentlemen:

It is with particular pleasure that I have responded to your cordial invitation to pay my first state visit to the United States of America. On behalf of my wife, my associates, and in my own name, I wish to thank you sincerely for the warm words you have addressed to us. We are greatly honored by this distinguished gathering in the famous building in which so many of the architects of your country have lived and have been engaged in creative activity.

This, Mr. President, is my second meeting with you. I also had the pleasure of meeting Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy. Meetings at the highest level between our two countries have already become a tradition and are a reflection of good and friendly relations, as well as of the constant concern shown by our two governments for such meetings.

Your exceptionally significant visit to Yugoslavia has raised relations between our two countries to a higher level. You have deeply impressed us by your broad interest in the intensive development of these relations, and by your efforts to promote meaningful cooperation. It is also our desire that these relations should be constantly expanded, and that our cooperation should be further enriched and expanded. In this connection, I have in mind consultations and exchanges of views in the context of our joint efforts to solve international problems, more developed economic cooperation, and new projects in the scientific, cultural, and other fields.

Constant progress in our relations has been due precisely to the fact that they have always been founded on equal rights and mutual respect, and that, on this basis, we have been successful in discovering new possibilities for their development. Relations built on such foundations correspond best to the interests of our two countries and constitute, at the same time, a contribution by Yugoslavia and the United States of America, with all their specific features, to international cooperation in general.

Mr. President, I have always been impressed by the results of the dynamic development of your country. The great achievements of the American people, who are about to celebrate the 200th anniversary of their revolution and independence, have meant much for the general progress of mankind. The United States has made, and is making, a major contribution to the solution of many problems facing man, the citizens and producers of material goods.

Important processes and reforms are under-

way in Yugoslavia. On the basis of the results achieved so far, they are creating conditions for an ever fuller assertion of man, of his creative initiative and his role in society, for even more democratic relations in our multinational community. We are just as resolutely endeavoring to stabilize our economy and to eliminate difficulties that we have never concealed—although they were not always caused by developments on our soil—and which are understandable in such a fast development as ours. Both actions will further strengthen the power and unity of Yugoslavia and its role in international cooperation.

During your visit to Yugoslavia, Mr. President, I acquainted you with our views of the world and our place in it, and I have tried to explain the basic principles of our foreign policy and how we see the most important international issues. I merely wish to underline on this occasion also that independent and nonaligned Yugoslavia never develops its relations with one country to the detriment of its relations with another country.

We have thrown open the borders of our country to a free flow of people and the widest circulation of ideas and goods. In our cooperation with other countries, we are not guided by any prejudices, and we appraise our partners according to their actual behavior toward the world and ourselves.

We know from experience that differences between countries do not, in themselves, preclude good cooperation, just as similarities do not automatically guarantee friendly relations. Our policy of nonalignment, policy of active coexistence, is aimed at strengthening equitable international cooperation, the independence and unhampered development of all countries, and peace in the world.

Nonalignment, in our view, is an active international factor, and not a policy of some kind of opportunistic "equidistance" or *a priori* alignment with these or those stands. We support all that we believe to be positive and oppose the use of force, attempts at domination, and all pressures, no matter where they come from, and we shall persevere along this road.

We have always appreciated, Mr. President, the understanding that the Government and public opinion of the United States have shown for Yugoslavia's progress and its position in the world. Your statement in Belgrade to the effect that the United States of America respects Yugoslavia's nonaligned and independent position was received with particular satisfaction.

Mr. President, we are following with great interest and attention your initiatives, your realistic appraisal of new trends in the world, and your personal contribution to the "era of negotiations." Certain progress has been achieved in international relations in the past year. This has found expression in the expansion of the substance and increase in the number of participants in negotiations, in the alleviation of some major confrontations, and in the finding of solutions for some problems, for instance, those in the center of Europe which have been the constant cause of tension over a number of years. However, we continue to be deeply concerned at the lack of progress with regard to the solution of numerous burning problems and open foci of conflict that threaten world peace, like those in the Middle East and in Indochina.

We are going to continue, Mr. President, our useful and open talks, and, therefore, it is not my intention to deal with international problems at length at the present moment. However, I should like to draw attention to some issues in which the whole world is greatly interested. I have talked about them with many responsible statesmen in the course of the present year. Quite recently, in particular, I have had a series of meetings during my visits to Iran, India, and the Arab Republic of Egypt.

What is involved are grave problems that burden the world—the widening gap between the rich and the poor, between the developed and the underdeveloped, the hotbeds of war, dangerous confrontations, vestiges of colonialism, and so on. In paraphrasing the words of your great President Lincoln, we can say even today, transposing them to the broader international plane, that a world divided against itself, half slave and half free, cannot endure permanently. It is generally felt that all of us together—in addition to our awareness and material power—should possess sufficient will and courage resolutely to discard confrontations which have never brought profit even to one's own people, but have always done harm to others. I believe that you share the view that we should proceed with the energetic and rapid solving of outstanding issues and take concrete measures contributing toward that end.

In your last year's message on the foreign policy of your country, you stated so eloquently and rightly that the edifice of peace could not stand if all nations did not take part in its construction and if, in all this, they failed to discern their own interests as well. This is precisely the demand put forward by the largest number of countries which support negotiations, while insisting, at the same time, on their own participation in the solving of acute problems. I feel that we can all agree, Mr. President, that in a world of indivisible peace and freedom, peace and freedom for all can only be the work of all.

The strengthening of the United Nations is, in our opinion, the best way to achieve this. That is why we consider that we all should jointly exert efforts in order to insure that the world organization should become the actual expression of the interests and will of the entire international community. The recently adopted important decision on the inclusion of almost one-third of mankind into the United Nations is a decisive contribution to its universality, and it is in accord with current significant actions aimed at establishing contacts and dialogue between all, conducive to peace and stability in the world.

Yugoslavia is particularly interested in détente and security in Europe and in the development of the broadest cooperation among all European states. Positive processes and achievements have already taken place—as I have just mentioned—in certain parts of Europe. It is our desire, however, that this should also come to pass on the continent as a whole, including the regions directly linked to Europe, such as the Mediterranean and the Middle East.

Dear friend, we can state, therefore, that there exist good reasons for and mutual needs in developing relations between our two countries. Our relations are traditionally good; we were allies in great wars against the common enemy; generations of our emigrants have taken part in the great construction of the United States. I am confident that we can go much further in expanding our cooperation.

We shall be gratified if this visit and our talks, too, will contribute to the further development of friendly relations and ties between our Governments, countries, and peoples.

I propose this toast, Mr. President, to your and Mrs. Nixon's personal health and happiness, to lasting friendship between Yugoslavia and the United States, and to the well-being and prosperity of the American people.

I propose to rise in toast to the President of America and Mrs. Nixon for long life, happiness, and health.

343 Joint Statement Following Discussions With President Tito of Yugoslavia. *October* 30, 1971

AT THE invitation of the President of the United States of America, Richard Nixon, the President of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Josip Broz Tito, accompanied by Mrs. Broz and their party, is paying a State visit to the United States. Following their Washington stay from October 28 to October 30, 1971, President Tito and Mrs. Broz and their party are to visit several points of interest in other parts of the country, remaining in the United States until November 2, 1971.

The meetings between the two Presidents, which took place in a cordial, frank and friendly atmosphere, provided the opportunity for comprehensive discussion of the principal issues on the current international scene. Full and mutual respect was accorded the views expressed by both sides in the talks, which covered areas of agreement and areas where differences existed. Each side presented its full and candid views on a broad range of topics which included, in addition to Yugoslav-US relations, European security, the Middle East, South and Southeast Asia, Africa, the developing countries, the

international monetary situation, and others. In the course of the visit, problems of environment and international measures for the control of illicit narcotics traffic were also discussed.

The two Presidents devoted particular attention to the importance of guaranteeing peace and stability by the peaceful settlement of disputes and by adherence to the principles of independence, mutual respect and the full equality of sovereign states, regardless of divergence or similarity in their social, political and economic systems, in full accordance with the spirit and principles of the United Nations Charter.

They welcomed the continuing growth of cooperation throughout the world and increased reliance on participation in negotiations to reconcile the interests of all nations, large and small, in a world of indivisible peace and interdependence.

It was emphasized in this regard that Yugoslavia's policy of nonalignment has been a significant factor in international relations. Countries following such a policy, together with the rest of the world, can make an active contribution to the resolution of world problems and to the more favorable evolution of international relations.

Presidents Tito and Nixon stressed that meaningful disarmament and arms control measures, as well as productive economic and social development, are inter-related factors of peace, stability, and progress in the world. The two Presidents reviewed the problems and needs of the developing countries and the efforts these countries are making in order to improve their position, as well as the possibilities and interest of the international community to assist them in this, particularly in view of the present economic and monetary situation in the world.

Presidents Tito and Nixon agreed that, since their last meeting, measurable progress has been made in the search for lasting peace and security in Europe. They believe that it is possible to take further significant steps along these lines which would serve the interests not only of the countries of Europe and the Mediterranean basin, but of world peace generally. They expressed their strong view that a firm peace and true security are indivisible and can be attained only in Europe as a whole, and not in only one or another part of it. They are convinced that each of the European and other interested states has an indispensable role in the construction of a Europe in which reconciliation, peace, and security are fully assured to all its peoples.

Both sides expressed the belief that general improvement in the international atmosphere and the broadening of the area of negotiations and cooperation must be supported by urgent efforts to achieve peaceful settlements of the more critical and dangerous conflicts, particularly those in the Middle East and South Asia. Each side stated its view on Southeast Asia.

President Tito conveyed to President Nixon his impressions from his recent meetings with the leaders of various countries. He acquainted President Nixon with the activities of Yugoslavia in the international field, and also with certain domestic questions concerning the Constitutional amendments and the economic development of the country. President Nixon reaffirmed the interest of the United States in the independence and nonaligned position and policy of Yugoslavia.

President Nixon advised President Tito

of the current initiatives of the United States Government in international relations, of his contacts with world statesmen and of the new economic policy of the United States. President Tito expressed his great interest in the foreign policy initiatives of the United States Government and in its important role in international affairs.

Presidents Tito and Nixon expressed satisfaction with the development of Yugoslav-US bilateral relations in all fields in the year since their last meeting. Noting that consultations between the two countries had broadened significantly at all levels on matters of mutual interest, the two Presidents reaffirmed their conviction that extensive bilateral exchange on all topics has served the interests of the two countries and of world peace, and resolved that these consultations should be continued and further extended.

The two Presidents also agreed that in the further development of cooperation in fields of common interest, particular attention should be paid to the more advanced forms of economic relations including industrial cooperation, joint investment, cooperation on third markets, etc., to new, broader joint programs in scientific and technological research; and to working out a long-term program of cultural and artistic exchange.

They expressed the conviction that relations between the US and Yugoslavia, characterized by equality and complete mutual respect, represent an important factor for the peace and stability of Europe and the world in general, and serve the aims of broad international understanding. Guided by these goals, and in the interests of the further development of friendly relations between the two countries, the two Presidents resolved to continue the useful practice of the exchange of mutual contacts.

The two sides will base their cooperation and relations on lasting foundations in accordance with the understanding achieved and in the spirit of the principles reflected in this joint statement.

344 Statement Announcing Establishment of the President's Environmental Merit Awards Program for High School Students. *October* 31, 1971

NEVER have the Nation's young people responded so enthusiastically as today to the challenges and needs of our society. In particular, I have been impressed by the thousands of letters I have received from young people who want to join our national effort to reclaim, protect, and preserve our natural inheritance. Environmental programs sponsored by high school students can play an important part in this vital effort.

To help encourage such programs, and to give deserved recognition to the achievements of those who participate, I have initiated the President's Environmental Merit Awards Program. Through it, America will have a chance to say "thank you" to the hard-working young people who give their time and their energy to the great goal of a better environment for everyone.

We have purposely made the program flexible so that every student will be encouraged to participate and so that those

who do will receive recognition for their constructive and responsible contributions. The program will be administered locally—assuring that the efforts of our young people will be relevant to individual community needs and special problems. It is my sincere hope that every high school principal in America will share enthusiastically in the program—in the same fine spirit of its theme: "Life—pass it on."

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released a fact sheet and the transcript of a news briefing, held on October 29, 1971, by William D. Ruckelshaus, Administrator, Environmental Protection Agency, on the new awards program.

345 Remarks Following a Meeting With Prime Minister William McMahon of Australia. *November* 2, 1971

THE MEETING lasted an hour and a half. The Prime Minister, as you know, was a former Foreign Minister and has a very broad understanding of world problems, and naturally a great part of our discussions dealt with bilateral problems.

I was interested in getting his analysis of the initiatives that we have taken on the world scene and his analysis of recent events.

It was a very helpful conversation from my standpoint, and I trust it was for him. We covered the whole range of activities, not only between our two countries but also on the world scene, with particular emphasis on our continuing commitments under the ANZUS Treaty.

I can speak with some feeling about that, because I was in Australia in 1967—and I, of course, was there for the first time in 1953—and I believe that this treaty, which makes the American commitment to that part of the world firm, is one of the fundamental pillars of our policy of peace in the Pacific. I was glad to be able to reiterate to the Prime Minister, as he did to me, our joint support of that treaty and its commitment.

I will cover the rest in my toast tonight.

NOTE: The President spoke at approximately 12:25 p.m. on the South Grounds at the White House following the Prime Minister's departure after their initial meeting.

346 Toasts of the President and Prime Minister McMahon of Australia. *November* 2, 1971

Mr. Prime Minister and Mrs. McMahon, and our distinguished guests from Australia, and our distinguished guests from the United States:

We are delighted and honored to welcome the Prime Minister of Australia here tonight, along with his wife and the members of their party. We have tried to make you all feel very much at home, Mr. Prime Minister, and as you will note as we came into the White House an Australian song was being played by the Marine orchestra, and I understand the last song that was played by the Strolling Strings of the Army was an American song, which was played, Mrs. McMahon tells me, on the night that you proposed to her.

This may give you an idea of the very special feeling we have for our distinguished guest, for his leadership in the

world, and for the country that he represents. I could speak tonight of the fact that the United States and Australia are joined together in a number of commitments and particularly the ANZUS commitment, a treaty which was made shortly after World War II and one which was reiterated on our part and on their part just a year ago.

But a treaty can have different meanings. All treaties must be honored, as the United States will always honor its treaties. But this treaty with Australia goes far beyond simply that piece of paper, that contractual agreement which nations must honor if they are to keep their international commitments.

I think it could truly be said that there are no two great nations in the world that are further apart geographically than Australia and the United States. It also could truly be said that there are no two nations in the world that are closer together in the values they share and in the spirit with which they will defend those values than Australia and the United States.

We know this. We know it from World War I and World War II and Korea and now in Vietnam. We know it not only in war but as we work together for peace. And as we think of those values, so many of us in this room—and the guest list, Mr. Prime Minister, as you might imagine, was selected because so many know your country, have been there, and love your country and your people, as all who have been there do love it—as we think of your country, we think in personal terms. I remember the first Australian I ever met. It was in World War II. I arrived at Henderson Field, Guadalcanal. I was in the Navy. The Marine Corps was there ahead of us. The Navy brought them in. [*Laughter*]

I remember that evening, my first day in Henderson Field, talking to a Marine sergeant and what a strong and brave man he was and what he had been through. And I said to him with some awe, "You fellows must be the bravest men in the world."

He said, "No. Do you know who are?" I said, "Who?" He said, "The coast watchers." "Who are they?" I asked. "Wait and you will meet them."

My next stop up the line in the Solomons was Bougainville, and I met, for the first time, a coast watcher. He was an Australian. This remarkable group of men—I don't know how many there were, perhaps no more than 100—who operated throughout those Pacific islands as coast watchers in the most hazardous duty of perhaps any war, won the admiration and respect of all Americans who were there and all people who had the opportunity to know what they were doing. That was typical of Australian valor in World War I and World War II and in all those occasions where we have been associated with them.

I only mention this in a personal sense because I think each one of us who knows Australia and its people has that enormous respect for their courage, for their idealism, for their loyalty, for their friendship. We feel especially close to Australians though they are so far away from us geographically.

And tonight, Mr. Prime Minister, I want you to know that this company of 100 really speaks for 200 million Americans when we say that we cherish the friendship and alliance we have had in the past; that our policies in the future

will build on that friendship and that alliance; and that your visit here is welcome to us—welcome to us because you represent a country and a people for whom we have such great respect and welcome to us because you, in our view, are and do serve as a statesman of the first rank in the world. As our talks have demonstrated—they have been most useful in discussing not only bilateral affairs but the problems of the world generally and for this we are most grateful for the long journey which you have taken.

An Australian poet, I understand, once wrote that Australia's future is a prophecy. Anyone that has been to this wonderful country—and my wife and I were there for the first time in 1953, and I was there again in 1965—but anyone who has been there would know that Australia has a proud past, but it has an enormously exciting future.

And the man who has played such a great role in building that past, who presently leads Australia in the present, at this time, and the man who is contributing to the fulfillment of the prophecy for the future of Australia is the man we honor tonight. I know you will want to rise again and join in a toast to the Prime Minister.

Prime Minister McMahon and Mrs. McMahon.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:51 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House.

Prime Minister McMahon responded as follows:

Mr. President and Mrs. Nixon:

Sir, you were good enough to remind me and to inform the whole of the audience tonight that that song, the last song that was played by the strings tonight, was the song that was played at the time that I proposed to my wife.

What you didn't say was that I had already sung it to her 10 times, and I was just about to give up when a faltering voice made some declamation—yea or nay, I know not—but at least I thought I had better take advantage of the moment and capitalize on my good fortune. [*Laughter*]

Equally, too, can I thank you, sir, for inviting me to come to Washington on an occasion and at a moment that is as propitious as I believe this one to be. Because you today, and, so far as I am concerned, yesterday, with one of your senior Cabinet ministers, have taken me into your confidence in a way that I wouldn't have believed to have been possible. And because of the trust and the confidence that you have reposed in me and in my colleagues who have been with me, I have had to confess again, as I have confessed on so many other occasions that the relationships between ourselves are based upon the soundest of sound principles—that we trust one another, and I believe that so far as our people are concerned, whether they happen to be American or Australian, that they believe in the cause that they think is right. They are prepared each to make their contribution to that cause, and I think that the friendship between us is consequently one that will be enduring.

But what I would like to speak about, Mr. President, tonight, is this, and I take as my text a few familiar words: that there comes a time in the life of men, in the flood of time that, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune. And I believe that is abundantly true today because I think now we have reached a crucial period of history and a period of history when leadership in terms of personalities might change, but the leadership of the United States will remain.

In the postwar period I believe your country, the United States, has stood between the free countries of the world and despotism. Had it not been for the greatness and the magnanimity and the humanitarianism of the United States and the people of the United States, then I believe we could very easily have succumbed to one or other kind of dictatorship that we have known throughout the world in these years.

But then came a period, I believe, when other nations started to emerge. Soviet Russia

became the second super power. China started to emerge as a great power, and alongside, too, we had Japan and we had the European Community countries. And that meant there had to be a reappraisal of the world balance of power and I think the time for that reappraisal has now come and I think the world is indeed fortunate to find that not only has the time come with the United States prepared to accept the leadership but also, sir, at the helm and at the leadership of this great country is yourself, abetted and aided by a very lovely person who is sitting at my right-hand side tonight.

And so you can understand why I am glad to be here. But could I then move on just to mention some of the events that have occurred that have made me feel that this is a watershed in history and one that, as I have said before, providing we can exploit the opportunities, we can bring an era of peace and, consequently, the opportunities for progress that have not been present since the beginning of World War II.

As I have said, there are these emerging countries that have been giving a new balance, but at the moment it is not a stable balance and the necessary conditions for stability are not there. It does need some element or some group of elements that will make each one realize that it is by some sort of cooperation, however much our ideologies might differ, but by some form of cooperation and by a realization that not one nation can dominate the other and that not one nation can hope to exploit all the others for the benefit of the one.

But when that day of realization comes and the leadership is found, then we can hope to move on to the kind of prosperity that I have mentioned.

The European Community is strengthening and Britain is shortly about to become a member in the agreement of the House of Commons in a vote taken during the course of the last few weeks. Japan is becoming increasingly greater in terms of industrial power and political potential in the western Pacific. And so, too, I could go on in this way indicating the kind of change that is occurring and, consequently, the conditions, the atmosphere, in which advantage can be taken of these changed circumstances, not only to ensure an era of peace but I believe to be able to bring the better things of life and a better world to so many of the underdeveloped people, as well as giving something better to our own peoples as well.

Now, sir, we have cooperated, and I think we have done so magnificently over the course of the postwar period and, for that matter, during the whole of World War II. We have cooperated in Korea. We have cooperated again in South Vietnam. We have cooperated in other places, particularly in the commercial world in such matters as the GATT and the Kennedy Round changes and commercial operations of a similar kind.

And I am as certain as I can be that there could be no two nations where there is a greater degree of trust, where you can regard one another as reliable friends, and I don't think there is any greater quality that I can imagine or think of when you cannot only have common ideals, but when you are put to the task you know that you can rely upon your friends for the assistance and the kind of help that you think is needed in the interests of success.

Now, first of all, might I say something to you about our common idealism, because I do believe that in many ways we are entitled to claim that whilst we might have had a common ancestry and have inherited ideals and the institutions to sustain those ideals from the British people, nonetheless, if you look at our own Constitution you will see that embedded in it, written into it, and sustained there is the idea that all men and women are born equal; we believe in the inalienable right to freedom and to independence; we want freedom of trade and freedom of commerce; we want people to be able to worship in their own way if they wish to do so; and, above all, we want them to be able to share the good things of life and to be able to participate in the fruits of progress that a technological age can bring to them.

So, here we are together sharing those ideals, but we have gone even further than that, and might I first of all mention your own case of the magnificent part that you have played in the past and, I believe, the part that you are about to play in the future.

Now you, sir, are shortly to go to Peking, to the People's Republic of China. A little later on you will be going to Moscow, and there you will be able—and I am certain you will

be discussing the world's problems.

But what I am certain is the motive that has driven you and provided the initiative that has inspired you to go on is the hope that if you can convince these people that war is no longer a practical means of achieving political objectives and that it is far better that we should try and live a life of cooperative existence or cooperative coexistence, then I think we set the foundations in which less can be devoted to the impedimenta of war and more can be devoted to the cause of peace and to the cause of the underdeveloped countries of this world.

So you have this magnificent task, and, sir, I believe you have come at a prophetic moment of history to be able to lead the western countries of the world in their task of bringing an era of peace and an era of the kind of world, the kind of good world, that we want others in time to inherit.

From my own country's point of view, as I have said, there is a feeling of enduring friendship and, I believe, almost a blood relationship between our two people. I have been astonished even in New York going along to the Times Building and going to other places and finding, as I walked in, how many people wanted to come up and shake hands because they had seen an Australian flag and they felt, well, here was somebody who thinks the same and acts the same and wants the same sort of things to happen in the world as we do.

And as I have shaken hands with them, and I have spoken to them—2 or 3 days of experience—I have had to confess again, as I have confessed in the many other voyages that I have made to this country, how similar we are and how similar the ideals that we cherish and how similar are the actions that we take in order to ensure that they are put into practice in various parts of the world.

But for our own part, I think we have to recognize that whilst we are a moderately sized country, not a super power as you are, nonetheless we are prepared to play our part independently in the Southeast Asian theater, and we are prepared, not on a global field, but on a local field and in a local atmosphere, to make what contribution we can to the peace and to the prosperity of, first of all, to the Indochinese Peninsula, and now with the help we are giving in Malaysia and Singapore and the other aid and assistance we are able and willing to give in places such as Indonesia, the Philippines, and other parts of Southeast Asia.

But what we do cherish is the fact that we can move on a basis of security. And that basis of security that permits us to have the freedom of action that we want, and the independence that is so cherished in the way that it is cherished by Australians, is the guarantee and the assurance that we receive from you and from your Administration that the ANZUS Treaty is just as sacred today and is just as valid today as it was when it was first signed a few years ago by Mr. Dulles and our own Foreign Minister, Sir Percy Spender.

Here is the basis of our security and the basis of our defense requirements. And equally, too, as we look around in so many other areas, do we find that we have there, standing by our side, willing and able to assist us when the moment comes—we have the United States in the same way as we can be regarded by you as true, faithful, and reliable allies, so, too, can we turn to you and realize that you look at us in exactly the same way.

So, having said all this, Mr. President, may I say to you again, that I do want to thank you from the bottom of my heart and on behalf of the Australian people, for giving me the chance to come here at this very critical moment to join with you in consultation, because it has been consultation in the truest and the fullest sense of the word.

You have not kept back any of your secrets. You have told me what you think, you have told me of your grand design for the future. I can only hope that you are successful, and deep in my heart I feel that you will be.

Can I say this to you, too? You have referred to the fact that you have been to Australia on at least two occasions. I would like to be able to encourage you to come back, and particularly to bring your wife with you.

And I think if I could give you one reason why I would like you to come, it is this: Recently we had a Gallup poll taken in Australia over a fairly wide area of people, and they asked if people would nominate the man that they felt was most able to lead the world onto the paths of freedom and dignity and justice, into the paths that would give them greater prospects and greater hopes for the future. And lo and behold, sir, when the tally

71-234—72——71

was taken, one man's name stood out so far in front of everyone else's that, well, the poll shouldn't have been held, because it made the rest of us feel humble, and if you had seen the figures, it would have made you feel extremely proud.

Now, when you get a vote like that amongst people—a written-in vote, with people being able to make their choices of their own free will, but being able to recognize the part that a great country and a great leader had been able to play—I think the time might come when at least you should let them see you in person, and let them pay their respects to you and to show exactly what they think of all your country has achieved and all we know you are going to achieve as the leader of that great country in the future.

So on behalf of my wife and myself, on behalf of my own country, I want to thank you for this opportunity. We are grateful. We want to go ahead with this partnership between us as independent countries, each making up our own minds; but above all, when we make up our minds, doing it on the basis of principle, on the basis of the knowledge of the fact that in the long run, principle, and action based upon principle, will be successful.

But when we are doing these things, remembering that of the ingredients of success, we have them: first of all undoubtedly is the leadership about which I have spoken.

Secondly, to realize that we must move from a basis of strength, and it is only by strength that we can get others to realize that not only have we a just cause but they must listen to that cause.

And thirdly, that when we do play a part in world affairs, we remember that our friends have to be thought of just as much as those we are trying to entice into the international comity of nations, in the interests of the world as a whole.

Sir, I thank you for your kindness. I thank you for having me here as your official guest, and on behalf of my country, I will ask everyone here now if they will please rise with me and drink to the health of a very great man, the President of the United States of America. Mr. President.

347 Statement Following Action on Post-Freeze Economic Stabilization Legislation by the House Committee on Banking and Currency. *November* 4, 1971

ON October 7, I outlined to the Nation a program which would continue wage and price restraints for the purpose of winning the battle against inflation. This program was a continuation of the effort which began with the 90-day freeze that was announced on August 15.

In developing this new program, we consulted with scores of representatives of labor and business, of farmers and consumers, of the Congress and State and local governments. These people were virtually unanimous in their belief that the battle against inflation must be fought here and now, and they were together in their determination to win that battle.

The program developed was designed to rely primarily on the good faith and voluntary cooperation of the American people. It is essential that no action be taken which allows any single interest to escape the fair application of the law.

On October 19, I submitted to the Congress legislation to amend and extend the Economic Stabilization Act of 1970. This legislation was designed to provide a sound basis for the administration of the post-freeze economic stabilization program.

Today, the House Banking and Currency Committee adopted a number of amendments, some of which are damaging and clearly inconsistent with the effort to achieve reasonable price stability. The most significant of these actions by 17

Members of the House would have the effect of providing for the payment of increases embodied in existing employment contracts executed before August 15, and to require the retroactive payment of increases required by these contracts. That question is one of the many related problems now being considered by the Pay Board and Price Commission. It is not my intention to prejudge how these particular issues should be decided. These are matters for the Pay Board and Price Commission to decide.

The committee's action is clearly inconsistent with the purposes of the economic stabilization program. It would provide for a piecemeal approach to the development of the program and ignore the effect of these actions on other aspects of the problems being considered by the Pay Board and the Price Commission. The amendment would provide for special treatment to one segment of the American economy.

Most importantly this action would limit the flexibility of the Pay Board and Price Commission to consider the widest possible range of actions and options and limit their ability to develop a course which is the most equitable to all Americans.

If the Congress enacts this amendment to the Economic Stabilization Act, I believe that it would seriously jeopardize the ability of the Pay Board and Price Commission to reach the goals we all expect of the post-freeze program. I am confident that the majority of the Members of the Congress share my view, and that this and similar piecemeal amendments, which would preclude the Pay Board and the Price Commission from having an opportunity to develop a balanced approach to the many related problems, will not be enacted.

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing on the President's statement by Donald Rumsfeld, Counsellor to the President and Director, Cost of Living Council.

348 Remarks of Welcome to Prime Minister Indira Gandhi of India. *November 4, 1971*

Madam Prime Minister, our very distinguished guests from India and from the United States of America:

On the many occasions when heads of government and heads of state have been welcomed at the White House, many very famous leaders have appeared here. Our distinguished guest today has the unique distinction, through the parliamentary system of India, that more people have voted for her leadership than for any leader in the whole history of the world.

Madam Prime Minister, we welcome you because you represent the world's largest free nation, the world's largest democracy. We welcome you also for another reason. We are not bound together by a treaty commitment in the technical sense, but India and the United States are bound together by a higher morality, a more profound morality that does not need a legal document to make it live.

I speak of the common devotion that the people of India and the people of the United States have to the cause of freedom, to the cause of representative government, to the right of every country in

this world to be independent of foreign domination, and to the cause of peace. We are bound together also by our devotion to humanitarian concerns.

I know that as you arrive here, your heart is heavy because of various problems, but particularly more recently the floods that have devastated parts of your land. I can assure you that when a tragedy occurs in India, the hearts of millions of Americans go out to your people. Because we feel so close to you in those humanitarian concerns, there is a very special relationship between the 200 million people of America and the 500 million people of India.

Madam Prime Minister, today we stand in Washington on November 4, a winter day. In our country we call this kind of a day, with the sun shining, "Indian summer." We feel that in a real sense this is a day in which the sun shines on the relations between our countries. I trust that this is a good omen not only for the talks that we will have, very significant talks on very difficult problems affecting both of our countries, but a good omen for the future.

May the sun always shine on the relations between two peoples who share so much in terms of common ideals: devotion to peace, devotion to progress for all people throughout this world, and particularly those in those lands that are newly developing, and devotion to the cause of freedom and independence which you so magnificently represent.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:16 a.m. on the South Lawn at the White House where Prime Minister Gandhi was given a formal welcome with full military honors.

The Prime Minister responded as follows:

Mr. President, Mrs. Nixon:

It is a pleasure to be in Washington and to meet you and Mrs. Nixon once again. I am grateful for your invitation which has made this visit possible.

It has not been easy to get away at a time when India is beleaguered. To the natural calamities of drought, flood, and cyclone has been added a manmade tragedy of vast proportions. I am haunted by the tormented faces in our overcrowded refugee camps reflecting the grim events which have compelled the exodus of these millions from East Bengal.

I have come here looking for a deeper understanding of the situation in our part of the world, in search of some wise impulse which, as history tells us, has sometimes worked to save humanity from despair. I look forward to our discussions. I have no doubt that they will lead to the strengthening of friendship and understanding between our two nations, and to a lightening of our path as we work together for peace in Asia and the world.

We share a community of ideals, and there is no real conflict of interests between us. Our people value your friendship. They have great admiration for the spirit of quest of the American people, for their desire to reach beyond the immediate.

I bring to you, Mr. President, and to the people of America, the greetings of the Government and the entire people of India, and I fully and sincerely support the desire which you have expressed that the sun may always shine on our friendship and that we may always work for those ideals which our people and our countries have cherished through the years.

Thank you.

349 Toasts of the President and Prime Minister Gandhi of India. *November 4, 1971*

Madam Prime Minister, our very distinguished guests from India, and our very distinguished guests from the United States:

Madam Jha, the wife of the very able Ambassador to the United States from India, said a moment ago that for her this was a very historic occasion. I think all of us should realize that this is, indeed, a very historic occasion for a very historic room.

As I sit here tonight by the Prime Minister of India, my mind goes back to the other times that I have been in this room. My memory goes back, as does, I am sure, the memories of most here, to the dinners that have been held in this room, not a large room compared with the great rooms of Europe and Asia and the rest, but it is the room where Presidents of the United States for over 190 years have entertained state guests.

In the chair that the Prime Minister now occupies, in my time I have seen Winston Churchill, Charles de Gaulle, Chancellor Adenauer, Prime Minister de Gasperi, Kishi of Japan, Sukarno of Indonesia—large countries, small countries—all honored men, honored women, who have occupied the place of head of state or head of government visiting the United States of America.

I think of what makes this occasion particularly special, particularly historic, in a room that has seen so many historic occasions. I am reminded of the fact that just 2 nights ago in the East Room—where tonight we will hear or see one who has been described as America's outstanding ballet dancer—2 nights ago we heard a man who was described by Time magazine, when he completed his 25th year at the Metropolitan Opera House, as the best tenor in the world—Richard Tucker.

Afterwards we went upstairs, and I had a chance to talk to him a bit. He told me about his sons. He had three sons. He was very proud of them. One was a doctor. One was a broker in New York City. Another was a very successful businessman.

I said to Mr. Tucker, "But no tenor, no singer?" He said, "No, Mr. President." He said, "You will find that in the field of music that it is the exception." As a matter of fact, he could think of no case where it was not the case that the great talent that one in the field of music has is transferred to the second generation. Sometimes to the third, but never to the second. So his sons—a doctor, a broker, a businessman.

Naturally, tonight our thoughts go to the field of politics. Is the great genius that we see in the field of politics transferred to the second generation or to the third or the fourth, or what is the case?

I think back to the year 1957. Prime Minister Nehru sat in this chair. President Eisenhower sat in this chair. Our distinguished guest of honor was here with Prime Minister Nehru. She sat in that chair.

I think what has happened since that time, and I think back to what Mr. Tucker said about music—that the genius and talent of a great star is not repeated in the second generation. Then I think of the career of our honored guest.

I could speak of her tonight as repre-

senting, as she does, the greatest democracy in terms of numbers in all the history of the world—500 million people. I could also speak of her as one who, as I mentioned earlier today when I welcomed her on the South Lawn, who received more votes through the parliamentary system than any person has ever received in the whole history of the world. I also could speak of her as one who, in the field of politics, has never lost an election, and that really impresses me.

I could also speak of her as the daughter of Prime Minister Nehru, as a woman. But today we honor her not because she is a woman heading the largest democracy in the world, not because she is the daughter of one of the world's most legendary and distinguished statesmen, but because in her own right, as demonstrated by a fantastic, brilliant success in an election in a free country, she won.

She represents her people. She has a mandate from her people. And so she is with us today as one who deserves our honor and our respect because of the country she represents, because of her own achievements, and because of, also, what she stands for.

I have understood that Prime Minister Nehru—whom many in this room have had the opportunity to meet, as Mrs. Nixon and I did, both in 1953 and 1957 when he was here—had as one of his favorites among poets our American poet Robert Frost, and that on his desk, until the day he died, he had a little saying, an excerpt from Mr. Frost's poems, which went something like this: But I have many promises to keep, and many miles to travel before I sleep.

Prime Minister Nehru did not live to see his promises kept. But in this historic moment, how proud he would be to see his daughter honored as we honor her—not because she was his daughter, but because in her own right she represents his country, because in her own right she is working to fulfill the promises that he made.

Those promises are ones that we share: the promise of progress for people who want it and need it and deserve it; the promise of progress through freedom, a great experiment in democracy when it would be so easy to turn to a totalitarian system to solve such difficult problems; and the promise of peace.

I shall never forget the conversation I had with Prime Minister Nehru on the occasion that he received us so graciously in 1953 when I was Vice President. On that trip around the world, of 73 days in 20 countries, I asked every head of government and state what he wanted most for his country. Some said roads; others said industrial development; others said better agricultural development; others said education. Prime Minister Nehru did not answer in that way. He thought a moment, and he said: What India needs, what the world needs, is a generation of peace.

Many of you have heard me speak of a generation of peace. India is committed to that great goal. The Prime Minister is committed to it. I am. Our Government is certainly committed to it.

And so tonight, Madam Prime Minister, we honor you not simply as the daughter of a great leader, but as Prime Minister of the world's most populous democracy, but as one who is working to fulfill those promises, those dreams of progress and freedom and peace for your people and all people in the world.

That is why this is truly an historic occasion.

Let us raise our glasses to the Prime Minister.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:01 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House.

Prime Minister Gandhi responded as follows:

Mr. President, Mrs. Nixon, distinguished guests:

This room is indeed full of history, as indeed is this house in which we are today. This house has been the home of many great men whose ideas and actions have influenced events far beyond the boundaries of the United States.

I remember how thrilled I felt when I was a small girl, when my father first introduced me to the stirring words of Lincoln and Jefferson. Much has happened in the world since those days, many ups and many downs. But certain ideas and certain ideals have helped people get together.

I think, although there is so much difference between your country and mine—many miles of land and oceans separate us—but there is also much in common between our two peoples. We are both large societies, composed of diverse ethnic elements, proud of our regional diversity, resentful of imposed uniformity. Our peoples are friendly and generous, wanting to be liked, quick to give expression to their feelings, and equally ready to forgive.

Naturally, there have been differences of assessment and emphasis. And since our people and our legislatures live by speaking out, there have been moments of awkward candor. But let us also remember that in both our societies the most forthright critics are within ourselves.

I think that a functioning democracy converts this weakness into strength. During our fifth general elections last March, to which you referred so generously, Mr. President, our people demonstrated the ability of the democratic process to find answers to national problems. They gave the nation a clear and coherent sense of direction, a renewed self-confidence in and a fresh impetus to our long struggle against poverty.

The instability of the 1960's which had enervated our growth was overcome. Our plans of development have benefited by the long-range capital assistance and food aid so generously given by your country. Foreign aid is important because of its direct economic contribution and also as a symbol of the involvement of advanced nations and, most especially, of the United States in the developing world.

But the effort towards progress in our country is overwhelmingly and increasingly that of the labor and sacrifice of our own people.

Today we are self-sufficient in food grain. Net foreign credits constitute a small but useful part of our resources. All this was achieved not easily, and though we smiled through these years, you know, Mr. President, how very difficult they were for India.

There was the drought during which many people thought we just would not survive. But it was that very time that we used to introduce our new agricultural strategy which today has made us self-sufficient.

You spoke of our elections. They were not easily won. I was telling Mrs. Nixon just now that in 43 days—we had a very short time at our disposal because we decided to hold them 1 year, or more than a year, a year and a quarter earlier than we need have because we were just tired of people telling us, "You are the minority government. You have no right to do this, you have no right to do that." We said, "All right, let's have elections."

In 43 days I traveled 36,000 miles. I had 375 meetings, all over 100,000 people, some 200,000 or 250,000. This was one person's effort but it also naturally needed the efforts of thousands—hundreds and thousands—of other people. Why we won the elections was not merely because of our effort, but because we were able to convince the people who are in a majority—the poor people, the smaller businessman, the smaller farmer, those who had been underprivileged, the minorities, and, above all, the young people of all classes—that we had something to offer which others did not.

So, the campaign became not a campaign of a political party, but a campaign of the people. And some of our workers, as perhaps—I don't know what happens in the States—but not all our workers were equally enthusiastic about all our candidates.

THE PRESIDENT. It is the same. [*Laughter*]

THE PRIME MINISTER. So, in many places, although in some places naturally we thought

we had the best candidate, in some places we sometimes didn't, for various reasons, but there were many places where we thought we would not win because there was not cooperation between the two of them—the candidate and those who were supposed to make him win. But this is where the people came to the fore, and they said, "Well, if this is a candidate belonging to Mrs. Gandhi's party, we will make him win, whether the party wants him or anybody else wants him." This is how we won these elections.

But we had met in the new parliament for only a week and, like all politicians, we were still busy patting each other on the back and congratulating one another when suddenly our entire world changed and what seemed to be a path full of sunlight, just waiting for us to go ahead and solve the problems which remained, was covered with a very large shadow, a dark shadow. And without warning, a major crisis erupted across our frontiers and well nigh engulfed us, seriously threatening our hard-earned stability.

What has happened is now part of contemporary history. I shall not dwell on it, but may I recall the sheer magnitude of the problem? Can you think of the entire population of Michigan State suddenly converging onto New York State? Imagine the strain on space, on the administration, on the services such as health and communications, on resources such as food and money—and this not in conditions of affluence, but in a country already battling with problems of poverty and population.

We are paying the price of our traditions of an open society. Of all peoples, surely those of the United States should understand this. Has not your own society been built of people who have fled from social and economic injustices? Have not your doors always been open?

Every nation must bear its own cross. Our people have faced this challenge with exemplary unity, self-reliance, and self-restraint. But from neighbors far and near and from others who value and uphold democratic principles, we expect understanding and, may I add, a certain measure of support.

None of our friends, and especially not those who share common ideals, would expect us to abandon our long-cherished democratic principles. If today we are beset with economic uncertainty and faced with a grave threat to our stability and security, it is because our democratic code and geographical proximity have made us the inevitable refuge of millions of helpless victims of a medieval tyranny.

The circumstances did not allow an analysis of the consequences to our own economy and our society. Our administration, already strained to meet the rising demands of our vast population, is stretched to the limit in looking after 9 million refugees, all citizens of another country. Food stocks built against drought are being used up. Limited resources scraped together for sorely needed development works are being depleted.

The occasion is too serious for the scoring of propaganda points. Our people cannot understand how it is that we who are the victims, we who are bearing the brunt and have restrained ourselves with such fortitude, should be equated with those whose action has caused the tragedy.

There is no foretelling how far-reaching will be its consequences. It is for the international community to try to remove the root cause of the trouble. India will not be found wanting in generous responses.

In the meantime, I cannot avoid the responsibility or my duty to safeguard the future of my people.

Mr. President, we are with you in your faith in freedom and democracy. The size of my country and the complex situations which confront us have led to many prophecies of despair. But India, like the United States, has the great resilience which is born of a free society, and out of the very crises emerge solutions and new resources of energy.

Mr. President, you have evoked admiration all over the world for the imaginative manner in which you have taken bold decisions. I am sure that having a First Lady of such grace and charm is a source of strength to you.

This morning you spoke of sunshine, and indeed it was a very beautiful day. I don't know whether you were responsible for it or whether I was, because in India I do have the reputation of bringing the weather the people want. Usually, of course, it is rain, it is not sunshine at all, because our crops need rain, and even in the driest of the drought days, when I went somewhere it always rained—not enough to make any difference to anybody, but just two or three drops to say, "Well, I was

there." So perhaps I had something to do with the sunshine.

But while that sunshine naturally added to the beauty of your very lovely garden and house and the view we have from here, you referred to another sunshine, a deeper kind, which you hoped would lighten our friendship and give it a greater meaning and purpose.

I sincerely share that wish, not only I, not only as a person, but on behalf of the Government and, indeed, the entire people of India who have very great admiration and friendship for the people of the United States.

I have said how much our people were inspired during our freedom struggle by the words of great Americans, and afterwards also by the many deeds which your scientists and others, the many steps they have taken to add to the world's knowledge and progress.

Now, in India, of course, when we think of something to say—although many of us think forward into the future—but when we want something to say, we invariably look back into the past. There is always some act, word, or sentence written thousands of years ago that could very well have been written today, and these are some of the timeless parts of our history—and I am sure you have many in America—such as our great ideals which we would like to keep, no matter what other progress there is, what other advances mankind makes.

So, when you mentioned the sunlight, something rang a bell in my mind, but I could not think of the words immediately, but I did think of them later on. In one of our Vedas, which is the earliest existing literature in the world, I think, I found this little quotation: "As the lotus gets its radiance with the rise of the sun, in the same way the thoughts of friends are auspicious and bring prosperity."

So let us hope that the words of friends which have been spoken in this room will bring—of course your country is already very prosperous—but we hope that this prosperity will be shared with those who have not got it, and that you will also move to another kind of prosperity. You have the material prosperity, but the kind of, shall I say, receptivity which enables people to enjoy prosperity. We have found in many countries there is prosperity, but somehow people are not enjoying it; they are looking for something else. They don't know what they are looking for.

So it is important to have things, but just as important to know how to enjoy them, and how, through them, to share the enjoyment with others.

I would like to thank you once again for your invitation which has made my visit possible, by giving me the opportunity of having very useful and interesting talks with you, Mr. President, and tomorrow, I hope with some others, and of being present at this very gracious function in this lovely room with so many distinguished people.

May I ask you all to join me in a toast to the health of the President and the gracious First Lady, the future of the great people of the United States, and to friendship between our two countries.

350 Letter to State, County, and Local Officials About Hiring Under the Emergency Employment Act of 1971. *November 7, 1971*

AS YOU know, the Emergency Employment Act of 1971 was enacted by the Congress this past summer. I signed it into law on July 12; appropriations for it were provided in early August. At my direction, the Secretary of Labor has already made funding available to communities across the country, under the provisions of this statute, for more than 100,000 jobs.

I am sure that you share my commitment to reduce the level of unemployment in our country; this statute provides one important means for moving swiftly to provide needed public service employment and to reduce unemployment, par-

71-234—72——72

ticularly in areas which have been most severely affected. Unfortunately, despite the fact that the Department of Labor made funding available almost immediately, hiring has not kept pace in some areas of the Nation.

Therefore, I urge you to move with speed and vigor to fill the job vacancies now funded in your jurisdiction. If you should encounter any funding or administrative difficulties under this program, please feel free to contact the Secretary of Labor and his staff directly.

As you make use of this program, I especially hope that you will also make every effort to meet and exceed the one-third goal established for employment of veterans. This Nation owes a great debt to those who have served in the Vietnamese conflict and who have been returning home in increasing numbers. I have assigned the highest priority to the hiring of Vietnam veterans, and I hope that you will do the same with respect to the funds available to you under this statute.

This Administration is dedicated to the task of creating the new jobs needed for an expanding America—a goal which I know you share. This program is vital to our combined efforts; I earnestly solicit your active cooperation.

Sincerely,

RICHARD NIXON

NOTE: The letter was dated November 3, 1971, and was made available to the press at Key Biscayne, Fla., on November 7.

Copies of the letter were sent to some 14,000 State, county, and local officials, including Governors, mayors, and county officials in jurisdictions of 100,000 or more.

351 Remarks at a "Salute to the President" Dinner in New York City. *November* 9, 1971

Governor Rockefeller, Governor Meskill, Governor Cahill, Senator Javits, Secretary Rogers, all of the distinguished guests here at this dinner, and all the distinguished guests at the other dinners on this closed-circuit television:

I know that these dinners have been advertised as a "Salute to the President." I think I should return the salute, and tonight I would like to salute several of those that you have heard, and also those that are at the other dinners.

First, I want to salute the really biggest contributors. I don't mean those that bought the most tickets—you were big contributors, too—but the really big contributors to this dinner tonight are people like Bob Hope and the other celebrities all over America. You gave your money; they gave time we couldn't possibly afford to buy. Thank you, Bob Hope.

I also would like to salute all of those who have participated in these programs, not only at this dinner but at the others that are on this closed circuit throughout the eastern seaboard: to Governor Rockefeller and his fellow Governors, to the Senators, the Congressmen, to those all over this part of the country who have made such a contribution, and, of course, to my fellow members of the Cabinet.

May I also say that New York can be proud of the fact that not only are you so well represented here at this dinner, but that your own Senator, Jim Buckley, is speaking in Dallas at the closed-circuit television there.

Finally, of course, I want to salute the

people here, all of you who have contributed so much, who have bought these tickets. What you have done is to have made this event, these dinners across this Nation, the biggest event of its kind in a nonelection year in America's history in either party.

I congratulate the chairmen of the committees, John Rollins, Bunny Lasker [1] here in New York, all over America, and all of you who have helped to work on the dinner and, of course, those of you who have purchased the tables, the tickets to make this event a success.

Now let me speak about the event, if I can. This is a great event. It is also a great time in the history of a country. As you know, we have just entered the Bicentennial Era of the United States of America. In 1776, and now in 1976, 200 years later, we celebrate the 200th anniversary of America's birth as a nation.

At such a time, it seems to me—and at even an event like this, when ordinarily we would talk in more partisan terms—that this is a time to look to the future, rather than to the past. This is a time in which we speak not just of the next election, but more of the next generation. This is a time when we do not speak of a Republican agenda or a Democratic agenda, but the agenda of America for the future of America. This is the time for that.

As we think of this event and this time, we realize that such a time and such an event deserve a great cause. I submit to all of you in this room, all of you on television, that we have such a cause tonight.

Three years ago I recall speaking in New York during the election campaign at such a dinner as this. At that time the challenge that we confronted was a very great one: It was to end a war in which there was no end in sight. And now we have a different challenge: It is to win a peace in which peace is in sight. And that is a great challenge for Americans and a very different one for us.

Governor Rockefeller has spoken very generously of the initiatives that we have undertaken for peace. You know our goal. It is more than simply peace in the sense of the absence of war. It is more than simply ending one war and trying to avoid another one. But it is to build something that Americans have not had in this century: a full generation of peace, and then beyond that.

This, in truth, is a great goal. The first step toward that, of course, is to end the war in which we are presently engaged, and we are doing that in a way that will contribute to that lasting peace. And then we are taking other steps, other steps that look far beyond, beyond the elections, beyond even the turn of the century.

Governor Rockefeller referred to the trips to Peking and to Moscow. No one should be so naive as to assume that these two journeys are going to settle great philosophical differences between our nation and theirs. Those differences will remain, and peace will not be a reality simply because there has been a meeting at the highest level.

But I think we can say this with regard to such meetings between the leaders of the United States of America and the leaders, on the one hand, of the Soviet Union and, on the other hand, of the People's Republic of China: With continued confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China there would

[1] John W. Rollins, Sr., was national chairman of the dinners and Bernard Lasker was chairman of the New York dinner.

be an unacceptable risk of war in the years ahead. With negotiation between the United States and the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China, there is a chance for peace, and we owe it to future generations to seize that chance and that is what we have done.

But as we think of that peace, let us remember that great as the challenges of war are, the challenges of peace can even be greater, because once peace comes, and even as it comes, there is a tendency to let down. There is a tendency for a great people to retreat from responsibilities in the world, and that would only lead to increasing the dangers of another war. That is why at this point I speak of the challenges of peace in several respects.

First, particularly now, at a time that we are attempting to negotiate a limitation on nuclear arms, it is essential that the United States maintain its military strength at an adequate level. We must do this because of the accident of history. We did not ask for this responsibility, but it is ours, whether we want it or not. Because of that accident of history, what happened in World War II, the United States is the only one of the free nations that has the strength or the potential strength to carry the responsibilities of freedom. If we do not carry those responsibilities, the possibilities of keeping peace in the world will be greatly diminished.

It goes beyond simply maintaining military strength at home. I know how easy it is for Members of the Congress—I was once in the House; I was once in the Senate and I know how easy it was then—to try to find a reason to vote against those programs of mutual assistance for countries abroad, foreign aid for countries that needed aid, aid for the purpose of helping other countries to help themselves, to create a more stable world.[2]

There are no constituencies for foreign aid. We know that. But let us recognize this: If the United States at this particular time should determine that it will discontinue its programs of mutual assistance for countries abroad—helping them so that they can help themselves—it can only mean that the world will become much more unstable, that the dangers of war in the world will greatly increase, and that the United States will no longer be a world power respected in the world, no matter how strong we are at home.

That is why tonight I speak of the challenges of peace, not only in maintaining our strength at home but in meeting our responsibilities abroad. This is above partisanship, because Republicans have joined with Democrats through the years to see that these programs—whereas they have no constituencies in this country—because they are essential to maintain the peace of the world, that these programs are continued, and I trust they will be, by this Congress.

But let me turn now to other challenges, challenges not in the military field, but challenges in the economic field. And here in the great city of New York—New York, New Jersey, Connecticut—this great financial capital of the United States, it is appropriate for me to speak at least briefly of the economic challenges that America faces, infinitely greater today, because of the irony that as the dangers of war are reduced, as negotiation

[2] A statement by Press Secretary Ronald L. Ziegler on the Senate's rejection of the foreign aid bill was released by the White House on October 30, 1971, and is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 7, p. 1457).

replaces confrontation, the challenges of competition economically enormously increase.

Look around the world today. Compare it to what it was 25 years ago. Twenty-five years ago the United States was preeminent economically in the world. With 7 percent of the world's people we created and produced over 50 percent of the world's wealth. No one was our competitor in the world.

Now, today, 25 years later, much of it as a result of our very proper and generous assistance to those that were defeated in World War II, as well as those who were our allies, we have new competitors, strong competitors: Western Europe, joining together in one of the most powerful economic blocs that the world has ever seen, a strong competitor, whereas it was not one 25 years ago; Japan, prostrate 25 years ago, now the third most powerful economic force in the world; the Soviet Union, of course, the second strongest economic power in the world and, of course, a super power in terms of its nuclear power; and the People's Republic of China, not yet strong in terms of its economic productivity, but with 750 million capable people with the potential of being as strong as it wants to be, because of their potential power.

So we see the world a very different one—one in which the United States cannot rest on its laurels; one in which the United States cannot afford inefficiency, not economically, not governmentally, not spiritually or morally. To meet this challenge of peace it is necessary that the United States have first a new economic policy, one that will build in this country something that we have not had since the Eisenhower years of 1955 and 1956: a prosperity without inflation, and with full employment without war. This we can have, and this we can build.

It means, in addition, developing the economic strength of the United States in such a way that we can compete. We cannot afford the luxury of inefficiency any more if we are to compete with the new economic super powers that are developing in both Asia and Europe. And it is essential, therefore, that American business and American labor, working together, meet that challenge and meet it effectively, if we are to maintain the economic leadership of the world which is essential, incidentally of course, for our military and, even more important, our diplomatic leadership for peace.

Then, when we speak of America's being ready to meet the challenges of peace, we must also look to the necessity for America to have a government which speaks to this time and not simply to the time 200 years ago, or 100 years ago, or even 25 years ago.

We must realize that our cities are in trouble, our States are in trouble—not just New York City or New York State, but every major State, many of the small ones as well. And that is why this Administration has offered new programs of reform. They are historic. They are revolutionary. They are controversial. And they have not been acted upon by the Congress.

Whether it is revenue sharing, which will revitalize local or State government, or whether it is welfare reform, which is vitally needed in this country to get rid of a system that is now one that deserves condemnation all over this country, or whether it is in the case of government reorganization, the first government reorganization of significance that has really taken place since this country began, or

whether it is in the field of reforms in education and health—in all of these areas we offer programs of reform, not just for the sake of reform but because again in this period of challenge, in this period of competition, America cannot afford to be inefficient. We can only afford the best.

And what do we find? A majority of our Governors, Democrat or Republican, a majority of certainly our mayors, a majority of our county officials, a majority of the American people are for these reforms, and it is time that the Congress of the United States reflect the people of this country in being for those reforms as well.

There is one final area that I speak of. It is particularly appropriate to speak of this area again to these dinners here in New York and across the whole Atlantic seaboard, representing, as you do, the business and professional leaders of your communities in so many respects.

As we read the pages of history, we find those pages strewn with the wreckage of great civilizations in the past who lost their leadership just at the time that they were the richest, and at a time when they had the capability of being the strongest. They lost their leadership because their leader class failed to meet the responsibilities and the challenges of the time. They, in other words, turned away from greatness. They grew soft. They did not welcome the opportunity to continue to lead, which was their destiny at that time. And those civilizations are forgotten except as they are read about in the pages of history.

Here stands America today. There are students of government who say that America today, at the height of its power militarily, at the height of its wealth economically, with enormous world influence, may be entering its last era, not because of our military strength or economic poverty—because we are not afflicted with either of those problems—but because America's leaders, in all areas of life, have lost the will, have lost the drive, have lost the competitive spirit which a great people must have if they are to remain great.

I want to say to this audience here tonight: I speak to you as one grateful for your support in the past, not just of a party but of a cause and of candidates, many of them represented in this room; I speak to you tonight also as one grateful for your support of these dinners, and I know that you have been most generous in that support. But more than your money, we need your leadership; more than your money, we need your faith in America. We need you to go back to your communities, to stand up for this country, to stand up for those values that have made America great, and to stand for that kind of leadership that sees that America at this time does not turn its back on the responsibilities of leadership in the world. That is the challenge that we have.

In the 1770's America met that challenge. America met that challenge when Americans were brave enough to win greatness. And now, in the 1970's, let us see to it that Americans have the courage to meet the challenge by not turning away from greatness. I believe that is the challenge of our time. I believe that is a cause worthy of this magnificent event.

I say to you, my friends, this is a time when America has the opportunity, as it approaches its 200th birthday, not only to have a new era of prosperity without war and without inflation, but a new era of freedom and justice and opportunity such as we have never had before. And more than that, it is a time when this new, strong, young, vital America can lead the

whole world to a period of peace such as the world so desperately needs. This is our challenge. Thank you for helping us meet it.

NOTE: The President spoke at 7:28 p.m. in the Imperial Ballroom of the Americana Hotel. His remarks were broadcast live on closed-circuit television to a series of similar Republican fundraising dinners in Atlanta, Boston, Charlotte, Cleveland, Miami, Orlando, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Rochester, Washington, D.C., and Wilmington.

In his opening remarks, the President referred to Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller of New York, Gov. Thomas J. Meskill of Connecticut, Gov. William T. Cahill of New Jersey, Senator Jacob K. Javits of New York, and Secretary of State William P. Rogers.

352 Remarks at a "Salute to the President" Dinner in Chicago, Illinois. *November* 9, 1971

Mr. Vice President, Governor Ogilvie, Senator Percy, all of the distinguished guests, Members of the House, State officers, others at the head table, and all of the distinguished guests here in the audience in Chicago, all of the distinguished guests at all of the other dinners who are on this telecast across the Nation:

I was saying a moment ago to the chairman of the dinner and to Bill Fetridge [1] that it is somewhat embarrassing to sit and listen to salutes to the President of the United States, if you happen to be the President of the United States. I must say, however, that I know that the custom in military circles—and I have had some military service many, many years ago—is to return a salute. I am very honored to do that tonight before my remarks on the occasion of this dinner.

I want to salute, first of all this evening, the bigger contributors. By "the bigger contributors," incidentally, I don't mean those who bought the most tables. You gave a lot of money. But what I do mean are people like Bob Hope and Art Linkletter and others across this Nation, celebrities appearing at 20 dinners. They gave their time, time that we could not possibly afford to buy. I salute them tonight along with you.

I salute, too, as all of you do, the other speakers on this program. You have seen some of them on the closed-circuit television: Governor Reagan from California, and the Attorney General, and, of course, you know others that are appearing across the Nation. And here tonight you have heard our great national chairman, Bob Dole.[2] You, of course, have heard the Governor and Senator Percy.

There is one in particular that I would like to salute tonight, and in saluting him, I can do so in a very personal way. It is often said that the job of the Presidency of the United States is the most difficult job in the world. As one who has served both as President and as Vice President of the United States, I can tell you that the job of Vice President of the United States can in some ways be more difficult than being President of the United States.

May I say tonight that I know that all of you will agree with me that this country is fortunate in having as its Vice President a man who is loyal, a man who

[1] William C. Croft was chairman of the Chicago dinner and William H. Fetridge was president, United Republican Fund of Illinois.

[2] Senator Robert Dole was chairman, Republican National Committee.

is courageous, and a man who is competent in handling his duties at home, and a man who with great dignity and great ability has represented America in 25 countries, since he has been Vice President, abroad. So tonight we join together on his birthday in saluting the Vice President of the United States.

Then finally, of course, I do want to salute those of you who are the contributors, those of you who did make these dinners a success across the Nation. I think you will be interested to note that in checking the statistics, I find that for a dinner in a nonelection year, this is the most successful dinner that either major party has ever had in history. We congratulate you for making it possible. We congratulate the dinner chairmen, wherever they may be, and all the dinner committees, and, of course, all of those who contributed so much.

So this is a great event, and a great event at such a time as this, it seems to me, calls for a great cause. I believe tonight that we have a great cause. Let me put it in historical perspective.

It was 3 years ago, just before the elections of 1968, that I addressed, along with others, dinners across the country. At that time we faced a great challenge. The challenge was to end the war in which no end was in sight. Three years later, we face a different challenge, and our challenge today is to win a peace and win a peace which is in sight, and that is a big change for America and the world.

Senator Percy has already commented upon what we have done in bringing the American involvement in Vietnam to an end and bringing it—and this is vitally important—to an end in a way that will contribute to the cause of a lasting peace in the Pacific. That is one step toward our goal—a goal which is much greater than simply peace in terms of the absence of war, a goal which is much greater than simply ending a war in which we happen to be involved, a goal that Americans have not been able to realize in this whole century: a full generation of peace.

Ending the war in Vietnam is one step toward that goal, but looking further down to the end of the century, other steps must be taken now, steps which will see what the dangers are or might be 10 years, 15 years, 20 years from now. And that is the reason why I am making these journeys, one to Moscow, one to Peking.

I have no illusions, and none of you should have any illusions, that these trips and these meetings between the heads of governments of these three great powers—the United States, the People's Republic of China, and the Soviet Union—will mean that the differences between our countries will end as a result of these meetings. Our differences are profound, profound in their approach and their difference with regard to domestic matters, and profoundly different in their approaches to international affairs.

But, on the other hand, we face this choice, putting it quite bluntly: We face the choice that continuing confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union, and between the United States and the People's Republic of China, could run the risk of war.

We also face, on the other side, the choice that negotiation between the United States and the Soviet Union, and between the United States and the People's Republic of China, could give us a chance for peace. And we owe it to future generations to seize that chance and not let it pass by—the chance to build a generation of peace.

And so we enter a period in which the dangers of war may be less in the world, but a period in which, also, the challenges of peace, ironically, become much greater. Let me evaluate those challenges for you tonight and put them in the perspective of what some of the other speakers have already referred to.

First, we must recognize that if we are to have peace, and if we are to keep it, we must keep America strong. We are, it is true, engaged in talks which we believe may lead to an agreement on limitation of arms. But until we have such a mutual agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union, it is essential that the United States maintain an adequate national defense. By maintaining that defense, we, of course, make it more possible for us to reach the kind of agreement that we need to reach, and, also, by maintaining that defense, it means doing what Senator Percy has already referred to: not only keeping America strong at home but supporting a program of mutual assistance abroad in which we help others to help themselves, rather than send Americans always to do the fighting all over the world.

Now, when I refer to the burden of defense at a time that we see a period of peace possibly arriving in the world, I know that many Americans may say, "Haven't we carried this burden long enough?" There is a tendency now, because of the long and difficult war through which we have been passing, and which is now coming to an end, for many Americans to want to lay down the burden of world leadership, the burden of national defense, and to turn to our problems at home. I understand that tendency.

But I think all of us must realize that we cannot afford the luxury of laying down the burden of world leadership. The reason is that there is no other free world nation that has the capacity, that has the strength, to give the leadership in the world if the United States does not assume that responsibility. We did not ask for it, and I realize that most Americans probably did not want it. But because of the great historic developments that took place during and since World War II, today, unless the United States, as the leader of the free world, assumes the responsibilities of free world leadership, no one else in the free world is there to do it, and we cannot run the risk of leaving that vacuum in world leadership.

Let me put it in the context of a very difficult decision that I had to make over this past weekend. I had to make a decision with regard to testing a defensive weapon. It was a controversial weapon to begin with. It was, in my view, a necessary one due to the fact that another nation in the world had already tested a similar type of weapon. Under the circumstances, I considered that the national defense required that we go forward with our own test, pending the time that we could reach a limitation with that other nation limiting that kind of weapon, as well as offensive weapons.[3]

When it was learned that the test was to go forward, there were objections raised. I understood those objections. They were raised by people who were concerned about our environment, concerned about the possibility that this test might injure our environment.

[3] The President was referring to the underground detonation of a nuclear warhead for the Spartan antiballistic missile on Amchitka Island, the Aleutians, on November 6, 1971.

All of you in this audience know of my great concern about our environment. You know of the initiatives that this Administration has supported to protect the American environment, to preserve it, and to renew it. We are proud of those initiatives. But, my friends, unless we have an adequate program for defending the United States, we won't have any environment to protect. That is what we have to realize.

And so, in this great decision, to maintain our national defense, the purpose is not because we want war, but because this is the way that we can maintain the strength which will lead to the lasting peace that we all want. That is one challenge we face.

The challenges in the area of economics are ones that you, also, are very much aware of. We find, ironically, again, that as the danger of war recedes these challenges greatly increase. For example, you remember the period immediately after World War II. At that time the United States was preeminent in the world. No one possibly could compete with us. And yet at that time, when the United States, with only 7 percent of the world's people, produced over 50 percent of the world's goods, there was perhaps no one in America that thought that the time would come when our position of preeminent world leadership, economically, would seriously be challenged.

Twenty-five years later, look at the world as it is today. We are still ahead and we can stay ahead and we shall, in my opinion, but we are no longer in this competition alone. The great nations of Europe are joined together in one of the most powerful economic blocs that the world has ever seen. We should not resent it. We should welcome this new, strong competition.

Japan, which was prostrate after World War II, has now recovered and is now the third strongest economic power in the world and is moving forward in every area.

The Soviet Union is the second strongest economic power in the world. Mainland China, with 750 million people, is not a significant economic power today, but 750 million Chinese, inevitably, over a period of time will be a significant power in the world and a significant competitor.

So, as the world opens up, as we have competition rather than confrontation, it means that the United States, economically, must be at its best. It means that our economy must be strong, productive, competitive, and free. It means, therefore, that what we must develop is a new prosperity. That is why we need an all-out campaign to stop inflation in this country, so that we can have prosperity without inflation. That is why we need a program, also, which will produce the new kind of prosperity that all Americans want—one in which Americans can enjoy full employment without war.

It is quite appropriate to mention that the last time we had that kind of prosperity was when President Eisenhower spoke at this dinner in 1956—15 years ago. We can have it again. We will have it again—prosperity without inflation and prosperity without war.

But if America is to meet this challenge of competition we must not only have competitive business, competitive labor, but we also must have government which is efficient and competitive and which speaks to these times and not to the times 10 years, 25 years, or even a century ago.

And that is why we cannot afford inefficient government. That is why we have proposed reforms in the field of government, more historic, more revolutionary than any in the whole history of this country.

The United States must move into this new era with a government which is as efficient and able to deal with the problems of the world as any kind of a government in the world with which we may be competing. And that is why government reorganization, revenue sharing, in which this State has such a great interest, welfare reform, all the other programs, reform in education, reform in health, are so vitally important if the United States is to meet the challenge of peace in this last third of a century.

Then, finally, there is one other area in which everyone in this audience and everyone in all the other audiences who are listening to this closed-circuit broadcast can participate. I have mentioned your great contribution. I am aware of it. And certainly it is a very great one—the fact that you have been willing to contribute your money so generously so that a campaign could be waged by our Republican State committees and county committees and national committees in the year 1972. But even more than your money, we need something else. We need your leadership.

You are leaders. You would not be able to afford this dinner unless you were leaders. You have the potential of speaking out and being listened to. And what America needs now is for those who are the leaders in their communities to speak up for America, to have faith in America, and to stand up for America in this period when America is under attack from so many sources at home and abroad.

When we look at the history of great civilizations of the past, we find that the pages of history are strewn with the wreckage of civilizations who, at the very height of their wealth and the height of their power, slipped into oblivion. Why did it happen? A close study of the history of those times will show that it happened not because of weaknesses among the masses of the people, but because the leaders in those civilizations, at a time that they were wealthy, at a time that they were powerful, became soft and weak and lost the will to greatness that a great nation must have.

Here in America we are now entering an historic period, the Bicentennial Era. In 5 years we will celebrate the 200th anniversary of American independence. And the great question which all of us have to answer very simply is this:

How will history record this period? Was it the beginning of the end of the great American experiment? Some think it may be. If that is the case it will not be because of the failure of our economy, because of our lack of military strength. It will be because of the failure of our will, of our determination, of the character of Americans and, particularly, of those who are to lead America.

But it could be written another way. Rather than the beginning of the end, it could be the end of the beginning, the end of the beginning of America as a world power with world responsibilities in which we met the challenge, the new challenges of peace, and we met it with a people who were strong and vigorous and determined and young—young in their attitudes and in their attitudes toward responsibility—as this Nation was young and strong and

vigorous at the very time of its birth.

This is the challenge that I leave to this great audience across this Nation tonight. It is not a partisan challenge. It is bigger than the Republican Party or the Democratic Party; it is bigger than America itself. Because whether America meets the challenge of world responsibility, of developing here at home a new sense of freedom and justice and opportunity, the realization of the American dream such as we have never had it before, whether America meets the challenge abroad which only we can meet, whether we meet the challenge of developing a new world, a new world in which nations can finally live at peace with each other—that depends on us.

I am confident, as I speak to you here. I am confident as I think of how much you have contributed, not just with your dollars, but of the commitment you are making by this contribution. I am confident that America's leaders will meet the challenge of leadership and that we will go forward to a new era of greatness.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:54 p.m. in the International Ballroom of the Hilton Hotel. His remarks were broadcast live on closed-circuit television to a series of similar Republican fundraising dinners in Dallas, Houston, Los Angeles, Minneapolis, Nashville, San Francisco, and St. Louis.

353 Statement Following the Laying of a Wreath on the Tomb of the Unknowns in Arlington National Cemetery. *November* 11, 1971

FIFTY YEARS ago a soldier known to God alone was returned to America from the foreign land where he fell in defense of freedom. He was buried in Arlington National Cemetery on Armistice Day, November 11, 1921, and his memory consecrated for all time to those who have died that this Nation might live.

That first Unknown was selected by an Army sergeant named Edward F. Younger. Three times Younger circled the caskets, on one of which he would lay a single white rose, and suddenly he stopped in front of one of those caskets. As he is reported to have told it later, "A voice seemed to say: 'This is a pal of yours.' " He laid the rose on that coffin.

Today, Americans come here from all over to stand near one of these Unknowns, and in their hearts a voice says: This is a friend of yours—or, here is your brother or your father or your son.

Though only God can know the names of those who sleep here, we all can know what is most important to the soul of this Nation. We know that these were Americans who answered freedom's call and paid freedom's price.

Their skins may be black or white or red or yellow; they may have been young with their lives before them, or they may have had full lives already; their religions we do not know; the homelands from which their ancestors came we cannot know. In the American ideal, none of these things was essential to the quality of life they were able to seek. In death, the ideal is realized—those who lie here are equal in the sacrifice they made, equal in the contribution they made, equal in the honor we bear them.

Thirteen years ago President Eisen-

hower came to Arlington to bury Unknowns from the Second World War and Korea. By that time, America knew that the idea of a war to end all wars was in vain. It was clear that what we really need is a peace to end all wars. Such a peace would require as much power and as much perseverance and as much patience and as much courage as any war. We have such power and such courage. We hope that we shall have such a peace.

Soon, another Unknown may come to rest on this hallowed hill. We pray he will be the last. But we will be mindful of what St. Augustine is reputed to have said: "I shall work as if everything depended on me. I shall pray as if everything depended on God."

This Nation intends to do both.

NOTE: The President went to Arlington National Cemetery at 11 a.m. on November 11, 1971, to lay a wreath on the Tomb.

354 Remarks Announcing the Resignation of Clifford M. Hardin and Intention To Nominate Earl L. Butz as Secretary of Agriculture. *November* 11, 1971

Ladies and gentlemen:

I have come here today for the purpose of announcing a change in the Cabinet. Three months ago, Secretary Hardin came to see me and told me of an exceptionally attractive offer he had received in private business. As one who has spent his entire life in public service, either in education or in government, he felt this was an offer that he had to accept in the interest of his family and of their future. I urged him to delay his decision and to at least delay it until we were able to find someone that he felt and that we felt would be an adequate successor.

That decision now has been made, and regretfully—regretfully certainly as far as I am concerned—the Secretary will be resigning as the Secretary of Agriculture and will go into his private assignment which he, of course, will describe when he meets the ladies and gentlemen of the press, I understand, tomorrow.

I would like to say a word about the Secretary of Agriculture. I remember a conversation I had with Secretary Hardin in New York City before he took this position, and I was quite honest and blunt with him. I said nobody could be a popular Secretary of Agriculture. I told him what had happened to his predecessors in this position—the Benson years, the Freeman years.[1] It didn't make any difference whether he was a Republican or a Democrat, it is very difficult to be popular in this position.

I said, however, we needed a man who would speak for American agriculture within the Cabinet and one who could speak to the Nation about the role that agriculture played and one who took not simply a national view but a world view of the great opportunities that agriculture has in the world.

Secretary Hardin has met every expectation that I had when I appointed him. As a man who said he knew nothing about politics, he really produced a political miracle by getting both parties and all the

[1] Secretaries of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson, 1953–61, and Orville L. Freeman, 1961–69.

major farm organizations eventually to support the Agriculture Act—or at least not to oppose it—of 1970, and it was a very forward-looking piece of legislation in the field of agriculture.

In addition to that, he led the fight for the new program on hunger. Rather than 3 million people receiving food stamps, over 9 million, and perhaps 10 million now, receive them today. He led within the Administration and in his travels abroad—he has just returned from one trip—a major program to increase agricultural exports. They have been increased dramatically. And the last initiative, that was announced just a few days ago with regard to the sale of grain to the Soviet Union, was in great part due to the advocacy of the Secretary of Agriculture within the councils of the Administration.

Finally, there are many things that have happened on the organization side that I cannot go into because of time considerations, but I will say that from all accounts, he has run the Department with great skill, with great thoughtfulness, and has loyalty up and down the line from the many fine career employees in the Department of Agriculture. We will miss him. We will miss him not only because he has been a fine member of the Cabinet, but we will miss him because the Hardin family is very close to our Cabinet family and particularly close to the Nixon family. We are glad that they will be coming back from time to time and that he will be available for some assignments, I hope, on a nonpaying, at least, basis.

For his successor, we have gone to my mother's home State of Indiana. The successor as Secretary of Agriculture is not new to the Department. He served as the Assistant Secretary of Agriculture from 1954 to 1957 during President Eisenhower's period as President of the United States. He grew up on a farm. His whole life has been spent in agriculture. After he finished college, he operated a farm before going into the field that he has occupied with such distinction, except for his brief service in government of 3 years—the field of teaching in agriculture.

He is now professor of agricultural economics in Indiana, at Purdue, and he has had, also, distinctions far beyond that professorship as one of the top agricultural spokesmen in the country. He will be a vigorous advocate of the interest of the farmer and of agriculture within the President's Cabinet, just as Secretary Hardin has been. And we are delighted to have him and Mrs. Butz, who is no stranger to Washington, here in our Cabinet family taking the place of the Hardins.

Reorganization Plans

Finally, I want to announce one change with regard to our reorganization plans, a change which has been vigorously advocated by the man who will serve as the new Secretary of Agriculture and also advocated by Secretary Hardin.

As you know, in our reorganization plans, the various activities of the Agriculture Department, many of which are peripheral to agriculture specifically, were divided and put into the other major Cabinet departments that are set up under the reorganization scheme.

We have now concluded that it is necessary to have a separate Department of Agriculture. However, not the old Department, but an entirely new one—one in which all of the peripheral activities will be transferred to other new departments, the Departments particularly of

Community Development and of Natural Resources, and in which the new Department will concentrate exclusively on those problems which involve serving the farmer.

This new reorganization plan will be contained in a new proposal that will be sent to the Congress and, we trust, will be implemented by the Congress. We believe, incidentally, that this change will have very, very significant effect not only in reassuring the farm community but, perhaps just as important, in getting the necessary support that we need in the Congress to get action on our reorganization proposals. The commmunity development proposals, the natural resources proposals are the two best candidates at the moment, and with this change having been made, we believe that the chance for overall success of approval of our various proposals has been greatly enhanced.

So, with that announcement, I think all of you would like to hear a word from Secretary Hardin. As I say, he will meet the press at the Department tomorrow to take your questions on his future and also on his stewardship of the Department, but I know he would like to say a word to the White House press corps before whom he has appeared on many occasions.

Secretary Hardin.

[At this point, Secretary Hardin spoke. The President then resumed speaking.]

Now, ladies and gentlemen, subject, of course, to the advice and consent of the Senate, the new Secretary of Agriculture, Earl Butz.

[At this point, Mr. Butz spoke. The President then resumed speaking.]

Thank you very much ladies and gentlemen, and we will leave you now to your stories.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:05 p.m. in the Briefing Room at the White House.

The remarks of Secretary Hardin and Mr. Butz are printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 7, p. 1508).

On the same day, the White House released biographical data on Mr. Butz.

355 Letter Accepting the Resignation of Clifford M. Hardin as Secretary of Agriculture. *November* 11, 1971

Dear Cliff:

It is with the deepest of regret, both personal and official, that I accept your request to leave the Cabinet.

You have served with high distinction as Secretary of Agriculture—both as an effective advocate for the American farmer and for the needs of rural America, and as a trusted adviser whose counsel at the Cabinet table has been wise and welcome. It has been a great satisfaction to me to know that I could always count on your excellent assistance in our efforts, which meant so much to both of us, to secure for the American farmer the better break that he deserves. The solid beginning we have made on the difficult task of bettering the conditions of life in rural America and restoring the economic vitality of the Nation's heartland will be a lasting testament to your skill, your energy and your dedication.

It has been a great pleasure to serve with you. As you return to private life, you do so with my profound gratitude for all that you have contributed as a member of the administration. Pat joins me in wishing you and Martha the very best, and in

the hope that we will see you often in the years ahead; and I look forward to what I am sure will be many opportunities to continue drawing on your rich storehouse of wisdom and experience.

With warm personal regards,

Sincerely,

RICHARD NIXON

[Honorable Clifford M. Hardin, Secretary of Agriculture]

NOTE: Secretary Hardin's letter of resignation, dated October 25, 1971, and released with the President's letter, read as follows:

My dear Mr. President:

My request to leave the Cabinet soon is prompted by an unusual business opportunity. From our conversation, I know that you understand why Martha and I feel we must accept it.

I want to thank you for your strong support of the programs of the Department of Agriculture. Your public announcement early in the Administration that you wanted me to speak for the farmers of the nation and to be the champion for rural development gave me a role that I have enjoyed playing.

The accomplishments of your Administration on behalf of agriculture have been solid ones:

(1) The Agricultural Act of 1970 passed the Congress with the support of the leadership of both parties. It is constructive legislation and will help farmers to improve their economic position. Unfortunately it could not deal adequately with one serious problem—the cost-price squeeze brought on by inflation; however, that is now being corrected by your new economic program.

(2) Export sales of farm commodities are at the highest level in all history.

(3) Following eleven years of no change in funding levels, farmers, and especially young farmers, need no longer be turned down for loans from the Farmers Home Administration because the agency has run out of money. The new insured loan programs combined with our new policy of making joint loans with local lending institutions represent a vast improvement.

(4) You have recognized the unique role of the Soil Conservation Service in preventing pollution and improving the environment. You have increased the staffing level of that agency and you have expanded the highly useful small watershed development program.

(5) In May, 1969, you announced that the time had come to eliminate poverty related hunger and malnutrition. We are now *very, very* close to making good on that challenge. Accomplishments since early 1969 amount to the largest and most comprehensive nutritional undertaking in all history. Never before has a nation come so close to providing adequate food for all its citizens.

(6) For the first time the development of rural America has been placed in a top-priority position by the President. As a result, strong efforts are being made to bring about a redistribution of the population and economic growth of the nation. As you said to me one day in the Cabinet Room, "It is essential that growth be in the *heart* of the country, if the country's heart is to survive."

(7) You have recognized on many occasions the growing productivity of the American farmers and you have repeatedly expressed your desire that ways be found for farmers to share equitably in the fruits of a rich economy to which they are contributing so much. As I leave office I am confident that the lot of farmers will continue to improve significantly throughout calendar year 1972.

There are many more initiatives that have been taken, and all are contributing to your overall goal of "prosperity with peace."

I wish that All Americans could have the opportunity we have had to observe at close hand the sincerity, skill and dedication with which you have proceeded to lead the nation into what should and can be the most satisfying era yet in the life of the American people.

Even though we will soon be outside of government, we hope that we will be able to find some way to be useful to you and your Administration. Finally, Martha and I wish to thank you and Mrs. Nixon for your thoughtfulness on so many occasions and for your personal interest in our family.

Respectfully,

CLIFFORD M. HARDIN

[The President, The White House]

356 The President's News Conference of *November* 12, 1971

THE PRESIDENT. Won't you be seated, ladies and gentlemen.

TROOP WITHDRAWALS FROM VIETNAM

[1.] Ladies and gentlemen, I have an announcement of a substantially increased troop withdrawal from Vietnam.

When I entered office on January 20, 1969, there were 540,000 Americans in Vietnam, and our casualties were running as high as 300 a week. Over the past 3 years, we have made progress on both fronts. Our casualties, for example, for the past 5 weeks have been less than 10, instead of 300, a week, and with regard to withdrawals, 80 percent of those who were there have come home—365,000.

I have now had an opportunity to appraise the situation as it is today. I have consulted with my senior advisers, and I have had an up-to-date report from Secretary Laird.

Based on those consultations and consultations with the Government of South Vietnam, I am now able to make this announcement. Over the next 2 months we will withdraw 45,000 Americans. I will make another announcement before the first of February. As far as that second announcement is concerned, before the first of February, the number to be withdrawn—the rate, that is—as well as the duration of the announcement, will be determined by three factors:

First, by the level of enemy activity and particularly by the infiltration route and its rate, because if the level of enemy activity and infiltration substantially increased, it could be very dangerous to our sharply decreased forces in South Vietnam.

Second, the progress of our training program, our Vietnamization program in South Vietnam.

And third, any progress that may have been made with regard to two major objectives that we have—obtaining the release of all of our POW's wherever they are in Southeast Asia and obtaining a cease-fire for all of Southeast Asia.

Those three criteria will determine the next announcement, both its duration and its rate.

Now, I will be glad to take questions on this announcement or any other subject, domestic or foreign, that you would like to cover.

QUESTIONS

CEASE-FIRE IN LAOS AND CAMBODIA

[2.] Q. Mr. President, to be clear on the cease-fire, would that include Laos and Cambodia as well as South Vietnam?

THE PRESIDENT. That is our goal, Mr. Lisagor [Peter Lisagor, Chicago Daily News], yes. As you know, we have offered that in my talk of last year in October. We have been continuing to offer it. We would, of course, believe that attaining that goal would bring peace to the whole area, which is what we want, and, of course, would greatly reduce the need for a very heavy American aid program that presently we have for, particularly, Cambodia.

PRISONERS OF WAR

[3.] Q. Mr. President, do you have any reason for encouragement on the release of prisoners of war from any source?

THE PRESIDENT. No reason for encouragement that I can talk about publicly. I can say, however, that we are pursuing this subject, as I have indicated on several occasions, in a number of channels, and we have not given up. We will never give up with regard to our prisoners of war. That is one of the reasons why this announcement is being made for a shorter period rather than a longer period, because the moment that we make an announcement that is too long, it means that whatever negotiating stroke we might have is substantially reduced.

ENEMY INFILTRATION

[4.] Q. Mr. President, what has been the most recent trend toward the infiltration by the enemy, and do you have figures for that? And also, what rate would have to be maintained for you to carry out your optimum plan?

THE PRESIDENT. We would have to examine that situation at the time. The infiltration rate has come up some as it always does at this time of year. However, it is not as high now, just as the casualties are not as high now, and the level of enemy activity, as it was last year. We want to see, however, what the situation is in December and January, which, as you all know, are the key months when infiltration comes along, because that will determine what the activity will be in April, May, June, and July on the battlefield.

TROOP CEILING

[5.] Q. Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, Mr. Bailey [Charles W. Bailey 2d, Minneapolis Tribune and Minneapolis Star].

Q. To be clear, what is your new February 1 troop ceiling, or are you doing it the way you have done it before by setting a new troop ceiling for the end of the withdrawal period?

THE PRESIDENT. It will be a new troop ceiling for the end of the withdrawal period. I think we would have to cover that later. The 45,000 should be taken off of the present ceiling. We are reducing the ceiling by 45,000.

Now, incidentally, I should say, too, that in terms of the withdrawal—I think it would be proper to inform the press on this matter—we are going to withdraw 25,000 in December and 20,000 in January. Obviously we would like to get a few more out before Christmas, and we were able to do this after Secretary Laird made his report.

TROOP WITHDRAWALS AND THE U.S. COMBAT ROLE

[6.] Q. Mr. President, in this present situation you are announcing a 2 or 3 months——

THE PRESIDENT. Two months.

Q. Two months withdrawal, whereas the last time it was 7 or 8 months, I believe. How does this situation, in terms of the negotiating need that you spoke of, differ from the other one, and can you tell us if you now, as a result of this 2 month withdrawal, foresee an end to the United States combat role in Vietnam?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, first, the situation is very different because, as we get down in numbers, each withdrawal has a much more dramatic effect on the percentage that we have there: 45,000 as against, for example, 184,000, which is the present troop ceiling, is a lot different from 25,000 as against 539,000 or 540,000, which was our first withdrawal program.

So, consequently, it is essential as we get closer to the end, if we are going to maintain any negotiating leverage, that the withdrawal periods, in my opinion, be somewhat shorter.

With regard to other questions that we have on this—does that cover that point?

Q. Yes, sir. About the combat role, though?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, the combat role, let us understand, based on the casualties, as far as an offensive situation is concerned is already concluded. American troops are now in a defensive position. They, however, will defend themselves, and what casualties we have taken—they are very small—will be taken in that defensive role.

You will find as you analyze the battlefield reports, as I do from time to time, that the offensive activities of search and destroy, and all the other activities that we used to undertake, are now being undertaken entirely by the South Vietnamese.

SOUTH VIETNAMESE ROLE

[7.] Q. Mr. President——

THE PRESIDENT. We will take you first—the far left. [*Laughter*]

Q. Mr. President, have you sent or are you sending orders to the forces in South Vietnam regarding the offensive and defensive role? Could you outline that for us?

THE PRESIDENT. That is a matter which is worked out by General Abrams in the field, and it is one that has gradually just come about. No orders need to be given for that purpose. And, incidentally, that is possible due to the fact that the South Vietnamese have gained the capability to handle the situation themselves.

Also, there is another reason. As we get down to 184,000, and now at the end of this period 45,000 less than that, what offensive capabilities we have are very, very seriously limited.

PROGRESS IN POW NEGOTIATIONS

[8.] Q. Mr. President, you said there was no movement on the prisoner-of-war issue. Is there anything at all to report on negotiations, either through Paris or through some other means?

THE PRESIDENT. I would respond to that only by saying that we have not given up on the negotiating front. This announcement is somewhat of an indication that we have not given up on the negotiating front. I, however, would not like to leave the impression that we see the possibility of some striking breakthrough in negotiations in the near future.

But we are pursuing negotiations in Paris and through whatever other channels we think are appropriate.

Q. One might infer from what you said previously that there has been some progress on the prisoner question privately. Would that be a correct inference to draw?

THE PRESIDENT. No, it would not be a correct inference to draw. I wish that it were, because this issue should, of course, as we all, I think, believe, be separated from the issue of the combat role of Americans and our withdrawal program. It is a humanitarian issue. But we as yet have not had any progress in our talks with the North Vietnamese in getting them to separate the issue from the rest.

On the other hand, we have not given up on the negotiating track, and we are going to continue to press on that track because that is the track on which we

eventually are going to have success in getting our prisoners back.

Q. So there has been no progress, either publicly or privately, on the question of getting the release of our prisoners?

THE PRESIDENT. I do not want to give any false encouragement to those who are the next of kin or who are close relatives of our prisoners. I can only say, however, that we, on our part, have taken initiatives on a number of fronts here. So the possibility of progress in the future is there. As far as the enemy's position is concerned, it is still intransigent.

USE OF AMERICAN AIRPOWER

[9.] Q. Mr. President, with the conditions that you know now in Vietnam and Southeast Asia, can you foresee in the near future a substantial diminution of American airpower use in support of the Vietnamese?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, airpower, of course, as far as our use of it is concerned, will continue to be used longer than our ground forces, due to the fact that training Vietnamese to handle the aircraft takes the longest lead time, as we know. And we will continue to use it in support of the South Vietnamese until there is a negotiated settlement or, looking further down the road, until the South Vietnamese have developed the capability to handle the situation themselves.

As far as our airpower is concerned, let me also say this: As we reduce the number of our forces, it is particularly important for us to continue our airstrikes on the infiltration routes. If we see any substantial step-up in infiltration in the passes, for example, which lead from North Vietnam into Laos and, of course, the Laotian trail which comes down through Cambodia into South Vietnam—if we see that, we will have to not only continue our airstrikes; we will have to step them up.

That is why I have been quite categorical with regard to that situation, because as the number of our forces goes down, their danger increases, and we are not going to allow the enemy to pounce on them by reason of our failure to use airpower against increased infiltration, if it occurs.

DISCUSSIONS OF INDOCHINA IN PEKING AND MOSCOW VISITS

[10.] Q. Mr. President, do you expect to discuss methods, possibly, to help alleviate the situation in Indochina in your visits to Peking and to Moscow?

THE PRESIDENT. I do not think it would be helpful to indicate at this time what we will discuss with regard to Indochina when our visits to Peking and Moscow take place. We are hopeful and continue to be hopeful that we can make progress on handling this problem ourselves, and that it may not have to be a problem that will have to be discussed in those areas.

Incidentally, I think it would not be well to speculate as to what, if anything, either Peking or Moscow can or will do on this matter. All that I can say is that we are charting our own course, and we will find our own way to bring it to a halt.

We will, of course, welcome any assistance, but we are not counting on it from either source.

CAUSES OF NORTH VIETNAMESE WEAKNESS

[11.] Q. Mr. President, is it not true that at this particular point the North

Vietnamese are probably at their weakest that they have been since the war? Is this because of floods and lack of resources?

THE PRESIDENT. The major reason they are the weakest they have been since the war is because of Cambodia and Laos, and the floods, of course, have hurt them, too.

CAMPAIGN PLEDGE

[12.] Q. Mr. President, in connection with your answer on negotiations, is what you are saying that perhaps you might not be able to keep your 1968 promise to end the war, which as I believe was your campaign pledge, rather than just ending America's role in the war?

THE PRESIDENT. I would suggest that I be judged at the time of the campaign, rather than now, on that. I would also suggest that every promise that I have made I have kept to this date, and that is usually a pretty good example of what you might do with regard to future promises.

POSSIBILITY OF RESIDUAL FORCE

[13.] Miss Thomas [Helen Thomas, United Press International].

Q. Mr. President, we read much speculation that you plan to keep a residual force, 40,000 or 50,000 men, in Vietnam until the prisoner-of-war issue is settled completely and all prisoners are out. Is that still valid?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, first, Mrs. Cornell [*laughter*]—it had to come! [1]

Q. Touché. [*Laughter*]

THE PRESIDENT. First, if the situation is such that we have a negotiated settlement, naturally that means a total withdrawal of all American forces. It also not only means a total withdrawal of American forces in South Vietnam, it means a discontinuation of our airstrikes and also withdrawal of forces stationed in other places in Southeast Asia or in the Asian theater that are directly related to the support of our forces in Vietnam. That is, in other words, what is involved if we can get a negotiated settlement.

If we do not get a negotiated settlement, then it is necessary to maintain a residual force for not only the reason—and this is, of course, a very primary reason—of having something to negotiate with, with regard to our prisoners, but it is also essential to do so in order to continue our role of leaving South Vietnam in a position where it will be able to defend itself from a Communist takeover.

Both objectives can be fulfilled, we believe, through a negotiated settlement. We would prefer that. If they are not fulfilled through a negotiated settlement, then we will have to go the other route, and we are prepared to do so.

AMNESTY TO DRAFT EVADERS

[14.] Q. Mr. President, do you foresee granting amnesty to any of the young men who have fled the United States to avoid fighting in a war that they consider to be immoral?

THE PRESIDENT. No.

SALT PROSPECTS

[15.] Q. Mr. President, you met this afternoon with our SALT negotiating team which is returning to Vienna. Earlier this year you expressed the hope that some kind of agreement could be made. Do you foresee some kind of SALT agreement

[1] Helen Thomas was married in October to Douglas Cornell, newly retired as White House correspondent for the Associated Press.

before the end of the year, sir?

THE PRESIDENT. We have made significant progress in the arms limitation talks. The progress, for example, with regard to the hotline and the progress with regard to accidental war is quite significant. Also, we have made significant progress in the discussions on the limitations on defensive weapons, and we are beginning to now move into the discussions on offensive weapons.

Whether we are able to reach an agreement by the end of the year, I think, is highly improbable at this point. I say highly improbable—not impossible. It depends on what happens.

Our goal is—and I discussed this at great length with Mr. Gromyko when he was here—our goal is, enforced at the highest level, to urge our negotiators to try to find a common basis for agreement. But it must be a joint agreement. We cannot limit defensive weapons first and then limit offensive weapons. Both must go together. It will happen.

I would say this: I believe we are going to reach an agreement. I believe we will make considerable progress toward reaching that agreement before the end of the year. I think reaching the agreement before the end of the year is probably not likely at this time, but great progress will be made, and I think by the end of the year we will be able to see then that our goal can be achieved.

WAGE-PRICE GUIDELINES AND PUBLIC SUPPORT

[16.] Q. Mr. President, are you satisfied with the guidelines laid down by the Pay Commission and the Price Board, and are you concerned about the effect of a likely bulge of increases in wages and prices after the freeze on public confidence in Phase 2?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, the possibility of some bulge, of course, has always been there, as you know, and also when I announced the freeze it was widely speculated that once the freeze was off and once we then moved to guidelines, that there would be, therefore, some increase in wage rates, some increase also in prices. The freeze could not be kept on indefinitely.

However, I think the decisions of both the Pay Board and the Price Board have been very sound. They did not, in some instances, perhaps, reach the goals that some would have liked. I think some businessmen thought that the wage increases should have been in the neighborhood of 3 to 4 percent. That would have been a very good thing from their standpoint perhaps. It would have been totally unrealistic. It would have broken the Board wide open.

I think the 5.5 percent is an achievable goal, and that will be a very substantial reduction insofar as the wage-price push for 1971, as compared with 1970, 1969, and 1968.

As far as prices are concerned, the guidelines that have been laid down would cut the rate of inflation approximately in half. That is real progress.

One other point I should make. I noticed that many of you very properly have written about the uncertainty with regard to Phase 2. That is inevitable. It is inevitable in any free economy. We can have total certainty only with total control of the economy. But with a totalitarian economy we have no freedom as far as our economy is concerned, and we would destroy the major advantage the United States has in its competitive position in the world—in other words, the free

enterprise system.

I believe that this answer of the Pay Board and the Price Commission is a very realistic one. I believe it will succeed, and one of the major reasons I believe it will succeed is the enormous public support that we had not only during the 90-day period but that we continue to have for the period after the freeze. That public support will make this work.

TROOP CEILING

[17.] Q. Mr. President, could I be quite clear on the withdrawal?

THE PRESIDENT. You mean perfectly clear, right? [*Laughter*]

Q. Is the 45,000 to be taken from the 184,000, sir? Does it come from the December 1 target figure?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, that is right. Take your ceiling of December 1 and take 45,000 from that and you get where we will be on February 1. Let me point out, incidentally, that we are always slightly below that ceiling, as you know, with regard to actual withdrawals. But we have set as the ceiling for February 1 the 45,000 from 184,000, but we will probably be below that at that time by a few hundred or maybe even a few thousand.

CHINA TRIP

[18.] Q. Mr. President, have you set a date to go to China yet?

THE PRESIDENT. I have nothing to announce on that at this time.

PRESIDENT THIEU'S REACTION TO TROOP WITHDRAWALS

[19.] Q. Mr. President, if we can assume that President Thieu was informed of these withdrawals, can you tell us what his reaction was?

THE PRESIDENT. Complete approval. President Thieu, along with General Abrams and General Vien,[2] the others who work together in the combined Joint Chiefs over there, have been, just as Secretary Laird has reported, enormously impressed with the speed of the training program and the ability of the South Vietnamese to defend themselves.

It has gone faster than we had thought, and also, as was pointed out by one of the earlier questioners here, the level of enemy activity has not been as great as it was, due to the fact that the enemy doesn't have the punch that it had. Cambodia took a great deal out of the enemy's punch. Laos took a great deal out of its punch. And in addition to that, these torrential floods have made it difficult for the enemy to be as effective in its attacks as it was previously.

That does not mean, however, looking to the future, that we must not be on guard. That is why I say we are going to watch this infiltration route and rate very, very carefully in the critical months of December and January before making another withdrawal announcement.

AID TO CAMBODIA

[20.] Q. Mr. President, in your most recent foreign aid bill, you requested a total of $341 million in military and economic aid for Cambodia. The head of the Government of Cambodia has just renounced democracy as a viable form of government, which some people think has an analogy to earlier developments in

[2] Gen. Cao Van Vien, Chairman of the Joint General Staff, Republic of Vietnam.

Vietnam. What assurance can you give the American people that we are not sliding into another Vietnam in Cambodia?

THE PRESIDENT. We didn't slide into Vietnam. That is the difference. In Vietnam, conscious decisions were made to send Americans there, to become involved in combat. I am not criticizing those decisions; I am simply reflecting what the situation was.

It was not a question of sliding in, but was a question of decisions being made, first, to send American combat troops in. Those were first made, you know, by President Kennedy, the first troops that went in; and then the decisions to bomb in the North, those were made by President Johnson, and the increases in forces.

Now let's look at Cambodia. We have made a conscious decision not to send American troops in. There are no American combat troops in Cambodia. There are no American combat advisers in Cambodia. There will be no American combat troops or advisers in Cambodia.

We will aid Cambodia. Cambodia is the Nixon Doctrine in its purest form; Vietnam was in violation of the Nixon Doctrine. Because in Cambodia what we are doing is helping the Cambodians to help themselves, and we are doing that rather than to go in and do the fighting ourselves, as we did in Korea and as we did in Vietnam. We hope not to make that mistake again if we can avoid it.

THE STOCK MARKET

[21.] Q. Mr. President, in May of 1970, when stocks hit their biggest low of the year, you gave counsel to buy. Now we have reached the biggest low in 1971, what is your counsel today to the American investor?

THE PRESIDENT. Don't sell. [*Laughter*]

I would like to comment on that particular matter, because if my advice had been taken, you would have done reasonably well then, as you know. As I said in Detroit, whether it is an investment in stocks or bonds or, for that matter, in real property, which is my only source of investment, if I may paraphrase what one of the television commercials I have heard often enough—I am bullish on America. However, I would strongly advise anybody who invests to invest on the long term, not the short term.

On the long term, 1972 is going to be a good year. When we see, for example, inflation cut in half, which is our goal, when we see employment beginning to rise—it rose over a million during the period of the freeze—and when we see something else, when we see our economy now being built on the basis of peace rather than war, this is a time when people looking to the future, planning to hang on, could, it seems to me, well invest in America with the hope that their investments will prove well.

Nineteen hundred and sixty-eight, for example, was a very bad time to buy, and yet it appeared to be like the best of times. Stocks were high. Unemployment was low. Everybody thought that we had high prosperity. But prosperity was based on 300 American casualties a week, 500,000 Americans in Vietnam, $25 to $30 billion being spent on a war in Vietnam and on a burgeoning rate of inflation.

At that time, therefore, I would not have advised, and I trust many brokers did not advise their clients to buy, because when prosperity is based on war and inflation, you are eventually going to have a setback.

The new prosperity that we are working toward—and we have some rocky times; we have had some, we may have some more—but looking toward the year 1972, as I appraise the situation, the new prosperity, based on jobs in peacetime, on peace production primarily, and based on a checked rate of inflation, will be a much sounder prosperity and, therefore, a better time to invest in America.

FRANK CORMIER (Associated Press). Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: President Nixon's twenty-first news conference was held at 4 p.m. in the Briefing Room at the White House on Friday, November 12, 1971.

357 Remarks at a Meeting of the Cost of Living Council. *November* 15, 1971

THE PRESIDENT. This is the first opportunity that I have had to meet with the Cost of Living Council for several weeks and, of course, the first opportunity since we have completed Phase 1 and have embarked on Phase 2.

The Chairman of the Council, Secretary Connally, has just returned from Asia. During that period there have been some very significant developments, as we know, developments that have occurred outside of the Council, on the Pay Board and the Price Commission.

I simply want to say that I think I speak for a great majority of Americans in expressing appreciation to the members of the Pay Board and the Price Commission for taking a potentially explosive issue and a very difficult issue and bringing it to a conclusion in a way that is fair, that is equitable, and that we believe will work.

I say we believe that. I base that on checking with various groups that have been involved in the decisionmaking on all sides in our economy. As we look to the future, I think that we can say now that with the decision of the Pay Board with regard to a 5½ percent increase in wages during the next year, with the decision of the Price Commission, which aimed to the goal of between 2 and 3 percent on the price side, that with the massive public support that we had which made Phase 1 such a success in stopping inflation, that that public support continuing in Phase 2 will mean that the year 1972 will see a year in which we cut inflation in half in this country. And by cutting it in half it means that we can build for the future on a sound basis without an overheated economy and build strongly.

So we owe a great deal to the members of the Pay Board and the Price Commission. They were on "Face the Nation" yesterday, but how about facing the Cost of Living Council today. [*Laughter*] Talk to the Chairman over here. [*Laughter*]

JUDGE GEORGE H. BOLDT (Chairman, Pay Board). The faces look a little more friendly. [*Laughter*]

Mr. President, I am very happy to report to you that Phase 2, as far as the Pay Board is concerned, is fully launched, and we are on our way toward the objective that you have set for us of controlling inflation in the United States. And I have not the least doubt in my mind that we are going to accomplish it.

THE PRESIDENT. Dean Grayson.

DEAN C. JACKSON GRAYSON, JR. (Chairman, Price Commission). You said it was going to be a tough and a thankless job, and it was tough. It was very demanding and challenging, but it was

71-234—72——73

not thankless. We found a lot of support from people and the thanks of a lot of people in helping to make this program come forward. Some people said it couldn't be done. I believe it was Secretary Connally who said it has to be done and it will be done. I think the program that did emerge is a program that is sound and that the overall goal will be achieved.

THE PRESIDENT. I would simply like to say before turning the meeting over to Secretary Connally, that to set wage-price guidelines in a free economy is something that is enormously difficult and that generally has had, shall we say, generally very mild success, if at all.

We believe, however, that we have found the pattern here that may succeed and that will succeed as Judge Boldt puts it. And it will succeed because it has been so carefully worked out, not simply in terms of setting goals that may sound good at the moment but that are totally unachievable, but in setting realizable goals, goals that can be achieved, and then making up our minds that we are going to follow through and see that those goals are achieved. That is what you have done, and that is why we think we owe you a very great debt of gratitude.

Mr. Secretary, would you like to comment?

SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY JOHN B. CONNALLY. Mr. President, I think on behalf of all the members of the Cost of Living Council, we want to express our deep appreciation to Judge Boldt and all the members of his Pay Board and to Dean and the members of his Price Commission. We feel considerably relieved of many responsibilities.

I think it is appropriate at this time to thank all of the staff of the Office of Emergency Preparedness, Dr. Paul McCracken, who served as Chairman of the Policy Subcommittee of the Cost of Living Council, all of the others, Dr. [Arthur F.] Burns, who has been of invaluable assistance to this board, as an adviser to it and now as Chairman of the Committee on Interest and Dividends.

Mr. President, I must say again in behalf of the entire Council that we think the Phase 1, the wage-price freeze, period, which has just expired, was a resounding success.

It was fairly easy to administer in terms of what Dean Grayson has and Judge Boldt, because we tried to maintain a freeze, with very few exceptions, very few exemptions. But it was made possible largely by the unstinting support and the wholehearted cooperation of the American people.

I think that, Dean, you and Judge will have that same type of support in the administration of Phase 2, because people obviously feel that something had to be done.

The President was bold and forthright in facing up to it, and the American people applauded his action. And I think it behooves us to try to execute the program which he has laid out. I, frankly, am somewhat amazed at the remarks that are constantly made from all sides about the uncertainty. I think this is to be expected any time a program of this magnitude is undertaken. There has to be some uncertainty about it. But it is not uncertain in terms of its ultimate goals or its ultimate objective.

The goals are very clear that you have already stated. And as you said a moment ago, Dean, nothing is uncertain about whether or not we are going to do it. We have to do it. There is no accept-

able alternative. And the President has made this clear to us. He has made it clear to each of you and your respective boards, so I would hope that after the initial few days that you are going to have some difficulty, obviously, getting all of your affairs in order, but with Don Rumsfeld assisting, there is no reason why we can't proceed from one phase into the next with dispatch, with understanding, with support which I think the program merits.

Thank you, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think the Secretary has very well put the case in its suggested relation of the problem of certainty and uncertainty. Let's all understand we can have certainty very easily, with no freedom. And that was the choice we had to make.

A program of total control, wage and price controls across the board with a huge bureaucracy, would have been one answer. And many well-intentioned people in the Congress and outside have advised that.

We rejected that because we believe that we need to maintain the dynamism of a free economy in this country. We believe we can have freedom and have that freedom without the irresponsibility of inflation. And what we have here is, therefore, enough control to control the inflation, but not so much as to destroy freedom.

Now, within that we do have a degree of uncertainty; that is inevitable in any society that has any element of freedom in it, because when a person is free, we are not quite sure what is going to happen. But it is to the credit of both the Pay Board and the Price Commission and, I must say, too, the Committee on Interest and Dividends, that in this very delicate area of having enough control over our future without destroying the freedom, I think we have ended up on exactly the right course, at least as close to that course as we can end with reasonable men and women working toward that end.

So we thank you all for your participation.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:05 p.m. in the Cabinet Room at the White House.

On November 10, 1971, the White House released announcements of the appointment of the members of the Committee on State and Local Government Cooperation and the Committee on the Health Services Industry, which were established as advisory panels to the Cost of Living Council, the Price Commission, and the Pay Board for the post-freeze economic stabilization program. The two announcements are printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 7, pp. 1504 and 1505). On the same day, the White House also released the transcript of a news briefing on the functions of the two Committees by Donald Rumsfeld, Director, Cost of Living Council.

On November 12, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing by Mr. Rumsfeld on the transition from the wage-price freeze to the post-freeze economic stabilization program.

358 Statement About Mental Retardation. *November* 16, 1971

THE CRUEL bane of mental retardation—which now afflicts more than 6 million Americans, which weighs heavily on the other millions engaged in helping the retarded as family members, health professionals, and volunteer workers, and which diminishes us all by the toll it takes on human potential in our society—can

be sharply reduced during the coming generation. And because it can be, it must be. These are my conclusions after conferring this morning with the members of the President's Committee on Mental Retardation.

Encouraging progress is already being made, both in our efforts to open better lives for the mentally retarded and in our ability to prevent the occurrence of retardation. Federal spending in this field has increased by more than one-third during the past 3 years, to an estimated $668 million in fiscal year 1972.

Today, I pledge continuing expansion of such support, and I invite all Americans to join me in commitment to two major national goals:

- To reduce by half the occurrence of mental retardation in the United States before the end of this century;
- To enable one-third of the more than 200,000 retarded persons in public institutions to return to useful lives in the community.

These goals are realistic and achievable. We already have most of the knowledge and many of the techniques they will require, and the rest are within reach of research.

Improved prevention will require much wider application of recent biomedical advances which can help obstetricians avoid prematurity, a prime cause of retardation; immunization against the rubella and measles so dangerous during pregnancy; and new diet therapy for metabolic disorders. It will also call for improvement in the delivery of medical, nutritional, and educational services to expectant mothers and young children, especially those exposed to a high risk of retardation. And it will take further research in methods of screening, referral, and treatment. But beyond any question, the effort is worth making: for at the present rate of occurrence, more than 4 million of the 142 million children whom demographers estimate will be born in America between now and the year 2000 would grow up retarded. Their future is in our hands.

Unlocking the door to new opportunities for today's institutionalized retarded is an equally worthy challenge, and it is possible in the immediate present. Here State and local governments bear the principal responsibility, but strong Federal leadership can also be important. Within institutions, review procedures aimed at identifying persons ready to enter the community must be improved. Counseling, job training and placement services, and suitable living arrangements must be made available in the community. One measure of the distance we have to go on this front is that nearly half the Nation's school districts still offer no special education classes for the mentally retarded.

To launch this coordinated national effort at reducing mental retardation and ministering more effectively to its victims, I am today initiating a review process throughout the Federal Government. All executive departments and agencies will evaluate their programs—medical, legal, educational, social service, and environmental—with a view to providing maximum support to the President's Committee on Mental Retardation, and will report to Secretary Richardson, Chairman of that Committee.

I am also directing that the Department of Justice take steps to strengthen the assurance of full legal rights for the retarded; that the Bureau of the Census take steps to develop more complete data on the extent of mental retardation; and

that the Department of Housing and Urban Development assist in the development of special housing arrangements to facilitate independent living for retarded persons in the community.

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released a fact sheet on mental retardation and the transcript of a news briefing, on the national effort to prevent and treat mental retardation, by Elliot L. Richardson, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare; and Clair W. Burgener, Vice Chairman, Joseph H. Douglass, Executive Director, and Margaret B. Ulle and Kenneth S. Robinson, members, President's Committee on Mental Retardation, following the Committee's meeting with the President.

359 Statement About the Thanksgiving Day Salute to Senior Americans. *November* 16, 1971

THE Thanksgiving Day Salute to Senior Americans is an effort to pay tribute to our older citizens by including them in a special way in our Thanksgiving Day festivities. The first Thanksgiving Day Salute was held in Washington, D.C., in 1964 and has since become an annual event in the Nation's Capital. In 1969, Mrs. Nixon and I participated in this event by hosting a White House Thanksgiving Day dinner for 220 senior Americans.

This year, the Thanksgiving Day Salute to Senior Americans will be observed in all 50 States and in Puerto Rico. As a part of this program, Governors of the 50 States and Puerto Rico and their wives have been invited to host Thanksgiving Day dinners for elderly men and women who are living alone or without families. Many Governors have already responded by issuing proclamations supporting this effort and many plan to share their holiday festivities with older citizens in their areas. Senators and Congressmen have indicated that they will participate in the Salute by visiting homes for the aging on Thanksgiving Day.

This program was originated by VIP, a nonpartisan, nonprofit organization, composed of prominent Americans and college students and headed by Johnny Unitas, president. Mrs. Mamie Eisenhower is serving as honorary national chairman for the Thanksgiving Day Salute.

This expression of concern for older Americans grows out of a deep respect for the part they have played—and continue to play—in the growth and development of our Nation and in the personal life of each and every one of us. It provides a special way to express to them the appreciation, the admiration, and the affection of their countrymen. I, therefore, call upon all Americans to join in this special tribute, and I sincerely hope that the Thanksgiving Day Salute to Senior Americans will become a national tradition.

NOTE: On the same day, the President met with Dr. Arthur S. Flemming, Chairman, White House Conference on Aging; John B. Martin, Commissioner, Administration on Aging, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare; and John Unitas, president, and Carmella LaSpada, executive director, VIP, to discuss the Salute.

360 Statement on Signing the Military Appropriations Authorization Bill. *November* 17, 1971

I HAVE today signed H.R. 8687, the military procurement authorization act of 1971.

To avoid any possible misconceptions, I wish to emphasize that section 601 of this act—the so-called Mansfield Amendment—does not represent the policies of this Administration. Section 601 urges that the President establish a "final date" for the withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Indochina, subject only to the release of U.S. prisoners of war and an accounting for the missing in action.

Section 601 expresses a judgment about the manner in which the American involvement in the war should be ended. However, it is without binding force or effect, and it does not reflect my judgment about the way in which the war should be brought to a conclusion. My signing of the bill that contains this section, therefore, will not change the policies I have pursued and that I shall continue to pursue toward this end.

Let me reiterate what has been and remains United States policy regarding withdrawal of U.S. forces from Indochina.

Our goal—and my hope—is a negotiated settlement providing for the total withdrawal of all foreign forces, including our own, for the release of all prisoners, and for a cease-fire throughout Indochina. In the absence of such a settlement, or until such a settlement is reached, the rate of withdrawal of U.S. forces will be determined by three factors: by the level of enemy activity, by the progress of our program of Vietnamization, and by progress toward obtaining the release of all of our prisoners wherever they are in Southeast Asia and toward obtaining a cease-fire for all of Southeast Asia.

It is because section 601 of this bill will not in fact alter this policy that I have signed it into law. I would add, regretfully, that legislative actions such as this hinder rather than assist in the search for a negotiated settlement.

NOTE: As enacted, H.R. 8687 is Public Law 92-156 (85 Stat. 423).

361 Statement on Signing the Health Manpower and Nurse Training Bills. *November* 18, 1971

IT IS with special pleasure that I am signing into law today H.R. 8629 and H.R. 8630, the Comprehensive Health Manpower Training Act of 1971 and the Nurse Training Act of 1971. These acts follow substantially the recommendations I made to the Congress last February—and they constitute the most comprehensive health manpower legislation in the Nation's history.

But legislation is only a first step. These new programs must now be adequately funded and effectively carried out. I am, therefore, asking the Congress for a new supplemental appropriation for health manpower programs. This new appropriation would bring our overall spending for health manpower programs in the current fiscal year to $530 million, a level which is $100 million higher than in fiscal year 1971.

Expanded manpower programs are an

integral part of the national health strategy which I outlined in my message to the Congress last winter. One of the cardinal principles on which this strategy was built was that of balancing the supply of medical care with the growing demand for services. For—as I pointed out in that message—our failure to achieve this balance can only result in lower quality medical care at increasingly inflated prices.

I am pleased that the Congress has responded to this concern and has enacted a number of my recommendations regarding the expansion of our health manpower resources. The actions which have been taken will enable our Nation to train critically needed medical personnel, to improve the distribution of such personnel—both geographically and by medical specialty—and to promote the more effective use of health manpower.

The chief provisions of these two new acts are as follows:

1. *Per Capita Assistance.* The Comprehensive Health Manpower Training Act takes a new approach to the financing of medical and dental training, one which is along the lines of the approach I recommended last February. It incorporates the principle that dollar support for a given institution be tied to numbers of students, thus providing a strong incentive for medical schools to expand their enrollments. This new form of assistance will also enable schools to innovate and experiment more readily, since they will be working from a more stable fiscal position. In 1972, this program will benefit 275 schools.

2. *Special Project and Financial Distress Grants.* In my message to the Congress, I also asked for a new program of "special project grants to help achieve special goals." By following this recommendation, the new legislation will permit institutions a considerable degree of flexibility in reforming their curricula and undertaking special training projects in areas such as alcoholism and drug dependence. This legislation also embodies our proposal for a separate grant program for schools in financial distress, one which will assist these institutions in diagnosing the causes of their fiscal weakness and which will provide for appropriate operational and financial reforms.

3. *Construction Grants and Interest Subsidies.* The new legislation provides authority for direct grants for the construction of facilities to educate health personnel. It also establishes a new program of guaranteed loans and interest subsidies which will generate additional private capital for this same purpose. Together, these two actions—which have also grown out of Administration recommendations—will help us achieve a substantial increase in the number of new first-year students who can be enrolled in our health profession and nursing schools.

4. *Student Assistance.* Under the legislation I have signed today, loan and scholarship assistance will continue to be available for students in the health professions, and special emphasis will be given to increasing opportunities for disadvantaged students. In addition, the Federal Government will forgive student loan indebtedness for physicians, dentists, nurses, and other health personnel who practice in medically underserved areas. As I pointed out last winter, this policy can do much to help us meet the special needs of remote rural areas and urban poverty neighborhoods where medical care is often difficult to obtain at the present time.

5. *Health Manpower Education Initiative Awards.* A number of Administra-

tion goals will be furthered by the new program of health manpower education initiative awards for deserving institutions. These awards will be used to stimulate a variety of improvements in the supply, the distribution, and the efficient utilization of health manpower. They will be used, for example, to support more training in out-of-hospital settings so that the experience of students in clinical situations, in outpatient facilities, and in ambulatory care settings will be broadened. Under this authority, incentives will also be given to schools of medicine and dentistry for the training of paramedical personnel such as dental therapists, nurse midwives, family health nurses, and pediatric nurse practitioners. In my message last winter, I described the expanded use of such allied health personnel as "one of the most promising ways to expand the supply of medical care and to reduce its costs."

The actions I have been discussing today demonstrate the Government's response to the challenge of expanding health manpower. But this response will mean very little unless our health profession schools now move forward with their own strong and aggressive programs for increasing enrollment, reforming curricula, reducing the length of training, and placing more health professionals in scarcity areas. The Federal Government will now be providing a much stronger helping hand. But the central responsibility still lies with health education schools and those who direct them. The American people are looking to them to meet this challenge.

A sound and fair health care system which meets the needs of the American people will require the right kinds of manpower, in the right amount, and in the right place. With the signing of this legislation, we have made great strides toward meeting these requirements. And further strides will be possible if my request for supplemental funds is approved by the Congress.

It is also true, however, that an integrated national health care system entails more than adequate manpower. We must now address ourselves in earnest to the other important elements of the Administration's national health strategy. Specific proposals for achieving these goals have already been submitted to the Congress, and I hope they, too, will receive prompt and favorable attention.

NOTE: As enacted, H.R. 8629 and H.R. 8630 are Public Law 92–157 (85 Stat. 431) and Public Law 92–158 (85 Stat. 465), respectively.

On the same day, the White House released two fact sheets and the transcript of a news briefing on the acts by Dr. Merlin K. DuVal, Jr., Assistant Secretary for Health and Scientific Affairs, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and Victor M. Zafra, Budget Examiner, Office of Management and Budget.

362 Statement Urging Action on Highways and the METRO System in the Washington, D.C., Metropolitan Area. *November* 18, 1971

LATE in its second century of life as the Nation's Capital, the Washington metropolitan area is suffering severely from hardening of vital transportation arteries. The nearly 3 million people in the District of Columbia and its Maryland and Virginia suburbs are acutely aware of this worsening problem as they struggle to move about the area pursuing business or pleasure or the work of government. So are the 18 million visitors who come here each year from across the country and around the world, expecting magnificence—and finding it, but finding also, in the simple matter of getting about the city, more frustrations than they deserve in the capital of a nation that has sent men to the moon.

In recent months, though, Washingtonians have also become increasingly aware that something *is* being done about the transportation tangle. METRO—our superb areawide rapid rail transit system of the future—is already a fact of life for all who use the downtown streets, as construction pushes ahead on the first 8 miles of the project. Streets are dug up, ventilation shafts have been dropped, tunnels are being bored. Over $863 million has already been committed by the eight participating local jurisdictions and the Federal Government. At the same time, a coordinated interstate highway system for the region is progressing toward completion, as many thousands of detouring commuters know.

We need these freeways, and we need the METRO—badly. I have always believed, and today reaffirm my belief, that the Capital area must have the balanced, modern transportation system which they will comprise. Yet now, almost incredibly, in light of the manifest need for both of them, the future of both is jeopardized by a complex legal and legislative snarl.

To save them, here is what has to happen:

1. *The local highway actions mandated by the Federal-Aid Highway Acts of 1968 and 1970 must go forward immediately.*

The question whether the District of Columbia and the Federal Government, in their efforts to carry out this mandate, are presently in compliance with statutory requirements has been the subject of lengthy litigation. The U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia has recently ruled that they are not yet in compliance in the case involving the Three Sisters Bridge. But I am convinced that they are. Accordingly, I have ordered the Attorney General to proceed with the filing of a motion for rehearing *en banc* before the Court of Appeals. I have also instructed him, if that fails, to file a petition for certiorari with the Supreme Court.

2. *The METRO system must move toward completion and operation as rapidly as possible.*

Not only do delays in METRO work cost taxpayers heavily; they might even erode confidence and cooperation seriously enough to consign the entire project to an early grave, with all the sad consequences that could have for metropoli-

71-234—72——74

tan development in the years ahead. I strongly urge the Congress, therefore, to take appropriate action at once to end the present delay and to prevent any more such derailments of METRO progress.

We have come to a critical juncture. Obedience to the law is at stake. A huge investment is at stake. The well-being of the Capital area is at stake. It is time for responsible men to join in responsible action and cut this Gordian knot.

NOTE: On the same day, Representative Joel T. Broyhill of Virginia met with the President at the White House to discuss Washington metropolitan area highways and the METRO.

363 Remarks to the AFL–CIO Ninth Constitutional Convention in Bal Harbour, Florida. *November* 19, 1971

President Meany, all the other presidents on the platform, and the vice presidents in the audience:

I am very honored for the first time as President of the United States to speak before the AFL–CIO Convention. In speaking on this occasion, I have brought with me a prepared text. I have given that text out to the press. I am not going to read that text to you today.

I want to say to all the press, though, who have already written their stories, that they can print it, and I stand behind it. The text contains the usual laundry list that a President of the United States is supposed to go over when he appears before the AFL–CIO or any other labor convention. I am very proud of this list. Secretary Hodgson will be covering some of these items in his address.

The record of this Administration, in terms of safety, in terms of unemployment insurance, in other areas that don't receive the great publicity, is well-known to the leaders on this platform and to the leaders in this audience. We are proud of the record in those areas, areas where we agree. But rather than reading that text, I am going to do something that I believe President Meany will appreciate, and all of the others here that I have met so often in the Cabinet Room over the past 3 years. You like it straight from the shoulder. I am going to talk to you about our differences, and I am also going to talk to you about some areas where we agree, and there are several of both, as you know.

In talking about those differences and where we agree, I would like to address myself first to a question that I noticed has been speculated on in the press, and it was one, as a matter of fact, that was raised by some of my own advisers in the White House.

Putting it quite bluntly, one of them said, "Why are you going?" They said, "You know a majority of those that are going to be at this great convention are against you politically, a majority of those who are going to be there at this convention are against your party. Why do you go?"

I will tell you why I came here: Because while some of you may be against me politically, and some of you may be against my party, I know from the experience over the past 3 years that when the chips are down organized labor is for America, and that is why I am here before this convention today.

I could give you a number of examples where that has been true. President

Meany, the other presidents up here, who have been there at meetings where I have asked for their support, can give them to you also. I have known that whenever we had an issue of the defense of America, when some would be for unilateral disarmament, organized labor stood firm behind the Commander in Chief and for strong national defense. The President can always count on labor for a strong national defense.

I know, for example, that when the question arises as to hard decisions to protect America's fighting men, the President of the United States, whoever he is, whatever his party, can count on the support of organized labor, and I have had that support over the past 3 years.

I know, too, that when hard decisions have to be made to bring to an end, on an honorable basis that will discourage aggression in the future, a very difficult war, that the President of the United States can always count on organized labor. I appreciate that support, and in appreciating that support, I would like to give you one example, a very dramatic example which was brought home to all of the American people.

I am sure most of you remember just a little over a year ago, in May, when I made a very difficult decision, some believe the most difficult decision I have made since I have been President. It was a decision to go into Cambodian bases from which American men were being killed, and to destroy those sanctuaries.

When that decision was announced, a great majority of the members of the press and TV, a majority of America's businessmen, a majority of America's intellectual leaders, a majority of America's editorial writers, opposed that decision, and some of them opposed it very violently. I respect them for their opposition; that was their honest opinion. It fact, after that decision was made, tens of thousands of those who were protesting that action by the President of the United States to defend the lives of American men marched on the White House to indicate their opposition.

Some wrote in those days that the President stood alone. But I was not alone. One hundred and fifty thousand American workers walked down Wall Street supporting the Armed Forces abroad and supporting the Commander in Chief at home, and I appreciated that support. That showed where American labor stood when the key issue of defending American lives was involved.

I want all of you to know that in that critical decision you have been proved to be right. I said at the time that I ordered those strikes that it would reduce American casualties. Before we went into Cambodia, the number of Americans being killed each week in Vietnam sometimes reached 300, was averaging 200. This week, the figures announced just yesterday: five. And over the past 5 to 6 weeks, less than 10. So we did what was right. You supported it, and I am most grateful for that support.

Now, having spoken of the support that you have given in times of war, I am here today to ask for your support for another cause. It is the cause of building a lasting peace, and it is the cause of a new prosperity.

Now, when I mention new prosperity, I can imagine that many say, "What was wrong with the old prosperity?" I will tell you what was wrong with it. Two things: war and inflation.

You have to go clear back to 1955 and '56 when President Eisenhower was Presi-

dent to find full employment without war and full employment without inflation. What was wrong with 1968 and 1967? We had full employment, but at what cost? Three hundred American dead every week. That is too high. I don't think that any American worker, that any American, wants to have his job be based on the sacrifices of Americans abroad if we can avoid those sacrifices, and that is what we are trying to do.

So with regard to our efforts in this field, to win a lasting peace, let me say that we are moving in the area of Vietnam. Oh, not the easy way—just get out and let the Communists take over the country—that would only plant the seeds for another war and more aggression, because it would encourage it in the future; but the right way, the honorable way in which the people of South Vietnam have a chance to determine what shall be the future, at some time in the future, without having that imposed upon them by the Communists from the North.

Now, as a result of the success of our programs in Vietnam, we have had some aggravation of the problem of unemployment. Let me talk very directly about that, because there is no one in this room who feels more strongly about that problem than I do, and I know how strongly you feel. I grew up in the depression. I worked in a little grocery store. I will never forget the looks on the faces of men who came into that store and could not pay the bills, but even more, I could not forget the looks of their kids, who realized that their fathers were out of work and they did not have the money to pay their bills.

So we want full employment. We want good jobs. We want high wages. We want it in times of peace. Let's see what our success in Vietnam has done to that objective.

Did you realize that there were 539,000 Americans in Vietnam when I took office? By January of next year, we will have brought home 400,000; but even more, as a result of winding down the war in Vietnam, 2,200,000 Americans will have been let out of defense plants and out of the armed services over the past 3 years. Now, if the war in Vietnam were going on at the same level as it was going on when I came into office, with 300 Americans dying every week, we would have unemployment at less than 4 percent today. But we can do better than that. We can build a new prosperity. We can build it without war.

That is why I so strongly favor the tax measures that I have recommended to the Congress. I know there is some disagreement on that here in this audience, and I respect your views there. But the repeal of the automobile excise tax, the job development credit which will allow American workers to have the new plant and the new equipment that will enable them to compete more effectively with workers abroad and thereby increase the number of jobs here, and, of course, the relief for consumers which will get more purchasing power into the hands of Americans and thereby increase the demand and increase the number of jobs, all of these things are directed toward building that new prosperity that all Americans want.

But having said that, in building that new prosperity without war, there is another side to it. Ending the war in Vietnam is being accomplished. We shall succeed, and we shall succeed with honor. But America has ended wars before.

I noted, President Meany, that 2 days

ago you celebrated the founding of this organization by Samuel Gompers. Samuel Gompers—I read a little about him before coming down—was a pacifist. But in World War I, as you pointed out to me one time in the Cabinet Room, Samuel Gompers joined in supporting the war effort in World War I and supported President Wilson's efforts right to the hilt. Samuel Gompers, a pacifist, and Woodrow Wilson, who in his heart was also a pacifist, thought that World War I was the war to end wars. Their dreams proved to be wrong. We have had World War II, we have had Korea, and we have had Vietnam, since ending World War I.

So our goal today is not simply a war to end wars. We are ending the war in Vietnam. Our goal today is not simply that. Our goal is to win a peace that will end wars and that goes beyond the immediate objective of ending the war that we are in.

Now I come to another area where we have a little disagreement. I know that some of you have read about my trips to Peking and to Moscow, and there have been some rather striking statements made about those trips from this platform. I respect a difference of opinion. I know that it has been suggested that I am taking those trips halfway around the world really as political junkets in an election year.

Let me be very blunt on that point. These trips are not about the next election. They are about the next generation, and we all have an obligation to that next generation. No one in this room knows better than I do the great differences between the Communist societies and ours. No one in this room would go to such a conference with his eyes more open than mine will be open. They know me. I know them. Those differences are not going to be solved by these trips.

Then why do we go? I will tell you why: It is a practical consideration. There are 250 million people in the Soviet Union. Their nuclear power, as far as land-based missiles is concerned, is presently about equal to ours, and possibly even a bit ahead. There are 750 million people in China. Within 15 years, if they want to do it, their nuclear power will be a very, very significant threat to the peace of the world if they want to be a threat to the peace of the world.

So we then come to this question: What do we do about it? Do we wait 10, 15, 20 years from now and continue to stand in confrontation with those that we do disagree with; or, in other words, putting it more directly, do we talk about our differences or do we fight about our differences?

My friends, with the advent of nuclear warfare, a President of the United States, with an obligation to future generations, has no choice but to talk about those differences, talk about them with this goal in mind: not of giving in on our system, not of making concessions at the expense of our friends, but talking about them with the great goal of seeing that the peoples of this world can have different systems but will not be engaged in nuclear destruction. That is why I am going. We are going to try. We may not succeed, but I think future generations would hold us responsible if we failed to try.

I mentioned the differences. I want to tell you now an area where we agree, and I am most grateful for that agreement. That is in the field that I mentioned tangentially a moment ago: national defense. President Meany knows, because many times, both at the executive council

building in Washington and in the Cabinet Room in the White House, I have asked him and his associates to support us on strong national defense on close votes where a margin of one in the United States Senate determined whether the United States would have a defensive weapons system that the Soviet Union already had. We won it; we would not have won it without the support of organized labor. And I am grateful for that.

I want to tell you why that support was given—two reasons. I know that many others who will appear before you may indicate, maybe not before this audience, but they have certainly indicated in the United States Senate, that we ought to cut our defense spending. They say we ought to cut our defense spending so that we can spend more for welfare and more for housing and more for education and more for the environment.

My friends, I'm for better housing and better welfare and better environment, and all of you are, but if we don't spend enough to defend America we are not going to have any environment to enjoy in this country, and that is what we have to do.

So, under these circumstances, I appreciate the fact that I have had, from organized labor, strong support for an adequate national defense.

Now, the other line is very amusing, amusing to a group of people who know what hard bargaining is and how important it is to be strong at the bargaining table. That line is that what we ought to do is, unilaterally on our part as an exercise of our good faith and the demonstration of it, cut our defense spending in the hopes that that will lead our opponents in the world to cut theirs.

My friends, just let me say one thing. You know from collective bargaining never go to that bargaining table, if you can, in a position of weakness. I say to you: Never let the President of the United States, whoever he is, go to a negotiating table representing the second strongest power in the world. That is what we need. It is that position that organized labor well understands, and on that issue I am most grateful for your support. Because a strong America, negotiating from strength, may be able to negotiate—this era of negotiation rather than confrontation, this era in which we will talk about our differences rather than fight about our differences. But a weak America, negotiating from weakness, will lead the world either to surrender or to war, or both. You understand that. I am grateful that on this area we agree.

Now, let me turn to the other side of the coin. I said that we needed a period of prosperity without war. We are working toward that. I said also that we needed prosperity without inflation. We are working toward that.

We have just completed the 90-day freeze. Now, I understand there has been some disagreement about whether that freeze worked. Well, let's look at the numbers. It was a remarkable success. Because the figures are in. In 2 months the Wholesale Price Index went down rather than up, and that is the first 2 months in 5 years that that has happened.

Look at your morning papers. The Consumer Price Index: a rise of one-tenth of 1 percent. That rise was the lowest in 4 years. And so it was worth doing. And if you don't think so, go home and ask your wives who go to the grocery. Go home and ask others.

You will find that as far as prices are concerned, what they want, rather than

less action on the inflation front, is more, and that is what we are going to provide.

On that score, let me say, having succeeded in Phase 1, we are now moving to Phase 2. I have noted that President Meany has had some things to say about Phase 2. As a matter of fact, it is a little hard not to note what he has had to say. Just to be sure that I didn't misquote him, I cut it out of the Washington Post. Vice President Agnew doesn't back this up, but nevertheless, this is what it said:

Yesterday, in speaking before your convention, he, as he should do, criticized Phase 2, criticized the makeup of the Pay Board and the Price Commission and criticized the Committee on Interest Rates, and so forth. He has a right to his point of view. Then he went on to lay down certain conditions. Then he said, "If the President of the United States doesn't want our membership on the Pay Board on our terms, he knows what he can do."

Well, you know, President Meany is correct. I know exactly what I can do—and I am going to do it. I think it is time that we all understand just where we stand on this, where we agree and where we disagree.

I want a program that is fair to all elements of this society, fair to organized labor particularly, as I have emphasized, for the reasons that I have mentioned before. But as President of all the American people, it is my duty to do what I think is best for all the American people. Now my friends, whatever some of you may think, a great majority of the American people, and a majority of union members, want to stop the rise in the cost of living—and that's what we are going to do.

In order to stop the rise in the cost of living, we want the participation of business, we want the participation of labor, we want the participation of consumers, and all the other areas of the society. We hope we get it. But whether we get that participation or not, it is my obligation as President of the United States to make this program of stopping the rise in the cost of living succeed, and, to the extent that my powers allow it, I shall do exactly that.

Now my friends, having said that, let me now point at an area of agreement. It is a myth that organized labor has no interest and no stake in stopping the rise in the cost of living. Look at the numbers. I have read the figures with regard to the rise in wage increases, the increases from 1965 to 1969. They were significant. Incidentally, they were needed.

But do you know that from 1965 to 1969, when American labor was getting some of its most substantial wage increases, for most American workers in that period price increases completely ate up the wage increases?

So, it is in your interest, as well as the interest of the consumer, to do what we can to see that when you get a wage increase it is a real increase. That is what I am trying to do. That is what we are working for.

Let me say to you: This is not like an ordinary collective bargaining dispute when labor wins and management loses. If we fail in this venture, America will lose, and all of us will lose.

I say to you, we cannot let that happen. It means that we must work together. It means we must speak candidly, as President Meany has, and I appreciate his candor and his honesty. But it also means that what we must try to do is to find a way that working together within the system, fighting it out, we find a way to temper the rise in the cost of living so that

all Americans will benefit. And we can win this fight which is in the interest of all Americans.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, I want to address myself briefly to another reason I am really honored to be here. I would like to illustrate it with a story.

Several months ago at one of those great White House receptions, where hundreds of people came through the line, a boy and his father came through the line. The boy was a graduate of one of our better Eastern colleges, obviously very well educated. The father was a working man, a hard-working man. I could tell when I shook his hand. I could tell as he spoke briefly with me in the line that he had not had the benefit of a college education, or even of a high school education. But he spoke from his heart, if his grammar may not have been the most perfect.

As I spoke to him, I saw the boy standing there, embarrassed, ill at ease. Then it came over me. The boy was ashamed of his father.

I will tell you how I felt. I was ashamed of the son. My father grew up in a very poor family. He quit school in the sixth grade because his mother died 3 years earlier. He worked, when we were growing up, as a carpenter, as an oilfield worker, as a streetcar motorman, as a grocer, and as a service station operator.

He raised five boys, and every one of them got a better education than he did, because of how he worked. He was very proud when I was elected Congressman, Senator, and Vice President, and I was proud of him to the day he died.

I know these days, having read recently about the reaction of some people on welfare in one of our major cities, that people who, some of those on welfare, don't want to take jobs if they are considered to be menial jobs. Let me give you my response to that. I guess every job my father had was a menial job; but any job that puts food on the table and buys shelter and clothing and education for a man's family is not a menial job.

Let's recognize that in America once and for all. Let us recognize that the only thing demeaning in America is for one man to refuse to work and to let another man who does work pay taxes to keep him on welfare. Any work is preferable to welfare. That is what I believe, and that is what the members of this organization believe.

Hard work is what built America, and it is time in this country we demonstrate a new appreciation of the dignity of work and what it means. You all know that America is the number one nation in the world economically. Why is that important? Because by being number one economically, we are able to be first in the world in terms of military power and are able to work for peace in the world; because our economic strength enables us to do things for the poor, the disadvantaged that could not otherwise be done. And remember, the poor in America would be rich in 90 percent of the world today, and we hope it will always be that way as far as our people are concerned, and our concern for them.

So as we look at America's economic strength, we realize that we have to keep it, and how are we going to keep it? Let me tell you how we are going to keep it.

We can pass laws, we can have all the fancy ideas of the political scientists and the sociologists and the economics professors and those that have plans for what America will be, but without the hard work and the patriotism and the character of 80 million American wage earners,

we cannot continue to be a great nation.

So we need the devotion, the character, the patriotism of the people you represent. We need it because America has a mission in the world. It is bigger than ourselves. It is as big as the whole world itself. It was not so at the beginning. Whether America failed or succeeded wouldn't have determined whether or not the world would have war or peace.

But today there is no other free nation in the world that can provide the leadership, if that leadership can be provided, that can keep the peace and to stop aggression around the world.

So I say to you, my friends, the future of America is in the hands of 80 million American wage earners. Putting it another way: The future of America is in your hands. I believe it is in good hands. I believe it is in good hands because, despite the differences that I mentioned here, I have found over and over again in talking to the leaders of organized labor that when the chips are down, that the people in organized labor will take those positions that are best for this country.

I will conclude as I began: Yes, we do have differences, but regardless of what those differences are, because I know you are for America, you can be sure every one of you will always have a friend in the White House.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:30 a.m. in the Americana Hotel.

364 Advance Text of Remarks Prepared for the AFL–CIO Convention. *November* 19, 1971

I WELCOME this opportunity to call to the attention of organized labor the accomplishments of this Administration on behalf of the American worker. The record is one of solid achievement compiled with careful regard to the needs of labor and to the economic and social needs of this Nation.

One of the really distressing discoveries this Administration made when we examined the needs of the American worker was the safety record of our work force. Work-related accidents and illnesses kill some 14,000 Americans every year. We found that occupational safety laws were inadequate, that workmen's compensation was inadequate, and that temporary disability insurance at both State and Federal levels was inadequate. This was entirely unacceptable. It was clear that steps had to be taken quickly to remedy this situation, and we took those steps.

In August of 1969, the Secretary of Labor submitted to the Congress the Occupational Safety and Health Act. That bill was passed late last year and went into effect April 28. Among other things, it sets up a National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health to do research in the area of safety standards. Funding for research under the health proposals in this legislation has been increased by 75 percent.

The Federal Coal Mine Health and Safety Act, which I signed in December 1969, establishes dust and safety standards for miners, provides more intensive inspection of mines, and provides compensation for workers suffering from black lung.

In March of 1970, we proposed legislation to improve benefits payable under the Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers'

Compensation Act. The Congress has not yet acted in that matter.

We have given the American worker the first comprehensive job safety and health legislation in this Nation's history. This is a solid record. We intend to build on it.

We have pushed through the Congress the most extensive improvement in unemployment compensation in the history of this program. These reforms, which I signed in August 1970, added nearly 5 million workers to the unemployment insurance system. They increased minimum benefit levels, and they provide for an extended period of eligibility whenever a percentage of workers covered are unemployed for an extended period of time. This is a solid achievement of value to the American worker.

I know, however, that the American worker doesn't want compensation, he wants work. In order to provide increased employment, I reorganized the Manpower Administration in the Department of Labor and signed into law the Emergency Employment Act in July 1971. This legislation provides funding for a hundred and twenty-five thousand jobs. That figure alone speaks for the merit of this legislation and its value to the worker.

In other areas, we have taken very strong steps to cope with the problem of seasonality in the construction business using the vast potential in Federal construction needs to stabilize this industry, to provide year-round income, and so to eliminate the inflationary labor costs that were necessary to enable construction workers to survive in off-season downtime.

This Administration has provided a much more definitive basis for Federal employee representation rights and for grievance and dispute-settling mechanisms. At the same time, it is fair and accurate to say that we have interfered less in collective bargaining than any Administration in the last 10 years.

These are just some of the steps we have taken to compile a positive record of achievement on behalf of American labor. They demonstrate that we have more in common in terms of goals for the American workingman than we have in conflict.

We are moving in a positive way, and I know there is far more to be done before we can feel fully confident that the circumstances of the American worker today are what they ought to be in a Nation with our economic capacities and our social standards.

I am concerned, for example, by the injustices which American workers suffer through the loss of pension benefits for which they have contributed money throughout their work lives. It is unfair that men and women should move toward retirement, work to protect their retirement, and then have that protection stripped away. This inequity must and will be remedied.

It is not reasonable or responsible to make national policy in a way that sees the American labor force as somehow distinct from the larger American society. It is an integral part of that society, and in all policy formulation it must be treated as an integral part of that society.

In August, as the first step in the implementation of a new economic program, I directed a wage-price freeze aimed at halting the dangerous inflationary pressures which were threatening the dollar—and I mean everybody's dollar—the laborer's, the businessman's, the banker's, and the international dollar. The freeze was not directed against labor; it did not affect labor alone, it affected all segments of the

economy, and it was an action which was in perfect harmony with previous demands by many labor leaders to establish wage-price controls.

At the end of that first phase of the new economic program, I think we can fairly evaluate the effect of what was undertaken then.

We sought to check the rise in prices. The Wholesale Price Index dropped 0.3 percent in September. It dropped another 0.1 percent last month.

We tabulated 3,885 prices in the five largest U.S. cities. Eighty-seven percent of the prices tabulated showed no change from August to September. Less than 8 percent showed an increase, and almost 6 percent actually declined.

The price freeze was successful. That means the consumer, including 60 million American wage earners, benefited.

What about employment?

Since June total employment has increased by 1.4 million jobs; from September to October employment increased by more than 300,000 jobs. In the category of married men, which is a very critical component of the total unemployment figures, the percentage unemployed has dropped to 3 percent—the lowest in a year.

New interest rates, housing starts, and retail sales all reflect similar success for this policy, but the price index and the employment index are of greatest interest to labor. We can legitimately say that they reflect the benefits of the wage-price freeze to labor. To put it another way—the only thing that went up during the freeze was jobs. For those who have maintained that the freeze was intended as a plum to business, let me point out that corporate profits declined during the freeze.

The new economic program has demonstrated its promise of economic progress for all Americans. The past record of the Nixon Administration on behalf of labor reflects a sincere concern for the best interests of labor—not because such a record is politically useful, but because whatever serves the best interests of labor serves the best interests of America, and whether or not that is politically useful, it is absolutely essential to the progress and the well-being of this Nation in the last third of this century.

With these credentials, I am asking the support of organized labor; I am asking the support of the AFL–CIO for the critical second phase of this effort to restore economic stability to this Nation.

In the months ahead we will have disagreements on the direction of Phase 2. But there are mechanisms established to resolve those disagreements. They will insure a fair resolution of the differences and disputes which may arise. What there can be no disagreement about is the need to provide more jobs for more Americans; the need to provide a dollar that doesn't decrease in value every time you get a pay raise; the need to increase production—and production did increase during Phase 1 of the new economic program; the need to increase trade with other nations of the world and stop subsidizing foreign industry with American jobs; and the need, generally, to establish a sound and stable economic base which will give us prosperity in the time of peace that we are working so hard to achieve and which now seems so nearly within our grasp.

We do not differ on these objectives. We do disagree on some aspects of the means by which we hope to achieve these objectives. But if we work together to resolve these disagreements, we can have what

this Nation has not seen for 15 years—prosperity in peacetime. I am confident that we can achieve it together. I ask you to join together with us in the effort to achieve it, and I pledge to you that we will come out of this phase of the new economic program into a period of sustained prosperity that will repay many times over any immediate sacrifices that any segment of the American work force is called upon to make.

NOTE: The advance text was released at Key Biscayne, Fla.

365 Message to the Congress Transmitting Part I of a Two-Part Study on Railroad-Highway Safety. *November* 19, 1971

To the Congress of the United States:

I am pleased to submit to the Congress Part I of a two-part study of Railroad-Highway Safety in accordance with the requirements of the Federal Railroad Safety Act of 1970 (P.L. 91–458).

Railroad-highway grade crossing safety is not a simple issue. It has many complexities which arise from such factors as the division of authorities and responsibilities for grade crossing safety among many governmental levels and jurisdictions, the important role of the private railroad companies who own and maintain the rights-of-way, the division of financial responsibilities between government and the private industry, and the cost and reliability of protective devices and grade separations.

This Report was prepared by the Department of Transportation as a comprehensive background survey of the problems involved. It contains a useful history of the grade crossing issue, a review of current problems and a discussion of the grade crossing problem within the context of highway safety.

Any recommendations for specific action will be presented in Part II of this Report to be submitted by next July 1972, under the provisions of the Highway Safety Act of 1970 (P.L. 91–605).

I commend this Report to you as important groundwork for a better understanding of the issues in this field, and I request that any definite legislative action on this subject be deferred until Part II of the Report has been transmitted to the Congress.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
November 19, 1971

NOTE: The text of the message was posted for the press at Key Biscayne, Fla.

The report is entitled "Report to Congress—Railroad-Highway Safety; Part I: A Comprehensive Statement of the Problem" (95 pp. plus appendix).

366 Remarks Welcoming Members of the Senior Class of Wyoming High School of Cincinnati, Ohio, to the White House. *November* 20, 1971

I WANT you to know that I am delighted to welcome you here to the White House and to tell you how this all happened.

Last night I attended, along with Mrs. Nixon and my daughter Julie and David Eisenhower—I think they are going to come out and say hello in a minute, too—anyway, I attended an affair down at the Kennedy Center, at the Opera House, the ballet dancers from Cambodia. And as I was leaving, a big, tall fellow—where is he? Does he always do that? He is a future President. Anyway, this big, tall fellow came up, and he said, "Look, could you come down and have your picture taken with the Wyoming High School class that is here?" I said, "Well, you have come from a long way." "No," he said, "just from Cincinnati."

So, I learned that there is a Wyoming High School in Cincinnati. Of course, I should have known it because you were champions in 1969, and tied last year. There are, of course, more important things than being champions in football, but I know that out in Cincinnati and Ohio that is football country, so I do mention that.

I want you to know, though, that when I realized that I was going to meet you and have my picture taken with you, which is a great privilege for me, that I realized that it was exactly 41 years ago that I was graduated from high school. I was a member of the Class of 1930 of Whittier High School.

I thought of my being your age and what a wonderful time it was then—I thought. I was 17, 18. Most of you are 17, 18 years of age; right?

At that time, 1930, we had just begun and moved into the great depression which, of course, you read about now and hear about. At that time the United States was at peace. I remember that one of the subjects for debate in our high school class was how we were to keep the peace in the world, although many could see what might happen in the future.

Then I thought of what happened to that generation, the Class of 1930. We had such high hopes. Despite the fact that we had moved into the depression, we thought it would soon be over. You know, young people, one of the great things about them—I was this way, I know you are this way—is that you are upbeat, you are hopeful, you are confident. If things are wrong, you are going to make them better. You are going to do something about it. And I remember we felt that way.

If we had thought then that that depression was going to last for over 8 years, that we were not going to get out of it until we got into World War II, we would have been pretty depressed. If we had thought then that our generation, the generation that graduated in the Class of '30, was going to go through three wars more—World War II, Korea, and now Vietnam—we would have been very, very depressed.

So, now we look at this class, the Class of '71. I just want you to know that you can look to the future with confidence. I

know sometimes you may think it must be a terrible time to be alive now. We are in a war. Of course, you all know it is coming to an end. But you look to the future, you see the awesome threat of nuclear war hanging over the world, and you consider the other problems we have in our society; the problem of drugs, the problems that you hear about and read about, either on television or in your newspapers, and you say, well, I guess our generation probably has the worst of times.

Whenever you start to think that way—and I don't think you are going to be thinking that way—just remember that Class of '30. Our generation saw three wars, went through a very great depression. Your generation is going to see an end to a war, and, if we are able to succeed, partly as a result of great new initiatives in foreign policy—my trips to Peking and to Moscow, they will contribute—you may see what we have not had in this whole century: a full generation of peace. It is going to be a great period for you. I think the next 30 years, the 30 years of the Class of '71, can be wonderful years.

Here in this office, as long as I am here, I am going to work for that. Because as I look at you, I remember when I was your age, and I remember what a wonderful time it was. I remember how idealistic I and the members of my class were—our teachers, we gave them great credit for that. And I know your teachers implant those same ideals in you.

Just keep your faith in America, keep your faith in God. Keep your faith in the future. This is a good time to be alive. It isn't the worst. It is the best. Remember that never has a generation in the whole history of the world had a chance to play a role that yours plays. You are going to have the vote, the vote at 18. You can do something about the future. You can build a world of peace, help to build it, but more, you can build a nation at home, a nation in which we can have the kind of prosperity we all want, not based on war, not based on inflation, but based on those kinds of hopes that all young people really have in their hearts for themselves, and particularly for their friends and their neighbors.

Now, having said these very serious things, let me say a word about where you are standing. How many of you are married? The teacher? These are the steps, when we have a state visit, for example, when we had Mrs. Gandhi here, the Prime Minister of India, and President Tito and the prime ministers of other countries, we receive them out here on the lawn, and then after we review the troops and the rest, then we walk up these steps and then stand on that balcony and get a picture taken for television. So, you are standing on the steps where prime ministers and presidents and kings and emperors stand.

But even more important, when I asked how many of you are married, these are the steps where I went through perhaps the most difficult experience since I have been President. This is where I had Tricia on my arm when I walked down the steps, where she was married over in the Rose Garden. So, you are standing on the marriage steps at the White House. I just wanted you to know that.

Finally, with regard to your trip through the White House today, you are going to get a special tour. Just pick up anything that is not nailed down. That is not much.

But I recommend all the rooms. There are very famous rooms here, of course, but particularly, take a look at the Red Room.

The Red Room has just been redecorated. It is a very famous room. A decorator has indicated—for those of you who are interested in decorations—I noted in one of our papers here, that the Red Room today is considered to be the finest room of its type in the world. Now that is quite a high compliment to pay to any room in the United States because, you know, we are sort of supposed to be behind the Europeans or the Asians or others in some areas in this particular thing. So if you are interested in that, the Red Room is there for you to see, and you will be among the first visitors to have a chance to look at it.

But having said all of these things, we have enjoyed having you here. We hope you enjoy your visit to Washington, your visit through the White House. And now, let's get that picture so you can have that to take home.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:59 a.m. at the South Portico at the White House.

The President had invited the class to the White House during a conversation with a member of the class, Andrew Curtis, at the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts on Friday evening, November 19, 1971.

367 Message to the Senate Transmitting the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties. *November 22, 1971*

To the Senate of the United States:

I am transmitting herewith, for the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties signed for the United States on April 24, 1970. The Convention is the outcome of many years of careful preparatory work by the International Law Commission, followed by a two-session conference of 110 nations convened under United Nations auspices in 1968 and 1969. The conference was the sixth in a series called by the General Assembly of the United Nations for the purpose of encouraging the progressive development and codification of international law.

The growing importance of treaties in the orderly conduct of international relations has made increasingly evident the need for clear, well-defined, and readily ascertainable rules of international law applicable to treaties. I believe that the codification of treaty law formulated by representatives of the international community and embodied in the Vienna Convention meets this need.

The international community as a whole will surely benefit from the adoption of uniform rules on such subjects as the conclusion and entry into force of treaties, their interpretation and application, and other technical matters. Even more significant, however, are the orderly procedures of the Convention for dealing with needed adjustments and changes in treaties, along with its strong reaffirmation of the basic principle *pacta sunt servanda*—the rule that treaties are binding on the parties and must be performed in good faith. The provisions on judicial settlement, arbitration and conciliation, including the possibility that a dispute concerning a peremptory norm of international law can be referred to the International Court of Justice, should do much to enhance the stability of treaty relationships throughout the world.

I am enclosing the report of the Secretary of State, describing the provisions of the Convention in detail.

The Vienna Convention can be an important tool in the development of international law. I am pleased to note that it has been endorsed by the House of Delegates of the American Bar Association and I urge the Senate to give its advice and consent to ratification.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
November 22, 1971

NOTE: The text of the convention and the report of the Secretary of State are printed in Senate Executive L (92d Cong., 1st sess.).

368 Letter to the Chairman of the Senate Committee on Armed Services About United States Troops in Europe. *November* 23, 1971

Dear John:

This week the Senate will once again consider a proposal to make a substantial unilateral reduction in United States Armed Forces maintained in Europe for the common defense. I believe passage of such a measure would be a great mistake.

The manifest Congressional concern for a more equitable sharing of defense burdens in Europe and elsewhere has been a significant factor in the formulation of our national policy. We are currently in the final stages of talks to establish improved arrangements for the sharing of the defense burden in Europe, including an agreement with West Germany to offset nearly two billion dollars of United States costs, and the second phase of the European Defense Improvement Program, to be finalized at the NATO meeting beginning December 8.

In the area of East-West relations, we expect that Mr. Brosio will be received in Moscow next week to begin discussions on basic issues in Mutual Balanced Force Reductions. At the same time, the Berlin negotiations have entered the final and most difficult stage. As you know, we are also making significant progress in the SALT negotiations.

Passage of the proposed troop cut would, with one stroke, diminish Western military capability in Europe and signal to friend and adversary alike a disarray and weakness of purpose in the American Government.

We are now preparing to undertake vitally important new initiatives for peace in two great capitals of the world. If these initiatives are to gain positive results in the months and years ahead, I must be able to rely on the firm support and the substantial and creative contribution of a bipartisan Congress. I believe that this ill-timed measure should be rejected, and that our efforts should be directed toward the positive tasks and the great opportunities for achieving a real peace that lie before us.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

RICHARD NIXON

[Honorable John C. Stennis, United States Senate, Washingon, D.C. 20510]

369 Message to the Congress Transmitting First Annual Report on the Coal Mine Health Program. *November 23, 1971*

To the Congress of the United States:

I am pleased to submit to the Congress the first annual report on health matters covered by the Federal Coal Mine Health and Safety Act of 1969.

The report covers the implementation of the health program during its first year of operation under this act. This program has been carried out by the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. The report provides a compendium of health standards, medical specifications, research and public health information activities from December 30, 1969 through December 31, 1970.

Highlighted in this document are the health regulations promulgated under the act, the status of the medical and industrial hygiene research projects, specific health standard recommendations to control and eliminate occupational disease, and proposed research for the future.

It is encouraging to note that as of December 31, 1970, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare approved 398 Coal Mine Operator Plans in which the company is providing an opportunity for confidential medical examinations at no cost to the miner. These plans applied to nearly 76,000 underground miners. Concurrently, 440 physicians sought and obtained certification to participate in the reading of chest roentgenograms. Contracts have also been made by the Public Health Service with medical organizations to provide for chest x-rays of coal miners in seven States at the mines where operators have not submitted such plans, and additional contracts are now being obtained for the remaining 14 States which have underground coal mining operations. A comprehensive research program has been established to develop criteria necessary to set optimal health standards. The Department of Health, Education and Welfare is moving rapidly to further refine health and safety standards and to assist the Department of the Interior in the implementation of this act.

I commend this report to the attention of the Congress.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
November 23, 1971

NOTE: The 92-page report is entitled "Health Program of the Federal Coal Mine Health and Safety Act of 1969; 1970 Annual Report."

370 Remarks to Members of the Washington Redskins Professional Football Team During a Practice Session at Redskins Park. *November* 23, 1971

I KNOW you fellows probably wonder why I came out here today. I told George, who used to coach at Whittier, my alma mater, years after I left there, and was one of the great small college coaches in the country—that's how the Bears finally discovered him—I said, "You know, I won't be coming to a game till you need me."

When I have talked to George, and sometimes after games I have called him, he said, "When are you coming out?" I said, "Well, I will be out there one day." Well, I just wanted all of you to know that after you lost that game, which I did see on television Sunday, I thought I would just come out to the practice. It is my own idea. George didn't invite me.

But I came out to tell you a couple of things that, to a lot of old pros, probably don't need to be said. But I am sort of an old pro, too, in my business. In the first place, I just want you to know this whole city is very proud of you.

I, speaking as one who heard a few of those boos—and I have heard a few myself in my lifetime—but I heard a few, the great majority of the people of this town are back of this team. You have been good for this city. The city needed to have a team that was winning.

I want you to know that as far as I am concerned—and I think this is true of most of us; you find this hard to believe sometimes because you always think, "Well, they are only with us when we are up, and they are not with us when we are down"—but as far as I am concerned, as I told George after you lost that Kansas City game, and I say the same thing after this game with Dallas, I am just as proud of what you did and what you are when you have lost as when you have won.

Now, I would not say that except for something that has really impressed me about the team, something I really watch for, and all you guys will understand this. I guess I can introduce this best by telling you a rather amusing incident that occurred when I went out to Bart Starr night. They gave him an evening, George, out at Green Bay a couple of years ago.[1]

COACH GEORGE ALLEN. We played the Packers that day.

THE PRESIDENT. Right. That is right, you played them. You were in the audience.

On that occasion, I was talking to big Henry Jordan,[2] who is, you know, quite good, or at least was a great defensive fellow, and also good with the words. And I said, "Henry, what makes the pros play?" He said, "Money."

"But," I said, "you fellows wouldn't go out there and give everything like that just because of money." He said, "Well, that counts a lot."

But then the thing that impressed me was this—of course, doing well, getting into the playoffs, making some money, I know that all means a lot. This is your

---

[1] Bart Starr, who was quarterback for the Green Bay Packers professional football team, was honored at a testimonial reception in Green Bay, Wis., on October 17, 1970. See 1970 volume, Item 359.

[2] Former defensive tackle for the Green Bay Packers.

profession, you want to do your best, and naturally you want to be paid well, and you should be. But I know, too, that you would not go out there and take this punishment and keep giving and giving and giving unless it was for something else, too, and Henry Jordan, of course, would be the first to admit it.

It used to be said that there was spirit only in the college ranks, and there is a lot in the college ranks and the high school ranks, I know. We used to feel awfully bad when we lost the games and awfully good when we won them. But there is also a great spirit in the pro ranks, and that brings me to my point here:

This team, when it lost to Kansas City, and when it lost to Dallas, physically you took a lot of beating and you gave a lot of beating, but from the standpoint of spirit, you still had it. You went into the game with spirit and I noticed right to the last you still had it at the end. So right at this time, when you are a half a game behind Dallas—and let me say the sincerity of my remarks is proved by the fact that there are no votes in Washington, there are a lot in Texas—but you are a half game behind Dallas, but I will go out on a limb and predict, and I have been pretty good in the field of sports, this team is going to get to the playoffs.

I am not suggesting whether you are going to do it by winning the division or whether it is going to be in that wild card or whatever the case might be. You are going to get in, and I believe you are going to get in because I think out of these next four games you are going to win three out of all four, and that will do it.

The reason you are going to do it is because, first, you are experienced and you are real pros, you are real great. Second, you have got the physical ability. There is no question about that. I have watched enough football to know. But third, and more important, you have got that ingredient of spirit. You really care. You want to win, and you are willing to give everything you can to see that you come back from a few, two or three, bad weeks.

I will just put it this way: What really—and you have heard this; this must sound like Allen talking to you; but you have heard this from your college coaches and your high school coaches, and you hear it from the rest, but I have always said that in life, whether it is in the game of politics where you win some and you lose some, whether it is in the game of sports or business, there are a lot more that lose than win, whatever the case might be—what really proves that a person or a team or a country has it is not when it is winning and everybody is with it and everybody is cheering it on, but when it has lost one and then it does not lose its spirit, it comes back, it comes back and goes on to win. I think this team has got it. I think you have the spirit. I think that you are going to go on and be a winner this year.

As far as I am concerned, however, win or lose in these games, you have already won for this city because of what you have done for it, the spirit that you have displayed, this great effort that you have been responsible for through this year.

I will just close it by one other little reference to history. I follow Allen because of my old association at Whittier, and then, of course, when I was in Los Angeles I was a Ram fan. I am, still, whenever I am in Los Angeles, I can assure you—except when you come there.

But anyway, I have noted that some of the sports writers say, "Well, you know, Allen is a rah-rah guy and he thinks it is

all the spirit," but uh-uh, Allen is a perfectionist, as you fellows know. He insists on talent. He believes that the fellows should be paid for it—and they should be, properly—but he also knows, and Henry Jordan would be the first to admit, that it just isn't talent, it isn't physical ability, but that spirit makes a great difference in whether you win or lose.

My little story involves General Pershing. He was not—as many of you who studied history know—was not one of the great intellectuals among our military leaders, but he did write an autobiography, and I read it, oh, a couple of years ago, 3 or 4 years ago. In his autobiography, he was telling about the hardest decision he had during World War I.

Here came the new American army over there, you know, and all these divisions that came out of the National Guard and the rest, and they were pretty pitiful and pretty pitifully led, and Pershing said the hardest thing he had to do was to go in and change the commanders of divisions, commanders who were his classmates, but who really couldn't hack it when it came to leading a division on the Western Front in that period of World War I.

He said he went to see a man who had been one of his best friends. The division had taken a terrible beating over the past 3 or 4 weeks, and Pershing had ordered an attack the next week. He met the commander of that division, his old friend, in a tent there at the division headquarters. When he was talking to the commander, the commander looked very, very depressed, and he said, "General, I'm sorry, my division can't carry out that order." He said, "My men are tired. My men are discouraged. Their morale is shot. They simply can't go on the attack next week."

Pershing said to him, "General, your men aren't tired. Their morale isn't shot. They aren't discouraged. You're tired. Your morale is shot. You're discouraged. You go back to Paris and take a rest."

He replaced him with another general. That division, within 3 weeks, was one of the best on the whole Western Front.

I just want to say this: that there is no question as far as this group is concerned. I could tell at the end of the game against Dallas, and the one against Kansas City. Oh, you might have been a bit tired, but there was nothing wrong with your morale, nothing wrong with your spirit.

And I am sure that George Allen, who is somewhat like the general in this instance, would be the first to say that there is nothing wrong with his morale or his spirit either.

I will just conclude it by telling you, I was mighty proud of you when you were winning, and I am just as proud of you when you have lost. I would like to have a reservation for the playoffs.

UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER. Gee, if this gets in the wind, think what it would do to the Senators.[3]

THE PRESIDENT. The Senators? It would not help. You know, it is an interesting thing. In baseball—there is a very great difference between the two; in football, spirit, morale, is half the game—in baseball it doesn't make all that much difference. It may make that difference with an individual player, you know, like the pitcher is either up or down. But in baseball, spirit and morale is important, but not decisive. It is on an individual basis. You don't get the baseball team all together and say, "Look, fellows, let's get

[3] Washington Senators professional baseball team.

out there and let's go." You know you don't do that. Any manager will tell you.

If, for example, a guy isn't hitting, he isn't going to hit. And you can't say, "Look, Harmon, you are in a slump here; get out there and hit today." They are always trying to hit. You see, it is man against man.

But in football, it is a very contagious thing. It is a team effort, and if the team has a feeling of being up, then it has got, I would say, a 50 percent better chance today to win, because in this game of pro football, too, they are all good. In any week, almost any team in pro football can beat another team, almost any team. I mean you catch teams like Atlanta—they have a lot of talent. Philadelphia has got talent, all the rest. That is why you can't assume that the Vikings are always going to win. You can't assume, frankly, that the Cowboys will.

That is why this team still has a very good chance to get in the playoffs, in my opinion, because they have lots of talent, but most important, and this is the history of Allen-coached teams, this team is not going to lose its spirit because of a couple of losses.

Allen has a great ability to keep that old spirit and morale up. I think, also, this is a bunch of pros who have lost some and won a lot, and they are not going to lose it.

As long as they have the spirit—that is the thing I really note—as long as they still have it here, in their hearts, they are going to do all right.

Also, all teams have had their injury problems, but the Redskins have had more than their share. Look what a difference it would make, for example, if Charley Taylor had been in these last four games. They would have won them all. You see, McNeil has not played with the team enough, so you don't have a wide receiver down there, you know, that big threat. If Taylor had been in there!

And then, when you look at Larry Brown, now he was really playing. He didn't have as sharp a cut as he usually has when he was playing on Sunday. Harraway was really not up to par. And basically, when Brown or Harraway are going, so you gain 150 to 200 yards. When they are injured, you gain 60 yards. That puts an enormous amount of pressure on the passer.

So, my feeling is that as this team gets well, at the end of the year, for example, if Smith—you see, they also need that tight end to throw to; Dowler is terrific, but Dowler doesn't play the whole game—and if you get Smith back in the game, that is going to make a great difference. So, if you get Smith back, then for the playoffs you get Taylor—you get Smith back, you get Taylor back, you get Brown and Harraway well, and Petitbon back, because on the defense, of course, they missed him a lot; the other fellow played well, but they had to kind of screen him a bit—but if they get those fellows back in the playoffs, the Redskins will be very, very tough.

NOTE: The President spoke at approximately 2 p.m. at the Park near Dulles Airport in Loudoun County, Va.

The Redskins football players to whom the President referred were: Charley Taylor, wide receiver, Clifton McNeil, wide receiver, Larry Brown, running back, Charley Harraway, running back, Jerry Smith, tight end, Boyd Dowler, tight end, and Richie Petitbon, safety.

371 Statement Proposing Federal Acquisition of Big Cypress Swamp, Florida, for a National Reserve. *November* 23, 1971

ABOUT 35 miles west of Miami lies the Big Cypress Swamp, a unique ecological preserve of paramount importance to the future of southern Florida. In order to protect Big Cypress Swamp from private development that would destroy it, and to insure its survival for future generations, it is now essential for the Federal Government to acquire this unique and vital watershed. I will, therefore, propose legislation to acquire the requisite legal interest in 547,000 acres of the swamp.

The end of Big Cypress Swamp would not only severely cut back south Florida's water supply but would also mean the destruction of the Everglades National Park—and with it the loss of a treasure trove of natural resources, teeming with flowering plants, rare birds, and other forms of uncommon and endangered wildlife. The swamp's huge stands of cypress, wet prairies, and slightly higher islands of pine trees are together an essential link in the ecology of both Everglades National Park and the rich Floridian estuaries of the Gulf of Mexico. Animals and birds move between the park and the swamp without knowledge of the artificial borders drawn by man.

This land acquisition will mark the fourth time this Administration has taken steps to protect the unique natural resources of south Florida. First was the halting of the commercial jetport proposed in Big Cypress, which would have wrought irretrievable damage to the area. The pledge to locate the jetport elsewhere has given us time to examine again alternative plans for the survival of the swamp. Second, through the 1970 rivers and harbors act, the eastern portion of Everglades National Park has, for the first time, been assured an adequate supply of water. Third, by legal action, the Administration has halted the threat of destruction from thermal pollution to Biscayne National Monument, one of the newest units of the national park system, thus assuring the preservation of an important ecosystem next door to Miami.

My decision today is intended to secure the future not only of the Big Cypress but also of an adequate water supply for the western part of Everglades National Park. This action will also assure an adequate water supply to the growing communities on Florida's west coast, because the swamp is a natural water storage area.

To guarantee the continued availability of Big Cypress to the people, I propose that, upon acquisition of those private lands whose development would destroy the watershed, the Secretary of the Interior be authorized to enter into an agreement with the State of Florida for the management of Big Cypress. The State is in the process of acquiring other public areas nearby and is the logical agency to provide single, unified management. The Nation, as a whole, will benefit through the protection of Everglades National Park and through the addition of another major wildlife haven and recreation area.

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released a fact sheet and the transcript of a news briefing by Secretary of the Interior Rogers C. B. Morton on the proposed acquisition.

372 Letter Directing the Attorney General To Seek Injunctive Relief in the Atlantic and Gulf Coasts Dock Strikes. *November* 25, 1971

Dear Mr. Attorney General:

On October 4, 1971, by virtue of the authority vested in me by Section 206 of the Labor Management Relations Act, 1947 (29 U.S.C. 176), I issued Executive Order No. 11621, as amended October 5, 1971 [Executive Order 11622]. This Order created a Board of Inquiry to inquire into the issues involved in longshore disputes affecting ports on the Atlantic, Gulf, and Pacific Coasts, and in the Great Lakes Port of Chicago.

On October 6, 1971, I received the Board's written report in the matter, and on November 25, 1971, I received a supplemental report which indicates that there is little chance of a prompt settlement in the disputes on the Atlantic and Gulf Coasts. A copy of this report is attached.

In my opinion these unresolved labor disputes have resulted in strikes affecting a substantial part of the maritime industry of the United States, an industry that is engaged in trade, commerce, transportation, transmission or communication among the several States and with foreign nations. These strikes, if permitted to continue, will imperil the national health and safety.

Therefore, in order to remove this peril and to secure a resumption of trade, commerce, transportation, transmission or communication among the several States and with foreign nations, I direct you, at this time, pursuant to the provisions of Section 208 of the Labor Management Act, 1947 (29 U.S.C. 178), to petition in the name of the United States in any District Court of the United States having jurisdiction of the parties to enjoin the continuance of such strikes at ports on the Atlantic and Gulf Coasts and for such other relief as may in your judgment be necessary or appropriate.

Sincerely,

RICHARD NIXON

[The Honorable John N. Mitchell, The Attorney General, Washington, D.C.]

NOTE: The text of the letter was released at San Clemente, Calif.

An announcement of the President's request for the supplementary report was made by Press Secretary Ronald L. Ziegler at his regular news briefing at the White House on November 24, 1971, and is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 7, p. 1562).

373 Thanksgiving Day Message to the Armed Forces. *November* 25, 1971

THANKSGIVING is a time of summing up in America—a time to count our blessings, a time to express both as one people and as individuals our thanks for those blessings.

All Americans can be grateful for what they have received—for the rich bounty of a free nation. But some Americans can also be thankful for the knowledge that they have given—that they have contrib-

uted to the sum of this Nation's blessings.

None have contributed more to America than our servicemen. All of us have enjoyed freedom, but you have stood ready to fight for it—you have protected it. And so, in this special time when we give thanks to God, we give thanks to you as well for helping to preserve what God has given us.

Mrs. Nixon and I extend our warmest wishes to each of you on this Thanksgiving Day and throughout the year.

NOTE: The message was released at San Clemente, Calif.

374 Remarks at the Dedication of the Eisenhower Memorial Hospital, Eisenhower Medical Center, Palm Desert, California. *November* 27, 1971

Mrs. Eisenhower, Vice President and Mrs. Agnew, Governor and Mrs. Reagan, President and Mr. Hope [laughter],[1] *all of the very distinguished guests who are here on the platform and who are here in the audience:*

When one studies the history of civilizations, he finds that one of the most difficult problems every society has is to find an appropriate way to honor their great men. Sometimes a statue is built. Sometimes a building is named, a street, many appropriate ways have been found.

In the case of President Eisenhower, so many ways would have been appropriate. Here was a man who in the whole history of war led the greatest armies to the greatest victory and so he could have been a man on horseback—a military statue, that could have been his memorial.

But, as the Vice President has so eloquently said, this is the most appropriate way to honor this man. It is what he would have wanted.

I recall, as Mrs. Eisenhower will, those last days in Walter Reed. And while physcially he became weaker and weaker, mentally and spiritually he was stronger and stronger. I remember right to the last, where he wanted to go more than anyplace else in the world was back to Palm Springs. Oh, he loved Burning Tree and he loved Augusta and all the other places where he played golf, but his heart was here, here because of this place, the people that he knew.

And so from a personal standpoint, the man honored by this building, this institution, would have wanted it right here in this place, the place he loved so much.

But then, as we look at it in other terms, we find that President Eisenhower was a unique history figure, unique in the sense that he was a great leader in war—considering the size of wars, the greatest in history because of the armies that he led to victory—but also he had the opportunity, and met that challenge so well, to lead in peace. As President of the United States, he ended a war and kept America out of war for 8 years, and that is a great legacy for a man.

So this magnificent building behind us, the first of a number that eventually, probably, will be built here, memorializes this man who was a victor in war, but this man whose greatest contribution was to

[1] Mrs. Bob Hope was president of the board of trustees of the Eisenhower Medical Center.

peace. And so this institution will be here to preserve life, not to destroy it, and that is what he would have liked and that is the way that we, very appropriately, honor him on this occasion and in the years ahead.

As we dedicate this building, I would finally suggest that we dedicate ourselves to the great challenges that lie ahead. We enter what we hope may be a period in which the United States can be at peace, not just for a few years, but perhaps for a generation; perhaps longer.

Building a generation of peace or a century of peace is, of course, a great task. But how we use that peace, what we do with it, is equally a very great challenge. We must see that America is physically healthy. This building and the men and women who will work in it will contribute to that goal.

We must see that America is economically healthy, and that means building a kind of prosperity that depends on peace and not on war; the kind of prosperity that we last had in 1955 and '56, when President Eisenhower was President.

And finally, building a people and a nation that is morally and spiritually healthy. The Eisenhower legacy speaks to that great challenge as it does to the others.

And so on this occasion, we as Americans, thinking of one of our great men, thinking of this institution that honors him, dedicate ourselves to the tasks ahead: of building a strong, healthy, vigorous America; meeting the challenge of building a world of peace for us, and for all people in the world.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:44 a.m. at the hospital building.

Land for the Medical Center was donated by Mr. and Mrs. Hope, and funds for the nonprofit hospital were given by trustees and friends of the hospital. The hospital was the initial stage of a medical complex that will include research and teaching facilities.

On November 26, 1971, the White House released a fact sheet on the hospital.

375 Statement in Connection With the Dedication of the Eisenhower Memorial Hospital. *November 27, 1971*

IN THE COURSE of future history, it will become increasingly difficult to separate the legacy of Dwight Eisenhower from his legend. The dividing line will be marked, for the most part, by such concrete examples of what he sought for America and what he inspired men to create for America as the Eisenhower Medical Center rising on the sands at Palm Desert, California.

The first part of this great Center, the Eisenhower Hospital, now stands completed. It is the cornerstone of a facility where research and training will go on in the constant effort to insure that the health of our people reflects the wealth of our Nation.

This is the purpose of this Center as it is the larger purpose of the health program proposed by this Administration.

This program is based on the belief that our Government and our people, business and labor, the health insurance industry, and the health profession can work together in a national partnership to achieve our health objectives.

Last February, I proposed to the Congress a comprehensive health program

71-234—72——75

designed to continue and expand the recently developed Government role of financing care for the helpless and needy, while leaving largely to the private sector the task and responsibility of providing such care.

We proposed the National Health Insurance Partnership which would provide financing of health care for all American families.

We have proposed improvements in the Medicare program, which would offer significant advantages to the aged who would no longer have to pay premiums out of their reduced incomes after retirement.

Last August, I announced an eight-point program designed to improve the quality of life for the elderly who must rely on the care provided in the nursing homes of our country. Both Houses of Congress have held hearings on my appropriation request for this program and we are making rapid strides in its implementation.

Last week, I signed into law the comprehensive health manpower training act of 1971 and the Nurse Training Act of 1971. These acts follow substantially the recommendations I made to the Congress last February—and they constitute the most comprehensive health manpower legislation to train doctors, dentists, nurses, and others in the Nation's history.

But legislation is only a first step. These new programs must now be adequately funded and effectively carried out. We have asked the Congress for a new supplemental appropriation for health manpower programs which would bring overall spending for training health workers in the current fiscal year to $530 million, a level which is $100 million higher than in fiscal year 1971.

In a major new initiative to combat the scourge of cancer, I requested, and the Congress has appropriated, an additional $100 million for cancer research. Along with this we have proposed a new organizational arrangement that will vastly improve the effectiveness of the cancer abatement effort.

Last week, I asked all Americans to join with me in a commitment to two national goals:

—to reduce by half the occurrence of mental retardation in the United States before the end of this century, and

—to enable one-third of the more than 200,000 retarded persons in public institutions to return to useful lives in the community.

These two goals are realistic and achievable. We already have most of the knowledge and many of the techniques they will require, and the rest are within reach of research.

We have also made proposals to increase funding for family planning activities by over $60 million; to further research and development studies into the treatment, rehabilitation, and prevention of alcoholism and drug abuse; and to increase the effectiveness of occupational health and safety programs.

We have a very strong system of providing medical service in America, but it can be stronger, and it has to be.

The proposals we have submitted speak to the weaknesses of the present system. They assure that no American can be denied health care because of financial need, and that the promise of good health care and the expectation that the system can provide good health care will be met.

The Eisenhower Medical Center will be

a vital part of this Nation's effort to conquer illnesses that prevent men and women from living full lives.

It is one appropriate memorial to the memory of a man whose first value was life itself and the preservation of life, and it is a fitting reflection of this Nation's ongoing commitment to the well-being of our people.

NOTE: The statement was released at Palm Desert, Calif.

376 Joint Statement Announcing the Date of the President's Visit to the People's Republic of China. *November* 29, 1971

THE GOVERNMENT of the People's Republic of China and the Government of the United States of America have agreed that President Nixon's visit to China shall begin on February 21, 1972.

NOTE: The joint statement was read by Press Secretary Ronald L. Ziegler during his regular news briefing at the White House on November 29, 1971. The announcement was made simultaneously in Washington and Peking.

Excerpts from additional remarks by Mr. Ziegler in connection with the announcement read as follows:

I would like to say that preparations for President Nixon's visit continue to go well, and the general framework has been established. The February date, which I have just given to you, was agreed to when Dr. Kissinger was in Peking.

* * * * *

I would just recall for you the fact that when the joint announcement of the President's visit to Peking was made in July, [it] stated that the meetings between the leaders of China and the United States are being held to seek the normalization of relations between the two countries and also to exchange views on questions of concern to the two sides.

As the President has pointed out, . . . we shall try in the meetings with the leaders of the People's Republic of China to seek a new direction in our relationship between our two countries and to end the isolation of our two great peoples from each other.

On October 27, an announcement of the status of arrangements for the President's trip, following meetings in Peking between Premier Chou En-lai and Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, from October 20 to 26, was read by Mr. Ziegler at his regular news briefing at the White House. The announcement is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 7, p. 1453). On the same day, the White House also released the transcript of a news briefing by Dr. Kissinger on the meetings in Peking.

The transcript of a news briefing by Dr. Kissinger on the President's trip and on U.S. foreign policy was released by the White House on November 30 and is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 7, p. 1582).

A statement by Mr. Ziegler on the freeing of two American prisoners by the People's Republic of China was released by the White House on December 13 and is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 7, p. 1656).

On December 28, a joint announcement of plans for an advance party to visit the People's Republic of China to make technical arrangements for the President's visit was read by Deputy Press Secretary Gerald L. Warren during an afternoon news briefing at Key Biscayne, Fla. The announcement is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 8, p. 4).

377 Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report on the Trade Agreements Program for 1970. *December* 1, 1971

To the Congress of the United States:

In accordance with Section 402(a) of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962, I transmit herewith the Fifteenth Annual Report of the President on the Trade Agreements Program. This report covers the year 1970.

World trade in 1970 maintained a high rate of growth for the third successive year, reaching over $279 billion. In the case of the United States, exports rose by approximately 14 percent while imports were up 11 percent. While this performance yielded a merchandise trade surplus of over $2 billion as compared with $624 million and $660 million in 1968 and 1969, respectively, the improvement fell far short of the level required for the United States to restore a sound balance of payments position.

Throughout the year U.S. representatives actively sought the cooperation of our major trading partners in the reduction of barriers to U.S. exports and in other measures that would enable our products to compete with those of other countries in both the U.S. and the world market. Some progress was made, but certain very significant problems remained unsolved. Domestically, monetary and fiscal policies contributed to a deceleration in price increases, but in some of our major product lines U.S. producers were not able to retain their share of the market at home or internationally.

At the close of 1970, the outlook for U.S. trade involved a number of uncertainties. Domestically, the most basic element was our ability to make further progress toward price stability. Abroad, the prospects were not clear with regard to levels of economic activity and rates of inflation in a number of industrialized countries. One of the most basic unknowns was the extent to which our major trading partners would recognize the seriousness and urgency of greater international cooperation on monetary reforms and other measures to facilitate balance of payments adjustment.

While we had hoped that these uncertainties could be favorably resolved without unilateral action, this was not the case and by mid-1971 the United States, for the first time in this century, faced the prospect of a deficit in its balance of merchandise trade. To deal with this situation and to achieve interrelated domestic goals, the New Economic Program was launched on August 15. With the cooperation of other major economic powers, I am confident that the deterioration in our merchandise trade balance, which was threatening at the end of 1970 and which reached intolerable proportions in the spring of 1971, will be sufficiently improved that the present U.S. surcharge on imports can be removed.

This Administration remains firmly committed to the goal of expanding world trade through the further reduction of national barriers to imports, the development of more equitable rules to govern export competition in international markets, and the elimination of discriminatory measures by trade blocs. The Program instituted in August will contribute to our basic trade policy objective by providing essential interim support to the

domestic economy while more fundamental arrangements are being worked out to restore sound equilibrium with the rest of the world.

Improvement of the world trade and monetary systems has been given a high priority by this Administration. The United States stands ready to do its fair share in international efforts to achieve these ends. We expect other governments to respond with a similar sense of responsibility in the interest of promoting prosperity and amicable economic relations throughout the world.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
December 1, 1971

NOTE: The 37-page report is entitled "Fifteenth Annual Report of the President of the United States on the Trade Agreements Program—1970."

378 Remarks to the National 4–H Congress in Chicago, Illinois. *December 1, 1971*

Mr. Chairman, all of the distinguished honorees, and all of those attending this Golden Anniversary Congress of 4–H:

I want all of you to know what a great inspiration it is for me to be here, to see you, to hear you, to see the young people that represent all of America.

As I was doing a little homework before coming out here, I found some interesting things about 4–H. I suppose, like most people, I had the idea that 4–H was almost exclusively an organization with its interest in agriculture and farming.

4–H was born on the soil. 4–H has its roots in the soil. But as you know, approximately 35 percent of your members are from farm communities and 65 percent of your members are from smaller towns, larger towns, and even large cities.

Another thing that is very interesting about this organization is that you are all winners. I found that out by going into the background. I knew that I would have the privilege of presenting these beautiful silver trays to the six winners that have been picked from all over the country, but I understand that everyone who is here, of the 3,000 attending this meeting, has been recognized as an achiever or as a winner in his own community or in his State. I congratulate a group of winners, the largest group of winners I ever saw, here in 4–H.

Another thing that I found in studying the background of this organization is that you come from all the 50 States, and that insofar as your age group is concerned, it represents what we generally refer to as the teens—the lower teens, the middle teens, and the like.

After reading all of that information, I had to make a decision about what to talk about, and, naturally, the first inclination would be to talk about agriculture. It is an extremely interesting subject; it is vitally important. At this particular time in our Nation's history, it is essential that America continue the great strides we have made forward in productivity in agriculture. Because while we hear of problems of competing with nations abroad in terms of other technologies, in agriculture America leads the world, and because we do lead the world, it means that only 5 percent of America's people can produce enough to feed and clothe all the people of

America, and to provide very much for people abroad when they are in need.

This, of course, is something that needs to be said, and those who come from the community of agriculture can be very proud of what American farmers, people in agriculture, have done for this country and for the world. And yet, as I thought further about the problem, I realized that you were a broader group simply than one interested in agriculture.

You are interested in all of America, because you come from all of America—you come from the cities and the towns and the farms. And because the America of the future will be yours and what you make it, you, therefore, I think, would like whoever appears before you—and particularly one who appears in the capacity that I do, as President of the United States, President of all the people—you would like to have me address you not as a narrow, special-interest group, but as young people representing the young people of America.

I would like to do that today. I would like to say some things that I have been wanting to say for a long time to a young audience, a young audience representative of the whole country. You are that audience, and that is why I have chosen this forum for the purpose of saying these things.

I am going to begin with a proposition that perhaps is a little different from what you sometimes hear. It seems to be somewhat the fashion for a speaker speaking to a young group to point out what a terrible time this is to be growing up in America—the problem of a war, the problem of environment, the problem of jobs, all the other things that we see and that we hear about. There are many problems. I am keenly aware of them. I think about them a great deal, as you might imagine, just as you think about them a great deal.

But then I tried to put myself back a few years, many, many years, when I was as young as you are, and I thought of what I thought about America then. I thought it was a great country.

At that time, particularly as I entered the twenties of my life, America was in a depression. But I looked to the future with hope, because I realized that whatever our problems were, that this country, our country, could solve them, that this was the place that I would choose to live if I had to make a choice of all the countries in the world. I believed that then, and I believe it now.

I want to tell you why I think you should believe it, believe it very, very deeply today, not with any Pollyannaish statement in which we cover up those things that are wrong about our country and wrong about this world, and not with any statements in which we downgrade the great dangers that we confront in the world, but just laying it on the line like it is, the kind of America you are in today, the kind of America you can make tomorrow, the kind of a world we can have, particularly you can have, by the end of this century, in the year 2000, when we celebrate a new year that comes only once in a thousand years.

One of the reasons that I speak in optimistic terms is this: Just to stand before this great assembly of young leaders and young achievers, as you are, to feel your idealism, your commitment to excellence, is to stand on the threshold of the brightest future the world has ever known. I believe that.

You are coming to maturity at a time which history will remember as a great period of emancipation for young Ameri-

cans. Your generation has the opportunity to participate more fully in the American adventure than young people have ever been able to do since Revolutionary times 200 years ago.

You can remember those days as you read them in history. How stirring they were. More than half the population of America at the beginning were less than 20 years of age. The cause of liberty was the cause of youth and of age alike. Citizens belonged not to this or that generation; they belonged to America. Hamilton in his late teens emerged as the leading voice for independence in the State of New York. Jefferson at 33 authored the Declaration of Independence. Sixteen other patriots in their thirties, three in their twenties, Franklin at 70, the old man of the group, joined Jefferson as signers of the Declaration of Independence.

That was the young America at the time of our birth. Then, in the course of two centuries, things changed. They changed radically. In the 1950's, when you were born, generational stereotyping and pigeonholing by age groups became all too common. Most young people in those years went intensely and quietly about the ordinary task of just growing up. Some of the young in those years, in the fifties, however, went underground into a Bohemian subculture. It is obvious now that older people at that time should have been asking why, but few bothered to ask why that was the case. It was so much easier then just to tag one group as "the silent generation" and the other "the beat generation" and just leave it at that.

Then suddenly in the sixties everything seemed to go to the other extreme. A new breed of young men and women shook the Nation. They wrote a record dominated by remarkable good but also shadowed with ominous wrong—civil rights laws on the one side, urban riots on the other; campus reform and academic anarchy; a war against aggression in Asia, a war against the war in the streets of America; a surge of participation in politics and a wave of terrorist bombings; a rich new diversity in life-styles and a grim new plague of drug abuse—all of these side by side in that stirring decade of the sixties.

All in all, it was a time when youth reached vigorously for a new role as full partners in American society. The result was monumental, and yet the cost in disruption and alienation seemed almost prohibitively high.

Why was the record of the youth movement only mixed in the sixties, when it should have been magnificent? It was only mixed because it took the form of an outside force, rather than of integrated, individual participation in the larger society. It was forced into that form by the rigid generational walls erected in American attitudes and institutions over the years. Its frustrations and its excesses arose in large part from the painful experience of battering against those walls—an experience that dramatized the need to sweep them away once and for all.

And so came the end of the sixties, and Americans awoke to several important realizations. They saw that to regard a person's date of birth as more important than his own unique individuality is to indulge in the insidious bigotry called age-ism. They saw that it is wasteful, stupid, and unjust to restrict the generations in a narrow structure in which those in the middle of life would monopolize the centers of power, while the young would plod along in apprenticeship or chafe in alienation, and the aged would draw social security, preferably well out of sight.

They saw that it was time to pull down the generational stereotypes—involved, hip, silent, beat, lost—and to raise a new standard of brotherhood, tolerance, and mutual respect between those generations.

As these new attitudes have taken hold, young America has passed from its stormy night of recent years into what I believe will be a bright new morning.

College turmoil has subsided sharply—not in resignation, but in wisdom. High schools, young working people—the next declared target of the radicals—have not caught fire as they were expected to. Opinion surveys have detected a rising disgust with political radicalism, even in strongholds of the counterculture.

Most of you in this great audience are not only witnesses to these developments, you are leaders in them. You could not be leaders in a more important cause. For the more convincingly the young majority demonstrates its resilience and levelheadedness, the faster you will find the so-called Establishment responding to your hopes, opening to your aspirations.

The young in America are no longer going to be treated as a mass or a bloc in this country—neither as a generation apart nor as a generation idolized. You deserve better than that. And you will have better, for America is rapidly moving to take you, the young, into full partnership as individuals in our society.

Your country knows how much it needs you, and we are proving that, not just with talk but with action.

We need your voice, first, in the political process, as soon as you are prepared for that trust—and that should not take 21 years of your life. That is why I was able last July to certify passage in record time of the 26th Amendment lowering the voting age to 18.

We need your abilities, your insights, in the making of public policy. And that is why I have directed departments in the Federal Government and agencies throughout the executive branch of the Government to recruit young talent and to hear young ideas. That is why I have brought an unprecedented number of men and women in their twenties into positions of trust on the White House Staff.

We need your energies in the urgent work of helping the less fortunate across America and in other lands. That is why we have moved to expand and improve the Peace Corps and VISTA programs by merging them into a form of [a] new volunteer service agency, ACTION.

That is why we have initiated the University Year for ACTION to draw thousands of young people into this new effort. And that is why we have also worked outside government to make voluntarism a vital force in the independent sector—so that every single American who wants to serve his fellow man can have an avenue for doing so.

Young people today, every survey shows, are more generously committed to human betterment through voluntary service than any generation before you. Your own work in 4–H has shown what mountains that commitment can move. I urge you to redouble it, to share it, to maintain it throughout your lives.

Very few of you will enter government as a full-time activity. But whatever your jobs may be outside of government, I would ask that each of you make a commitment now to pledge a part of your time to volunteer service for your community throughout your lives. It will be worthwhile.

We need to be sure that you are free to shape your own career along the lines that

will provide maximum fulfillment for you in adult life. That is why we have reformed the draft to reduce the uncertainty and duration of its pressures on young men. That is why we are moving toward the goal of a zero draft, an all-volunteer armed force. That is why we have pressed for a new college loan system to insure that no qualified student in America who wants to go to college will be barred by lack of money. And that is why we are developing new career education and youth employment programs in recognition that something over half the college-age young do not go to college but do need salable skills, and they do need good jobs, and they should be prepared for those jobs with an education designed to do exactly that.

We need your ideas. We need them in the national debate on issues and goals and directions. That is why the 1971 White House Conference on Youth was different from any that had ever been held before, since they first began in 1909. It was a wide-open forum, run by young Americans, of them, and for them.

Since 1909, older people, as they have been meeting at these conferences, have done so at the President's invitation to talk about youth. Well, we felt that that kind of generational condescension was out of step with the seventies, so we turned the Conference over to the young people themselves—let us find out what they would tell us.

Now I am the first to tell you that not everything they did and not everything that they said lined up with my own point of view or with that of others in our Administration. But I totally recognize and I defend their right to say it. We need to hear it. We need to know what people, and particularly young people, want for the future of this country.

Certainly the time when the young are to be seen and not heard is gone in America—and gone for good.

More than 300 of the Conference's recommendations have just undergone 6 months of intensive review by the affected Federal agencies. When the results of that review are announced, the extent of agreement between Conference hopes and Government action will further weaken the myth of an unbridgeable generation gap and will further strengthen what the conferees called their sense of "kinship with persons of good will of all generations."

This sense of kinship, forged into a firm new alliance of the generations, will be essential if we are to seize the breathtaking opportunities opening up for America and the world in the coming decades.

The greatest of these opportunities is peace—peace not just for a few years but for a whole generation and beyond, something we have not had in this century. Such a peace, I believe, is coming, and the United States is leading the way.

We are concluding our involvement in the Vietnam war, and we are doing so in a way that is responsible, honorable, and constructive for the long-range stability of Asia and the Pacific region.

We have done and will continue to do all in our power to help defuse the explosive situations in the Middle East and the one that you are currently reading about in the Indian Subcontinent.

We have acted in an historic step to end the isolation of nearly one-quarter of all the world's people who live on Mainland China. We have moved from confrontation to negotiation with the Soviet Union, with limitation of nuclear arms, relaxation of tensions in Europe, increased trade among the possible results.

71-284—72——76

I know these meetings, particularly at the highest level, with the leaders of the Soviet Union and the leaders of the People's Republic of China may lead some to assume that the fact of a meeting means the end of differences between our systems and theirs.

That, of course, will not be the case; we have basic philosophical differences, basic foreign policy differences. But as we look down the road to the end of the century, what we have to realize is this: that with 250 million people in the Soviet Union and 750 million people in Mainland China, for the United States not to be in a position to talk to those leaders, in the event there is a confrontation some place in the world, could lead to a conflict which would mean suicide for both sides. And that is why we have taken these steps, so that when we do have differences—and we will have differences for many, many years to come—we will talk about them and not fight about them.

The world that is taking shape as a result will be far less dangerous, I believe, than the one you have grown up in, because you were born approximately at the end of the Korean war. You have lived much of your life through the Vietnam war, and now the question: What confronts you in the future?

I believe it will be less dangerous, but it will be even more challenging. Because as the danger of war recedes between great powers, the challenges of competition between nations living at peace with each other also greatly increases.

Political, economic, and military power will be concentrated in many centers instead of just a few. Look at the change, for example, since World War II. Immediately after that war, the United States had no competitors in the world. We produced half the world's goods with 7 percent of the world's people. And now, today, there are five potential economic giants in the world—the new Europe with England in the Common Market, the Soviet Union, Mainland China with 750 million people, and a resurgent Japan, not to mention, of course, the potential for the future from Latin America, Africa, and other parts of Asia.

So competition in the works of peace will be intense. America cannot maintain its position of leadership unless we work at the very best of our abilities, unless we bring the best out of our young as well as our older people. But there is something else that we should see about this world, something that I hope very much for you.

The world in which I have grown up has not been an open world, not an open world because so much of it was closed by curtains—iron curtains, bamboo curtains, call it what you will.

I want the world that you grow up in to be an open world—not a world without differences; that would be a very dull world—but an open world in which there will be a chance for anyone who wants to, to know the other people of the world.

Yours will be an open world, I believe, and it also will be quite literally a new world, one in which more than 60 new nations and 60 percent of the people living in the world came into being since World War II. It will be a world where America's fabulous economic and technological advances which have gone into war in generations past can be turned more fully to the service of mankind in the generation ahead.

And what an appealing idea to young people, with your idealism, to see that all of this tremendous capacity that America has—so much capacity to do so much for

good—is turned to the works of peace rather than the works of war, because then, when the manacles of war at last are struck off the hands of the American giant, think of what our potentialities will be.

Together we can work toward conquering hunger, poverty, disease, ignorance here in America where it does exist, and also even abroad. We can achieve a new birth of vitality in our democracy, our economy, our arts, and our culture. We can strike a new balance between quantity and quality in national growth, between dynamic cities and a healthy countryside in this wide land, with the heartland of this country revitalized, again contributing as it can and as it will to the growth and the balance of America.

We can rescue a threatened environment, a cause in which I know you are all so deeply interested, and form a higher partnership with nature. And we can truly build a new America in a new world.

That is why I said at the outset that the most exciting time and place to be young and to be alive, in all the record of mankind, is right here in America, now in the seventies.

From the very first, we have been a people who set high goals, we dreamed large dreams, we shared from the heart with our brother men. You all remember what Jefferson wrote when this was a weak country and a poor country. He said we act not just for ourselves alone, but for all mankind. It was presumptuous for him to say it then, because there wasn't much that that young, weak America could do about the problems of mankind. But because he said it, and because there was an idealism there, America did catch the imagination of the world.

But compare the situation now to then. If a Jefferson were to say today we act for all mankind, he could be believed, and believed because what sets these times apart from any earlier period in our history is that we now have not only the will to work miracles, but we have the means to achieve them. The heavy responsibilities of world leadership, the restless perfectionism that nags at our national life, I know these seem burdensome at times. Some of us must feel at times: Wouldn't it be well not to have all these responsibilities? Just live to ourselves as an island in the world and let the rest of the world go by.

It wouldn't be well. It wouldn't be good at all. We can feel tempted to complain about these things, but it is provincial and craven to do so. The power not merely of wishing good things but of doing good in the whole history of mankind has been granted sparingly to very few men and women and nations, and that power, in full measure, is what you have. It is destiny's great gift to the United States today—the power not only to wish good things but the power, if we organize, if we work, if we set our goals high enough, to do good things in America and abroad.

Generations before could yearn for peace. We can build peace, and we are. They could feel compassion for the oppressed, the destitute, the refugees of the earth. We can provide help for them surpassing all other nations, as we are.

For example, in the current tragic situation between India and Pakistan, the United States provides more help for the refugees there than all of the other nations of the world put together.

We should be thankful that we have that kind of ability and can help in that way. We could not do it unless America were the strong, economic, productive people that we are. Others could specu-

late about political, economic, and social systems that would set the human spirit free, but we can fashion such systems, and we are.

We can do these things, but now so much depends, really, on you—you who are so young, so full of idealism, with all those years ahead. How committed will you be?

Listen to Thoreau. He wrote, "Cast your whole vote, not a strip of paper merely, but your whole influence." You have the freedom, almost literally, to reach the stars, and with it comes the responsibility to stretch for them with all your might. Don't let your hearts grow earthbound, for the universe is out there waiting for you.

In the spring of 1968, when the first sweet taste of freedom came to Communist Czechoslovakia, a group of students marched to party headquarters at midnight and shouted for the reform leader, Alexander Dubcek, to confront them. They were impetuous and impatient—full of that young fire which our Youth Conference delegates called "the rage of love for . . . unimplemented principles . . . and . . . unfulfilled potential." Dubcek came down in the street to talk to the students, and one of them asked, "What are the guarantees that the old days will not be back?" He replied, "You, yourselves, are that guarantee; you, the young."

You know the rest of the story. The hopes of the Czechs for freedom met reversals, but the words of Dubcek are not less true for that. Here in America "the rage of love" has not burned out in young hearts. The flame is purer now, fed with new reason and realism.

Man's destiny of freedom is in your keeping; it is in your guarantee. And with a lifetime of adventure and promise before you, I have every confidence that that splendid destiny of America is in good keeping—and you will make good its guarantee.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:05 p.m. in the Conrad Hilton Hotel to the 50th national congress of the 4–H, which was sponsored by the National 4–H Service Committee.

The President, as honorary chairman of the National 4–H Service Committee, presented 4–H Presidential awards for achievement, citizenship, and leadership to Neal Nygard of Minot, N. Dak., Rachel Koontz of Fort Wayne, Ind., Deborah Bell of Sylvania, Ga., Willie Johnson of Chicago, Ill., Leland D. Jordan, Jr., of Shelbyville, Tenn., and Linda Miller of Morris, Okla.

Blaine J. Yarrington was chairman of the board of trustees of the National 4–H Service Committee.

An advance text of the President's remarks was released on the same day.

379 Remarks to the White House Conference on Aging. *December 2, 1971*

Dr. Flemming, Chief Justice Warren, all of the distinguished guests on the platform, and all of the distinguished delegates to this Conference:

First, I want you to know how very delighted we were to have you—2,700, I understand—as guests last night at the White House. As I came in by helicopter from Chicago, after speaking to the 4–H convention there, I saw many in the windows looking out. I only wished I could have come down, but I realized if I shook

hands with 2,700, that would be more than the 4 hours that Chief Justice Warren[1] took on Monday night, and I wouldn't get here this morning. I wish I could have, though, to welcome all of you from all of the States of this Nation, all of you with your deep commitment.

Now I want to talk about this Conference, the White House Conference. I want to talk about it very candidly, in terms not of the past or the present, the resolutions that you will present, but in terms of the future.

Down in the Library of Congress there is a whole floor, with many, many stacks of volumes of the records of White House conferences—conferences on the aged, conferences on young people, conferences on health. On almost any subject you can imagine, there has been a White House conference. And every President has participated in them; every President opens them or closes them, as the case may be.

Those volumes, so very many of them, when I have seen them down there, just gathered dust. And you wonder what happened; was it worth it? And all of you, as you come to the end of this Conference, must wonder, after all the work you have done, after all the recommendations you have made: Is it going to end here, or is this a beginning?

That is what I want to talk about. I would be less than candid if I were not to say that many White House conferences are more cosmetics than the real thing. They talk about the problem, give people an outlet—and, of course, that is a good thing—but recommendations usually are not put into practice as often as they should be.

When this Conference was called, as John Martin and Arthur Flemming will tell you, I told them I wanted to know what we could do. And in preparing my remarks today, I wanted to speak specifically to the things that you recommended, and to speak, also, to how we could follow up.

I do not want the volumes—and there will be volumes on this Conference—simply to gather dust in the Library of Congress or in the office of the President. As long as I am here, I will go over and shake off the dust myself to find out what was said. But Dr. Flemming told me before I came in here just what he said to you when he introduced me: that each one of you has made a very important pledge this morning, a specific commitment to action in the post-conference year. I am here to join you in that pledge. This means that I am going to give my close, personal attention to the recommendations of this Conference.

I have asked Dr. Flemming to stay on. We really cannot afford him, but he comes really as a volunteer. He is not only going to be Chairman of the Conference in the follow-up period, but also as a special consultant on aging, so that I can take up these matters personally with him, as well as with John Martin, who, as you know, is my special assistant on aging.

Now, Dr. Flemming is known to you from having presided over this Conference. He is also known as a great educator. I knew him as a member of the Cabinet. Beneath that very genteel exterior is one of the most tenacious men I have ever known. So you have got a good representative there speaking up for your cause.

The second step that I have taken is that I have directed that your recommendations be put at the top of the agenda of our Cabinet-level Committee

[1] Earl Warren, Chief Justice of the United States 1953–69.

on Aging, on which Dr. Flemming also plays the leading role.

And finally, I have asked Dr. Flemming to create a post-conference board to act as your agent in following up on your proposals. When matters that affect the interests of older Americans are being discussed in the White House, I am determined that the voice of older Americans will be heard. That is my commitment to you.

Now, as we consider your suggestions, we will be guided by this conviction: Any action which enhances the dignity of older Americans enhances the dignity of all Americans, for unless the American dream comes true for our older generation, it cannot be complete for any generation.

This is true, first, because we all grow old. The younger generation today will be the older generation tomorrow. But more than that, the entire Nation has a high stake in a better life for its older citizens simply because we need you. We need the resources which you alone can offer.

We are speaking, after all, of a proven generation, one that has brought this country through the most turbulent period in human history. Your skills, your wisdom, your values, and your faith—these are among the most valuable resources this Nation possesses.

This country will have to be at its best if we are to meet the challenge of competition in the world of the seventies, and we cannot be at our best if we keep our most experienced players on the bench. I am not speaking of the Washington Redskins, either, in that respect. Yet, in recent years all of us know a gulf has been opening between older Americans and the rest of our people. This gulf is the product of a great social revolution which has weakened the traditional bonds of family, neighborhood, and community. For millions of older Americans, the result has been a growing sense of isolation and insecurity.

We have to change that. Younger and older Americans need one another. We must find ways to bring the generations together again.

In addressing the challenges before us, let us begin where most of you begin—and that is the problem of inadequate income. We have to begin there because if we move in this front, all the other battles will be easier, and if we fail to move in the income front, the other battles—and there are many others that I will discuss in my remarks this morning—will be impossible.

That is why it is so important that the Congress approve one of the most important bills to come before it in many years—the bill known as H.R. 1.

Now, let me talk to you a bit about H.R. 1. It is generally known as welfare reform. I presented it to the country in a radio-television address almost 2½ years ago. In that period since it was presented to the country, it has been debated and talked about, passed one House, still languishes in the Senate, no prospects for this session, and apparently not too much prospect even for the next session, unless something happens in terms of waking the Congress up to the fact that the American people want it.

Let me tell you what H.R. 1 does. You hear about welfare reform. Well, believe me, we need it. We have a system at the present in this country, a system in which, under our present welfare rules, in many States it makes it more profitable for a man not to work than to work, and it rewards a man for leaving his family, rather than staying with his family. When you have that kind of a system, you ought

to abolish it and get something else.

So our new program provides for work incentives and work requirements. It also provides for needy children and provides for those needy children without the effect of the present welfare program, which is so degrading on those children and mars them for life.

Most of us have only heard of H.R. 1 in terms of welfare. But what is in it for older people? I think we have forgotten many of those things. Let me tell you how much is at stake for older citizens in H.R. 1, and why it must be top priority.

For the first time in our history, it would put a national floor under the annual income of every older American. Now, some may say it ought to be higher, some may say it ought to be earlier; but the point is, it will be done. We need a national floor under the income of every older American. H.R. 1 does that.

Second, for the first time in our history, it would make social security benefits inflation-proof. This is something that I have always believed in. It does not make sense to have social security benefits constantly behind inflation. If we have inflation, the benefits should go up with it, and H.R. 1 provides for that.

It would allow social security recipients to earn more money from their own work. It would raise benefit levels, especially for widows. I have also asked the Congress to include in H.R. 1 a proposal for eliminating the $5.60 monthly fee now charged for Part B of Medicare.

Now let me get into the numbers. These numbers are so big that they may not, of course, be very impressive when we think of $200 billion budgets, and I am going to be working on that budget over this next weekend. But H.R. 1, as it now stands, would provide $5½ billion in additional Federal benefits for older Americans—$5½ billion more.

Let me point out something: If they had passed it 2 years ago, we would have had it then. You can see why the Congress needs to quit talking and start acting on H.R. 1 just as quickly as possible. This would be $3 billion in increased social security benefits and, when it is fully effective, another $2½ billion in new benefits to persons with lower incomes. And a proposal to eliminate the monthly Medicare fee would enrich the $5½ billion package by an additional $1¼ billion, so that is the equivalent of an additional 5-percent increase in social security.

So you can see how much is at stake in this one proposal, which has been there for over 2 years, which has not been acted upon, and which needs to be acted upon.

I have made a commitment to you. We need your help. Let your Congressman, let your Senator, know that before the next election you want action on H.R. 1. I think we ought to have it.

Now I would like to go to a second subject which is related to income. It is the other side of the coin. That is the subject of taxes. We are supporting a series of tax reform proposals which would enable a single person aged 65 or older to receive up to $5,100 of tax-free income. A married couple, both of whom are 65 or older, would receive over $8,000 in tax-free income.

However—and now I come to one that will be very close, I am sure, to the hearts of most of the people here, because when I met with representatives of this group before this Conference was convened, this subject was raised by every one of those present. That is the property tax. It is not related to income, but it is a tax which keeps going up and up and up; whereas,

an older person's income may be even going down.

Property tax collections have increased by 40 percent in the last 5 years alone. Now, here is where older Americans come in. We have checked and found that 70 percent of older Americans own their own homes. For many, these homes represent a lifetime of careful saving, and yet, because of property taxes, the same home which has been a symbol of their independence often becomes the cause of their impoverishment.

Take the 30 percent that don't own their homes. Those who rent their homes often bear an unfair burden since property tax increases are often passed along in the form of higher rents.

The inequity of the property tax is often the greater because it takes money from those who have already educated their own children, and uses it largely for the education of other children.

I received a letter recently from a woman whose parents brought her and five other children to this country from Switzerland many years ago. They settled in California as homesteaders. They were full of hope and pride. Over the years that followed, they made their dreams come true. But today, many, many years later, things have changed so much that Mrs. Ewing begins her letter to me by saying, "Was it just an empty dream after all?"

Her father, at 73, is too ill, too tired, to work. His family is grown and scattered. To meet his real estate taxes, he is now being forced to sell the property for which he worked so hard and so long. Then she goes on to say, "If this is really the country I grew up believing it to be, these inhumane property tax laws must be changed."

She is right, and they should be changed. That is why we need a complete overhaul of our property taxes and of our whole system of financing public education, because the property tax, as you know, in California as well as in many other States, is the primary tax which can and must be used at this time for financing public education.

Our revenue sharing proposals which were made a year ago, and which still have not been acted upon, can help relieve the pressure on property taxes, and older Americans have a large stake in enacting those proposals. But I believe we have to move in another front, more directly on the problem of property taxes. I am, therefore, working with our Domestic Council, and working specifically with Secretary of the Treasury Connally, preparing specific proposals to ease the crushing burden of property taxes for older Americans and for all Americans.

The President's Commission on School Finance, which I appointed last year, has been carefully studying a range of possible remedies. These remedies will involve large sums of money. But we are prepared, however, to make the hard decisions we are going to have to make to provide property tax relief.

The time has come, in this subject as in others, to stop talking about the impact of property taxes on older Americans, to act in their behalf and in behalf of other citizens in similar circumstances.

Now, I want to go to another matter that I know has had consideration here, and one on which I find very fundamental agreement with your conclusions. That is the inadequacy of private pension plans. One-half of our work force is not even enrolled in such a plan, and many of those who are enrolled have inadequate or unreliable coverage.

I will therefore propose to the Congress a new program to reform our private pension system. Here are some of the reforms: They will include measures designed to expand pension coverage, to ensure that pension funds are soundly managed, and also, I will recommend new laws to require the vesting of pensions so that an individual who works in a job, has money invested in a pension, and then moves from that job, doesn't lose what he has put in. He is entitled to that and should get it when he retires.

Now, there is one other item where I am going to talk about something that involves not what the Congress and what the Administration can do for older Americans, but what you can do for the country and for yourselves.

I am sure you have been reading and hearing in your newspapers, on television, and on radio a lot about our new economic policy—the freeze on wages and prices for 90 days, Phase 2, some of the arguments that have taken place with regard to what the application should be. Let me say that as far as this program is concerned, its primary design is to stop the rise in the cost of living. As far as this program is concerned, it is inevitable that anything that we do is going to cause some sacrifice on the part of some Americans.

For example, some labor leaders, not all, but some of them object to the fact that labor increases and wage increases cannot be as high as they would like. Some business leaders are objecting to the fact that we have laid down regulations in which their profit margins are not allowed to be as high as they would like. And some stockholders are objecting to the fact that we have laid down regulations where their dividend payments cannot be as high as they would like.

Let me say, I would like to have a program that would satisfy them all, because it is not pleasant to have any segment of the population object to a program that we have adopted. But let me lay it right on the line. Where a wage increase or a profit increase or a dividend increase can be controlled and the result will be stopping the rise in the cost of living for all Americans, that is worth doing, and that is what we plan to do.

The support for this program has been stronger perhaps, among older Americans, according to all the polls, than among all others. On the other hand, 70 percent of Americans do support it. We ask your continued support, because no matter how much the pensions may be, no matter how much payments for social security may go up, if the rise in the cost of living eats it up it doesn't make any difference. That is why this program is one in which those who are retired, living on relatively fixed income, have the biggest stake of all Americans, and we hope you will continue to support it right to the hilt.

Now, I have been talking about income and taxes and how we control prices, but even with higher income, we all know that many older Americans face problems beyond their individual control. I am going to talk for a moment about the one million Americans who live in nursing homes.

I can talk with great feeling about this because my own mother was in a nursing home. She was very ill and had a stroke during the last 2 years of her life. It was a very good nursing home, and I will always be thankful that the nurses there treated her just as I would have wanted to treat her if I could have been there. Many of these nursing homes, like the one my mother was in and like the one my

91-year-old Aunt Edith is in out in Riverside, California, are ones where they receive excellent care from people who care about them. But many do not. There are some bad nursing homes, some inadequate ones, and there is little that the people that are in them can do about it.

Partially, it is a question of money, being able to afford the better ones; partially it is a question of regulation. Where it is a question of regulation, we certainly can do something about it. That is why I announced last summer an eight-point program for improving our Nation's nursing homes, for cutting off funds to those which remain substandard.

Our primary objective is the upgrading of nursing homes, but we are not going to hesitate to cut off funds from homes which are hopelessly substandard.

Furthermore, we will take the initiative in making sure that public and private resources are available to provide alternative arrangements for the victims of such homes; to cut off the funds for the substandard ones and then just let the people out, that is no answer. We must find an alternative, and we are planning to do exactly that.

But when we speak of the million who live in nursing homes, we want it realized that for every person in a nursing home, we have 20 times as many older people who are not in nursing homes. The greatest need is to help more older Americans to go on living in their own homes. Income programs, such as H.R. 1, tax reforms—they can help achieve this, because if the individuals have the funds, then they can retain their own homes. But so can a number of other additional decisions which we have already made.

We want to begin by increasing the present budget of the Administration on Aging nearly fivefold—to $100 million. Now, you wonder where I got that number. I must say, I heard from a number of you and I heard from Arthur Flemming. He didn't know about the number until this morning because it was $80 million last night, and I decided, why not $100 million. One hundred million dollars is needed for reasons that I am going to indicate as to what I expect from this.

But let me put it in another context. Let us put it in terms of priorities. The Congress, for example, at the present time has under consideration a tax bill. It is a tax bill that has some very good provisions in it. It has one in which there is disagreement, honest disagreement, one where I take a different position from some others. But there is one provision in that bill that provides for between $50 and $100 million to go for the purpose of paying the campaign expenses of an individual who is running as the nominee of his party for President of the United States. Now, my friends, just let me say this: It is very important that campaigns be adequately financed, but I say, rather than to have the taxpayers' money used for the purpose of financing a candidate's campaign for election, that money should be used for the purpose of allowing the elected President to keep his campaign promises once he gets into office.

Now, let's see what this $100 million is going to do. We can give special emphasis to services that will help people live decent and dignified lives in their own homes, services such as home health aides, homemaker and nutrition services, home-delivered meals, transportation assistance. Much of this new money will be used to help marshal existing and expanding resources more effectively at the local level.

Toward this end, I will direct the So-

cial Security Administration to provide an information center in each of its 889 district and branch offices to help explain all Federal programs which aid the elderly. These offices, of course, will supplement the State offices which already are doing a very fine job in this respect.

Then, there are two additional administrative decisions which will help older Americans remain in their own homes. The first will make housing money more readily available to older citizens to purchase homes in a variety of settings, including condominium apartments and retirement communities. Secretary Romney, who is also a very tenacious, evangelistic man in our Cabinet, is going to see that that is done, I can assure you.

The second will require that Federal grants will provide services for older persons and also provide for the transportation they need to take advantage of these services.

Now, I turn to another subject—and if I seem to be moving from place to place, believe me, you moved from place to place throughout this Conference, and I am trying to cover most of the major subjects in which you have expressed an interest. Some of the best service programs for older Americans are those which give older Americans a chance to serve. Thousands of older Americans have found that their work in hospitals, in churches, in parks, and schools gives them a new sense of pride and purpose even as it contributes to the lives of others.

Federal programs to provide such opportunities have proved remarkably successful at the demonstration level, but that is all they have been up to this point. We are going to change it. We are going to move from demonstration to establish these programs on a broader national basis. Therefore, I am going to request that the Retired Senior Volunteers program be tripled to $15 million, so that an additional 50,000 volunteers can be involved. I have directed that the Foster Grandparents program be doubled to $25 million, and I will ask that this program be altered so that Foster Grandparents can work with older persons as well as with children.

I have also ordered that our jobs program for older persons with low incomes be doubled to $26 million. Under this program, projects such as Green Thumb and Senior Aides have demonstrated that older Americans can make valuable contributions in health, education, and community service projects even as they earn additional income.

Let me say: Every older American can be proud that you have made these programs work in recent years. That is why we can double this one, triple that one, make a permanent program out of what was previously a trial or demonstration one. These decisions mean that you will be able to work in more places and for more people.

Now, I have spoken this morning about some of the immediate steps I am taking as part of my commitment, with your commitment, to action. We are proud of these initiatives, but we are not content to rest on them. We are going to build on them. That is why I have outlined a mechanism for following up on this Conference, one which will allow us to take the fullest advantage of the excellent work which you have done.

Any discussion of recommendations for dealing with the problems of the aged would not be complete without recognizing the strong support expressed at this Conference for extending Medicare cov-

erage to include prescription drugs and for accelerating the rate at which the income floor comes into effect under H.R. 1.

Now, as you know, these programs involve very, very substantial budget problems for the Administration. Therefore, they are ones that will need a great deal of consideration and study. Because of the interest which you have expressed in these programs, I have directed the Domestic Council, under John Ehrlichman who has already addressed you, to carefully consider both proposals, to make recommendations to me at an early date.

Your work is not yet over. You have a message to take home with you from this Conference, a message which must now be heard in every community in this land. Let me tell you what it is.

We need a new national attitude toward older people in this country. That attitude must be one which recognizes that America, whatever it does for its older citizens, fully appreciates what our older citizens can do for America.

Only a new national attitude toward aging can end the throwaway psychology which I understand was so graphically demonstrated in the film you saw Sunday night. Only a new attitude toward aging can reopen the doors of opportunity which have too often been closing on older men and women.

To borrow another phrase from your multimedia presentation—only a new attitude toward aging can keep older Americans from "slipping through the cracks."

We are entering a period when people will be retiring even earlier from their regular jobs, and when it will, therefore, be more important than ever to recognize that retirement from work does not mean retirement from life. This concept must be at the heart of our new national attitude toward aging.

I see a great number of people in the White House, young people, middle-aged, older people, not nearly as many as I would like to see, but every day some come through to receive an award, recognition, and some just want to come in and see the President for some reason. A few months ago I met with a remarkable man. His name was George Black. For more than 80 years, this man has been making bricks by hand in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, his own special way of doing it. He is a master craftsman.

When he came in to see me, he didn't look it, but he told me he was 93 years old. But his productive years were not over. So our Government, under one of the programs that we fortunately had, sent this remarkable man to a country that needed to learn about that almost forgotten skill of making bricks by hand. George Black went to Guyana, in South America, so that he could share his skills with the people of that less developed country.

When I asked him about his trip, this is what he said: "I've always asked the Lord to let my last days be my best days. I feel like He's answering my prayers."

George Black's prayer is the prayer of millions of Americans—"to let my last days be my best days." And for them, as for him, its answer depends not only on what they are given but on what they continue to give.

Older Americans have much to give this country. The best thing this country can give to them is the chance to be a part of it, a chance to play a continuing role in the great American adventure.

In a real sense, therefore, this Conference is just beginning, for all of us are

going home with promises to keep. As we keep those promises, as we fulfill our commitments to action, we will make this Conference the great new beginning you have talked about this week. Let us make the last days the best days for all Americans.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:33 a.m. in the Washington Hilton Hotel.

An advance text of the President's remarks was released on the same day.

A White House announcement of the designation of Arthur S. Flemming as Chairman of the 1971 White House Conference on Aging was released on April 23, 1971, and is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 7, p. 674). On the same day, the White House also released the transcript of a news conference on Dr. Flemming's appointment by Elliot L. Richardson, Secretary, and John B. Martin, Commissioner, Administration on Aging, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare; and Dr. Flemming.

380 Remarks at the Swearing In of Earl L. Butz as Secretary of Agriculture. *December* 2, 1971

Ladies and gentlemen of the Cabinet and of the Congress:

As you know, we are gathered here today for the swearing in of our new Secretary of Agriculture. We will have the swearing-in ceremony first, and then I would like to make a brief remark of welcome to our new member of the Cabinet, and then he will have the opportunity to say a word, too, in response to what I say. Mr. Justice Blackmun will administer the oath.

[At this point, the oath of office was administered by Associate Justice Harry A. Blackmun of the Supreme Court. The President then resumed speaking.]

We are going to have Senator Aiken stand here by us because he was one of those that led the fight in the Senate. I was reminded just before coming into this room that I announced the nomination of the new Secretary of Agriculture on Armistice Day. He has been wondering what became of the truce.

I can only say, however, that a man who goes before the Senate, who has a number of Senators who are strongly for him, and others who with conviction are against him, is a man who after surviving that ordeal comes out stronger and better than ever.

I think Winston Churchill, in writing about some of his early war years, once said that there is nothing so exhilarating in life as to be shot at without result. And you seem to have survived it well.

I mentioned at the time that I sent the nomination to the Senate, that I had chosen Earl Butz because of his qualifications in the field of agriculture over 40 years. I believe he is as well qualified for this position as any man who has ever held it.

But there is another reason that I selected him for this post. He is an activist; he is an independent thinker. He is a man who will come into this office—and the door of this office will always be open to him to speak his mind—and say what he thinks needs to be done for the farmers of this country and for American agriculture. As a matter of fact, I think he has something that he is going to be saying tomorrow on some subjects, and he will be listened to.

I believe that he will serve not only

agriculture well, but that he will serve America well.

For those who are here from the Senate, and who did participate in the debate, let me say that we realize that the advice and consent of the Senate serves a very useful purpose because it really proves what a man has. A man like Earl Butz, who could take the shots that he has and then come out stronger than ever, will be a better Secretary of Agriculture for the fight he has been through. I think he is going to do a great job.

Now, as the dean of agriculture in the Senate and the country, George, would you say a word for the new Secretary. Do you think I made a good choice?

SENATOR AIKEN. I think you made a good choice and I think that the Senate decided rightly. The one thing that is bothering me standing here in front of all the cameras, is the Cranston amendment to the wage-hour law, which has exempted the Eastman Kodak and other cameramen. [*Laughter*]

No, I think that Earl is going to do all right, and I was worried over the Department if you didn't get a Secretary who could help you.

THE PRESIDENT. Thank you. And now I would like to ask the senior member of the Cabinet, the Secretary of State, if you would say a word, too, for your new colleague.

Bill.

SECRETARY ROGERS. I am very pleased, of course, to welcome the new Secretary of Agriculture. I had a very close relationship with the last one.[1]

SECRETARY BUTZ. I have no daughters.

SECRETARY ROGERS. Well, it is good I have no sons left.

THE PRESIDENT. What about grandchildren?

SECRETARY ROGERS. But I know that we all share the expressions which the President has just given, and those of us who had the privilege of serving President Eisenhower and working with you, subscribe very heartily to the things the President has just said.

There is no doubt in our minds that you will do an outstanding job, and on behalf of all the members of the Cabinet, let me say to you and Mrs. Butz how delighted we are that you are with us.

SECRETARY BUTZ. Thank you.

THE PRESIDENT. And now, Mr. Secretary, you are recognized.

SECRETARY BUTZ. Mr. President, Mrs. Nixon, and Mrs. Butz—who got here just about 5 minutes before we came in the room, on a late flight from Lafayette. I phoned her at 11:00 in Lafayette; she lives 65 miles from the airport at Indianapolis.

THE PRESIDENT. But the vote wasn't until 1:00. Were you that confident? [*Laughter*] She knew more than I did. [*Laughter*]

SECRETARY BUTZ. I said a car will be there at 12:00 to pick you up to take you to Indianapolis. She said, "What day?" I said, "Today."

It is a real pleasure being here, Mr. President. Three weeks ago on November 11, when you said this was the toughest job in Washington, I didn't realize what a master of understatement you were.

The experience I have had in the last 2 weeks leads me to believe that the United States Senate took you too seriously on this

[1] Secretary Rogers' son, Douglas, was married to former Secretary of Agriculture Hardin's daughter, Nancy, on January 31, 1970.

5 percent personnel reduction. They were about to abolish the position of Secretary of Agriculture, I think.

But it is a real challenge being a member of your team and knowing, as I do, your deep concern for the welfare of our farmers and that, as you said, something will be done immediately.

Immediately is pretty fast, you know. But we are going to go to work promptly on raising farm income, on getting prices up to a satisfactory level. As I said when you announced the change in the Secretaries of Agriculture, the price of corn is too low, and that kind of statement doesn't leave much room for interpretation.

THE PRESIDENT. You are going to do something about it tomorrow? [*Laughter*]

SECRETARY BUTZ. Mr. President, the answer is yes, since you put it that way. But we have a tremendous resource in the Department of Agriculture. We have a tremendous resource in American agriculture, as you are aware.

Just yesterday you met with one of the great resources we have in American agriculture, and that is our young men and young women who man the farms and farm homes in rural communities of America. I am delighted that you met with them.

Our agriculture is the real basis of affluence in America. The first law of life is food. We produce our food in this country with only 5 percent of our working population on the farms of America. That releases 95 percent to make everything else that makes life so wonderful in America. And we give our food to the American consumer for only 16½ percent of his disposable income.

No place else on the earth do people get their food in such abundance, such high quality, and at such low prices as in America. It is so low, Mr. President, that our farmers don't get paid enough for it.

I am going to be coming to you and George Shultz from time to time, and perhaps asking for more than you can give us, but I am going to ask for it and I am going to press vigorously for it.

You said you wanted an aggressive, articulate spokesman for agriculture in the White House, and Mr. President, you have got him.

To me it is great to know I have some friends in this town. It may be more vigorous than you want, but I want to assure you and to assure everybody in the United States that we are going to do our level best to achieve your stated goal that no American ever goes to bed in this country hungry or malnourished.

Our agriculture is productive enough and our country is affluent enough that that is a legitimate goal, and I think for the first time in history we can achieve a situation in which nobody does go to bed hungry or malnourished.

So we want to use our agricultural plant to produce a world where people eat well and feel well and live well so that we can have a generation of peace.

Thank you very much.

THE PRESIDENT. I will just add—he needs to be not only articulate, as he is, as he has just demonstrated, and tenacious, as he obviously will be, but he also has to be a magician.

I just met with a group of farm editors out in Chicago yesterday, and I was trying to think of the right thing to say, and I said, "I think corn prices are too low." Then I shook hands with all the farm editors that came through. One fellow came through and he had his tag on—he was a hog producer. He said, "I like low corn prices."

So if you raise the price of corn, be sure that you don't do it at the expense of the hog producers.

SECRETARY BUTZ. Well, now, Mr. President, there are some things——[*laughter*]

THE PRESIDENT. Thank you.

NOTE: The exchange of remarks began at 5:05 p.m. in the Oval Office at the White House.

381 Remarks to the National Conference on Corrections, Williamsburg, Virginia. *December* 6, 1971

AT LONG last, this Nation is coming to realize that the process of justice cannot end with the slamming shut of prison gates.

Ninety-eight out of every hundred criminals who are sent to prison come back out into society. That means that every American concerned with stopping crime must ask this question: Are we doing all we can to make certain that many more men and women who come out of prison will become law-abiding citizens?

The answer to that question today, after centuries of neglect, is no. We have made important strides in the past 2 years, but let us not deceive ourselves: Our prisons are still colleges of crime, not what they should be—the beginning of a way back to a productive life within the law.

To turn back the wave of crime, we must have more effective police work. We must have court reform to insure trials that are speedy and fair. But let us also remember that the *protection of society depends largely on the correction of the criminal.*

I look to this National Conference on Corrections to focus the Nation's attention on this problem, and to come up with specific recommendations to blaze the trail of prison reform.

Locking a convict up is not enough. We must also offer him the keys of education, of rehabilitation, of useful training, of hope—the keys he must have to open the gates to a life of freedom and dignity.

NOTE: The President's audiotaped remarks were played at the first plenary session of the conference in the Williamsburg Convention Center. The conference, convened at the President's request and sponsored by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration and the Bureau of Prisons, Department of Justice, was held on December 5–8, 1971.

382 Remarks of Welcome to President Emílio Garrastazú Médici of Brazil. *December* 7, 1971

President Médici, Mrs. Médici, our distinguished guests from Brazil, and our distinguished guests here from the United States:

Mr. President, because of this inclement weather, it may seem to some that this is not the most fortunate time for a visit, but I want you to know that I believe that your visit to our country could not have been at a more important time from the standpoint of both countries.

As you know, I will be leaving for a trip to Peking and one to the Soviet Union. Prior to that time, I consider it vitally important to have discussions with our closest friends in at least the largest countries.

The consultations with nations of Europe, with Japan, with Canada last night, and now with Brazil—Brazil, the largest country in South America—are part of that consultative process.

The fact that you could be here now in our country will provide the opportunity that I have looked forward to, to discuss with you these visits that I will be making and, also, to have other discussions of importance to our two countries. I look forward to getting your views on hemispheric relations because, as the eyes of the world inevitably are on various trouble spots around the world far away, and on the trips, for example, that I shall be taking to other parts of the world, we in the United States of America know that our closest friends and our closest neighbors are in this hemisphere, and we welcome you as a close friend and a close neighbor for so many years from Brazil.

Mr. President, finally, I look forward to our talks because of the enormous success that you have had during your term of office in building the economy of Brazil, in the progress that has occurred during that period. Those who have written about it have called it "the Brazilian miracle." We congratulate you, and we want you to know that all of the people of this country, as we look to our great neighbor to the south, extend our very best wishes to all the people of your great country.

Thank you for coming at this time so that we could meet.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:54 a.m. in the East Room at the White House. A formal welcome with full military honors had been scheduled to be held on the South Lawn, but because of rain, President and Mrs. Nixon greeted President and Mrs. Médici on the North Portico and proceeded to the East Room for the welcoming ceremony.

President Médici spoke in Portuguese. His remarks were translated by an interpreter as follows:

Mr. President:

It was with great joy and emotion that I accepted your invitation to visit the United States of America. This appeared to be, to me, a most propitious opportunity, not only to reaffirm our long and steadfast friendship but also to discover the basis for a new dialogue—brotherly, frank, and objective—between the United States of America and the Federative Republic of Brazil.

At this important moment of the national history of both our countries, they find themselves desirous to establish, through us, a new point of departure for a closer cooperation in the future.

Both the problems of the present and the prospects for the future make this a meeting of transcendental importance for our peoples. Our peaceful relations have remained unchanged, and our friendship has been strengthened in extremely difficult moments for both our countries through effective cooperation and exemplary fellowship and mutual respect.

Now is the time to build upon such a friendship, and it is for this purpose, which I am sure you share, that I take advantage of the welcome and hospitality of this great country.

Our relations in the years ahead cannot fail to reflect the promises and the uncertainties that gather over the international scene. Neither can they fail to adapt themselves to the new realities of the world and to the stage of historical evolution of each of our countries. Drawing inspiration from the past, the cooperation between Brazil and the United States must now seek, with imagination, new means and instruments which reflect such realities.

Our position cannot be the same vis-a-vis every international problem, nor is this expected from our frank and loyal friendship. Let us, nevertheless, endeavor to make our policies converge without requiring that they coincide in every case.

The Brazil of today, in full process of development, accepts the challenge of history which places on its shoulders an increasing share of responsibility in the concert of nations.

It is with this conviction and in the spirit of fraternal friendship that I come to you today.

Mr. President, let this first moment be one brimming with faith and confidence—faith in that which we shall build together for the well-being of our people, and common confidence in the cause of justice, progress, and peace.

This is the message I bring you from the Brazilian people, asking you to convey it to the American people.

383 Toasts of the President and President Médici of Brazil. *December 7, 1971*

Mr. President, Mrs. Médici, and our very distinguished guests from Brazil and from the United States of America:

It is always a very special occasion when the largest country in South America and the most populous country in North America meet, today, as they do, on a state visit. But this occasion is distinguished from other occasions in which the leader of Brazil and the leader of the United States have met, whether here or in that country.

Brazil is a country that, for us in the United States, has always been one of great promise, great mystery, great excitement, and I think the description of Brazil which is contained in one section of its national anthem perhaps tells us why Brazil has such a special meaning to those of us in the United States who look to this great country to the south and think of its future.

As I recall, Brazil is described there as a great sleeping giant lying eternally in a magnificent cradle. That was true of Brazil 150 years ago when it had its independence, and the United States was the first country in the world to recognize its independence. It was true of Brazil 100 years ago, 50 years ago, maybe even 25 years ago, or 10 years ago. But it is not true today.

The giant is awakened. The people of Brazil know it. The people of the world are discovering it, and the visit of the President of Brazil to this country will tell this message to our people and tell it better, also, to the people of the world. This great giant is now awake—100 million people, unlimited natural resources, developing now not only on the coast, the beautiful cities that we all know, but developing, due to the leadership of our guest of honor tonight and those who have worked with him, developing the heartland of the country through highways and cities and exploration such as was only dreamed of before, but now is being actually done.

This has meant that Brazil and all of its promise that people have dreamed about through the years is now being realized. The international historian, Arnold Toynbee, in 1934, wrote that Brazil's possibilities would be unlimited once it had the leadership in its government that would attract the kind of investment from its own people and from abroad that would explore and develop its resources. And I think the greatest tribute that I can pay to our distinguished guest tonight is that in the brief time that he has been President of Brazil there has been more progress than in any comparable time in the whole history of that country.

This is a great record. It is one which the people of Brazil thank him for. It is one that we, his very good and devoted

and dear friends from the north, also respect him for, and we, in our country, Mr. President, welcome the opportunity to work with this great giant of the south, no longer sleeping, very much alive, with its future so unlimited.

Working with you as the leader of that country—because we know that as Brazil goes, so will go the rest of that Latin American Continent—the United States and Brazil, friends and allies in the past, and as this dinner tonight reaffirms, strong and close personal and official friends today, we shall work together for a greater future for your people, for our people, and for all the people of the American family, for which we have a special place in our hearts.

I know that in that spirit all of us would like to reaffirm our affection for Brazil, for its people, for the American family, by raising our glasses to the health of our distinguished guest, the President of Brazil.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:51 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House.

President Médici responded in Portuguese. His remarks were translated by an interpreter as follows:

Mr. President, Mrs. Nixon:

In the words of Your Excellency, I find not only a gesture of fraternal welcome but also the determination to preserve and to strengthen the traditional solidarity that exists between our homelands.

My wife and I, and all the members of my party, shall always cherish unforgettable memories of the fellowship that is prevailing here this evening, of the joy that permeates these moments, thanks to the generous hospitality of Mrs. Nixon and yours, Mr. President.

Here we are, Mr. President, to engage in a frank conversation between friends, to exchange views and share experiences, to reminisce about the past of common struggles, to discuss the problems of the present, and particularly to formulate long-range plans for the future. Here we are to carry out a joint effort in establishing a new point of departure mutually beneficial for the relations that have always been peaceful between the two nations which we represent.

We met at length this morning, fully aware that our points of view are not always in coincidence. We did not, however, lose sight for a single moment of this objective of trying to harmonize them and integrate them in the broadest cooperation which is not only beneficial for both countries, but it is also important for the handling and the solving of the problems, problems of the hemisphere as well as worldwide problems.

Our friendship has undergone the tests of both war and of peace, and the United States always knows that it will find in Brazil a loyal and independent ally. Brazil cannot display indifference and apathy in the presence of new events and new circumstances, in the presence of a reality which is ever changing and above which we must rise in order to build a new world order in the spheres of political, diplomatic, economic, financial, and monetary activity.

We must approach this new world without preconceived ideas and without inflexible positions. And what seems imperative to us is that this new world order must also bring about an entirely new phase of peace, justice, and progress for all the members of the family of nations.

The Brazilian and American voices which are blending around this table are all imbued with the same feeling of friendship, and they share an equal yearning for achievement. These voices do not find it difficult to make themselves heard and understood and fully appreciated. These are voices which are joining in common purposes, still without giving up their own identity, which is autonomous and spontaneous.

It is on the basis of reciprocal trust, of mutual respect, and equality of rights that we are going to preserve the great friendship, a friendship which is indicated to us and imposed upon us by the common interests.

It is in this spirit, and with these thoughts in mind, that I ask all those present here to raise their glasses in toasting the health of Mrs. Nixon and the President of the United States of America, and also toasting the greatness and

the happiness of the great American Nation which was born and which has been prospering under the aegis of freedom.

On December 9, 1971, at the conclusion of President Médici's meetings with President Nixon, an agreed-upon statement was read by Press Secretary Ronald L. Ziegler at his regular news briefing. The agreed-upon statement read as follows:

The visit of President Médici to Washington provided an excellent opportunity for conversations in depth between the Heads of State of two of the largest and most populous nations on the Western Hemisphere. Talks between President Médici and President Nixon were conducted in an atmosphere of warm friendship, and both agreed that recent world developments made their frank exchanges most timely and mutually profitable.

Their discussions covering the broad aspects of the international situation were particularly significant and timely in the light of President Nixon's upcoming meetings with other world leaders.

There was an exchange of evaluations and views on many of the issues of world significance affecting, as they do, the interests of both nations. They reviewed action taken and contemplated to bring greater order to the international monetary system to further international trade and development.

The two Presidents consulted closely on important hemispheric issues, recognizing the need for continuing and intensified cooperation among the nations of the region with respect to economic and social development, as well as their common security interest. They agreed that the primary goal of an era of peace and prosperity for the region can be achieved only by cooperation which in turn must be founded on the principles of freedom and self-determination.

The Presidents extensively reviewed relations between the United States and Brazil. Bilateral relationships embracing all facets, including common security interests, and political, economic, military, scientific and cultural matters were discussed in the spirit of the traditionally close and friendly ties between the two countries.

The meetings provided an excellent basis for continued and intensified cooperation between the two nations over a wide range of matters which both Presidents considered of primary importance.

The two Presidents also discussed the impressive economic progress made by Brazil under the leadership of President Médici, progress which has marked Brazil as one of the most rapidly developing nations of the world.

The conversations were particularly marked by the two Presidents' mutual grasp and understanding of problems and issues facing both nations. Their talks provided not only an opportunity for a review of past and present relations, but importantly established a firm basis for continuing consultations in the future of world, hemispheric, and bilateral problems of mutual concern.

384 Special Message to the Congress on a Pension Reform Program. *December* 8, 1971

To the Congress of the United States:

Self-reliance, prudence and independence are qualities which our Government should work to encourage among our people. These are also the qualities which are involved when a person chooses to invest in a retirement savings plan, setting aside money today so that he will have greater security tomorrow. In this respect, pension plans are a direct expression of some of the finest elements in the American character. Public policy should be designed to reward and reinforce these qualities.

The achievements of our private pension plans are a tribute to the cooperation and creativeness of American labor and management. Over 4 million retired workers are now receiving benefits from

private plans and these benefits total about $7 billion annually. More than $140 billion has been accumulated by these plans to pay retirement benefits in the future. But there is still much room for expanding and strengthening our private pension system.

Three groups in our society have a tremendous direct stake in the growth and improvement of private pensions. The first is made up of that 50 percent of American wage earners who are *not* in private group plans at the present time and who have no tax incentive for investing in retirement savings as individuals. The second group includes those who are enrolled in group plans which provide benefits for their retirement needs which they regard as insufficient or which do not ensure that the benefits which are accumulating while they work will actually be made available when they retire. If we meet the problems of these two groups today, we will also be taking a giant stride toward improving the quality of life tomorrow for an important third segment of our population to which they will eventually belong: the retired Americans whose independence and dignity depend in large measure on an adequate post-retirement income.

Older persons have spoken eloquently about the need for pension reform, especially at the White House Conference on Aging, which was recently held in Washington. It is clear that our efforts to reform and expand our income maintenance systems must now be complemented by an effort to reform and expand private retirement programs.

The five-point program I present today includes three new legislative proposals, a renewed endorsement of an earlier proposal, and a major study project which could lead to further legislation.

1. *Employees who wish to save independently for their retirement or to supplement employer-financed pensions should be allowed to deduct on their income tax returns amounts set aside for these purposes.*

Today only 30 million employees are covered by private retirement plans. This fact alone demonstrates the need to encourage greater private saving for retirement.

Under present law, both the contributions which an *employer* makes to a qualified private retirement plan on behalf of his employees and the investment earnings on those contributions are generally not subject to taxes until they are paid to the employee or to his beneficiaries. The tax liability on investment earnings is also deferred when an *employee* contributes to a group plan, though in this case the contribution itself is taxable. But when an employee saves independently for his own retirement, both his contribution and the investment earnings on such savings are currently subject to taxes.

This inequity discourages individual self-reliance and slows the growth of private retirement savings. It places an unfair burden on those employees (especially older workers) who want to establish a pension plan or augment an employer-financed plan. To provide such persons with the same opportunities now available to others, I therefore ask the Congress to make contributions to retirement savings programs by individuals deductible up to the level of $1500 per year or 20% of income, whichever is less. Individuals would retain the power to control the investment of these funds, channeling them into bank accounts, mutual funds, annuity or insurance programs, government bonds, or into other investments as they desire.

Taxes would also be deferred on the earnings from these investments.

This provision would be especially helpful to older workers who are most interested in retirement. The limitation I propose would direct benefits primarily to employees with low and moderate incomes, while preserving an incentive to establish employer-financed plans. The limit is nevertheless sufficiently high to permit older employees to finance a substantial retirement income. For example, a person whose plan begins at age 40, with contributions of $1,500 a year, could still retire at age 65 with an annual pension of $7,500, in addition to social security benefits.

This proposed deduction would be available to those already covered by employer-financed plans, but in this case the upper limit of $1,500 would be reduced to reflect pension plan contributions made by the employer. An appropriate adjustment would also be made in the case of individuals who do not contribute to the Social Security system or the Railroad Retirement System.

2. *Self-employed persons who invest in pension plans for themselves and their employees should be given a more generous tax deduction than they now receive.*

Under present law, self-employed persons may establish pension plans covering themselves and their employees. However, deductible contributions are limited annually to $2,500 or 10 percent of earned income, whichever is less. There are no such limits to contributions made by corporations on behalf of their employees.

This distinction in treatment is not based on any difference in reality, since self-employed persons and corporate employees often engage in substantially the same economic activities. One result of this distinction has been to create an artificial incentive for the self-employed to incorporate; another result has been to deny benefits to the employees of those self-employed persons who do not wish to incorporate which are comparable to those of corporate employees.

To achieve greater equity, I propose that the annual limit for deductible contributions by the self-employed be raised to $7,500 or 15 percent of income, whichever is less. This provision would encourage and enable the self-employed to provide more adequate benefits for themselves and for their workers.

3. *A minimum standard should be established in law for the vesting of pensions—i.e., for preserving pension rights of employees even though they leave their jobs before retirement.*

A basic problem in our present pension system is the situation of the worker who loses his pension when he is discharged, laid off, resigns or moves to another job. A person who is discharged just before retirement, for example, sometimes finds that the retirement income on which he has been relying—and which has been accumulating for many years—simply is no longer due him.

Preservation of the pension rights of employees who leave their jobs—vesting—is essential to a growing and healthy private pension system. A pension is fully vested when an employee is entitled to receive all benefits accumulated up to a certain date regardless of what happens in the period between that date and his retirement. Despite encouraging increases in the degree of vesting, the pensions of more than two-thirds of all current participants in private pension plans are not now vested. Even among older employees, whose need for vesting is most acute, many

pensions are not now vested. Forty percent of participants age 45 or older, 34 percent of participants age 50 or older, and 26 percent of participants age 55 or older do not have vested pension rights.

This problem can be corrected by requiring that pensions be fully vested at an appropriate specified point in a worker's career. But how should that point be determined? If it were set at too early a point, so that too many younger workers were vested, it could create a considerable burden for employers and reduce the level of benefits for retiring workers. On the other hand, if too long a wait were allowed before vesting begins, then many older workers would receive little if any assistance. Both of these pitfalls can be avoided, however, through a carefully drawn formula which provides a shorter waiting period before vesting begins for older workers.

The formula that I propose to the Congress is based upon what I shall call the "Rule of 50." Under this standard, every pension would be considered half vested when an employee's age plus the number of years he has participated in the pension plan equals 50. The vesting process would begin with this jump to half-vested status. After this point has been reached, an additional ten percent of the pension would be vested every year—so that the pension would be fully vested five years later.

Under this standard, which must apply to the workers who are 30 years of age or older, anyone joining a plan when he is 30 years old would find that his pension would begin to vest at age 40, when his years of participation (10) plus his age (40) would equal 50. The pension of an employee joining at age 40 would begin to vest at age 45, and that of an employee joining at age 50 would begin to vest immediately. And in each case, the degree of vesting would increase from 50 percent to 100 percent over the subsequent five-year period.

This plan gives older workers the advantage of more rapid vesting, a fact which could limit somewhat new employment opportunities for older workers. To help alleviate this danger, I recommend that a three-year waiting period be allowed before a new employee must be permitted to join a pension plan, and also that employees hired within five years of retirement need not fall under this vesting rule. These safeguards would ensure that older workers are not disadvantaged by this program.

This "Rule 50" would raise the share of participants in private pension plans with vested pensions from 31 percent to 46 percent. Even more importantly, among participants age 45 and older the percentage with vested pensions would rise from 60 percent to 92 percent. Overall, the number of employees with vested rights would increase by 3.6 million, of whom 3 million would be age 45 and older.

To avoid excessive cost increases in pension plans which might lead to reduction of benefits, this new law would apply only to benefits earned after the bill becomes effective. The average cost increase for plans with no vesting provision now would be about 1.8 cents per hour for each covered employee.

4. *The Employee Benefits Protection Act which I proposed to the Congress in March of 1970 should promptly be enacted into law.*

This legislation was designed to protect American workers against abuses by those who administer pension funds. As I

pointed out when I first made this proposal, "the control of these funds is shared by employers, unions, banks, insurance companies, and many others." Most of these funds are honestly and effectively managed. But on occasion, some are not. By requiring administrators to manage such funds exclusively in the interest of the employee beneficiaries, the proposed law would provide a Federal remedy against carelessness, conflict of interest, and a range of corrupt practices.

The proposed law would also broaden reporting and disclosure requirements and strengthen investigatory and enforcement powers. There would be no interference, however, with State laws which now regulate the insurance, banking and securities fields.

It was 21 months ago that I asked the Congress "to give urgent priority to the Employee Benefits Protection Act." I described it then as an action which "further expands my program to protect the American worker as he works, when he is out of work, and after his working career is over." I now renew my request for action in this field—and am resubmitting this legislation in slightly revised form so that it will be even more effective. I urge that the Congress act promptly. There is no excuse for further procrastination.

5. *I have directed the Departments of Labor and the Treasury to undertake a one-year study to determine the extent of benefit losses under pension plans which are terminated.*

When a pension plan is terminated, an employee participating in it can lose all or a part of the benefits which he has long been relying on, even if his plan is fully vested. The extent to which terminations occur, the number of workers who are affected, and the degree to which they are harmed are questions about which we now have insufficient information. This information is needed in order to determine what Federal policy should be on questions such as funding, the nature of the employer's liability, and termination insurance.

Even the best data now available in this field is itself incomplete and questionable. It was gathered for the period from 1955 to 1965 and it indicates that less than one-tenth of one percent of all workers then covered by pension plans were affected by terminations in any given year. It should also be noted that some workers who are affected by terminations may not actually lose their benefits. The wrong solution to the terminations problem could do more harm than good by raising unduly the cost of pension plans for the many workers who are not adversely affected by terminations.

Nevertheless, even one worker whose retirement security is destroyed by the termination of a plan is one too many. It is important, therefore, that the nature and scope of this problem be carefully and thoroughly investigated. I have directed the Departments of Labor and the Treasury to complete their study within one year.

The proposals which I offer today would enhance substantially the retirement security of America's work force. Those who are not members of group pension plans and those who have only limited coverage would be encouraged to obtain individual coverage on their own. The self-employed would have an incentive to

arrange more adequate coverage for themselves and their employees. All participants would have greater assurance that they will actually receive the benefits which are coming to them. And they could also be far more certain that their pension funds were being administered under strict fiduciary standards.

There is sometimes a tendency for Government to neglect or take for granted the "little man" in this country, the average citizen who lives a quiet, responsible life and who constitutes the backbone of our strength as a nation. "He can take care of himself," we say, and there is a great deal of truth in that statement. The self-reliance of the average American is an extremely important national asset.

The fact that a man is self-reliant, however, does not mean that Government should ignore him. To the contrary, Government should do its part to cultivate individual responsibility, to provide incentives and rewards to those who "take care of themselves." Only in this way can we be sure that the self-reliant way of life will be a continuing and growing part of the American experience.

My pension reform program would help do this. It builds on traditional strengths which have always been at the root of our national greatness.

The private pension system has contributed much to the economic security of American workers. We can be proud of its growth and its accomplishments. The proposals I offer will strengthen and stimulate its further development.

I hope this program will receive the prompt and favorable consideration of the Congress. For it can do a great deal to protect the rights of the average American during his working years and to enhance the quality of his life when he has retired.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
December 8, 1971

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released a fact sheet and the transcript of a news briefing on the pension reform program by Peter M. Flanigan, Assistant to the President, Laurence H. Silberman, Under Secretary, Department of Labor, and Ronald B. Gold, Financial Economist, Office of Tax Analysis, Department of the Treasury.

385 Statement on the Death of Dr. Ralph J. Bunche. *December 9, 1971*

FELLOW Americans and peace-loving men and women everywhere today mourn the death of one of the greatest architects of peace in our time: Dr. Ralph Bunche.

Present at the founding of the United Nations and engaged since its inception in its most delicate and demanding missions, Dr. Bunche never relented in his persistence to advance the cause of brotherhood and cooperation among men and nations.

America is deeply proud of this distinguished son and profoundly saddened by his death. But we are also strengthened by the inexhaustible measure of dedication and creative action that spans his splendid career.

His calm and wise counsel will be sorely missed in the chambers of the United Nations. His role in the effort to bring peace to the Congo and the Middle East

71-234—72——77

will be widely remembered for many years to come.

For the credit he brought to our Nation and for the service he gave to all mankind, let each of us pause in tribute to this great man.

NOTE: Dr. Bunche, 67, died following a series of illnesses in New York Hospital, New York City.

386 Message to the Congress Transmitting Reports on the Military Incentive Awards Program. *December* 9, 1971

To the Congress of the United States:

In accordance with the provisions of 10 U.S.C. 1124, I am pleased to forward the reports of the Secretary of Defense and the Secretary of Transportation on awards made during fiscal year 1971 to members of the Armed Forces for suggestions, inventions and scientific achievements.

Participation by military personnel in the cash awards program was authorized by the Congress in September 1965. There could be no better demonstration of the program's success than the fact that tangible first-year benefits in excess of $555 million have been realized from the suggestions of military personnel since the program began.

The tangible first-year benefits resulting from adopted suggestions submitted by Department of Defense and Coast Guard military personnel during fiscal year 1971 totaled $117,676,188, the second highest annual amount in the history of the program. Cash awards presented to military personnel for their adopted suggestions during fiscal year 1971 totaled $1,919,121.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
December 9, 1971

387 Veto of the Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1971. *December* 10, 1971

To the Senate of the United States:

I return herewith without my approval S. 2007, the Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1971.

This legislation undertakes three major Federal commitments in the field of social welfare: extension of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, creation of a National Legal Services Corporation, and establishment of a comprehensive child development program.

As currently drafted, all three proposals contain provisions that would ill serve the stated objectives of this legislation, provisions altogether unacceptable to this administration.

Upon taking office, this administration sought to redesign, to redirect—indeed, to rehabilitate—the Office of Economic Opportunity, which had lost much public acceptance in the five years since its inception. Our objective has been to provide this agency with a new purpose and a new role. Our goal has been to make the Office of Economic Opportunity the primary research and development arm of the Nation's and the Government's ongoing effort to diminish and eventually

eliminate poverty in the United States. Despite occasional setbacks, considerable progress has been made.

That progress is now jeopardized. Two ill-advised and restrictive amendments contained in this bill would vitiate our efforts and turn back the clock.

In the 1964 act the President was granted authority to delegate—by executive action—programs of OEO to other departments of the Government. That flexibility has enabled this administration to shift tried and proven programs out of OEO to other agencies—so that OEO can concentrate its resources and talents on generating and testing new ideas, new programs and new policies to assist the remaining poor in the United States. This flexibility, however, would be taken away under amendments added by the Congress—and the President would be prohibited from spinning off successful and continuing programs to the service agencies.

If this congressional action were allowed to stand, OEO would become an operational agency, diluting its special role as incubator and tester of ideas and pioneer for social programs.

Secondly, the Congress has written into the OEO legislation an itemized list of mandatory funding levels for 15 categorical programs. This specific earmarking of funds for specific programs at OEO is genuinely reactionary legislation; it locks OEO executives into supporting and continuing programs that may prove less productive; it inhibits the very experimentation and innovation which I believe should be the primary mission of OEO; it denies administrative discretion to the executives of OEO and, most important, it restricts and limits the amount of funds available for hopeful new initiatives.

Should these amendments become law, OEO's days as the principal pioneer of the Nation's effort to combat poverty would be numbered; OEO would rapidly degenerate into just another ossified bureaucracy. Even if OEO legislation were to come separately to my desk, containing these provisions, I would be compelled to veto it as inconsistent with the best interest of America's poor. I urge the Congress to remove these restrictions.

The provision creating the National Legal Services Corporation differs crucially from the proposal originally put forth by this administration. Our intention was to create a legal services corporation, to aid the poor, that was independent and free of politics, yet contained built-in safeguards to assure its operation in a responsible manner. In the Congress, however, the legislation has been substantially altered, so that the quintessential principle of accountability has been lost.

In re-writing our original proposal, the door has been left wide open to those abuses which have cost one anti-poverty program after another its public enthusiasm and public support.

The restrictions which the Congress has imposed upon the President in the selection of directors of the Corporation is also an affront to the principle of accountability to the American people as a whole. Under congressional revisions, the President has full discretion to appoint only six of the seventeen directors; the balance must be chosen from lists provided by various professional, client and special interest groups, some of which are actual or potential grantees of the Corporation.

The sole interest to which each board member must be beholden is the public interest. The sole constituency he must represent is the whole American people.

The best way to insure this in this case is the constitutional way—to provide a free hand in the appointive process to the one official accountable to, and answerable to, the whole American people—the President of the United States, and to trust to the Senate of the United States to exercise its advise and consent function.

To compound the problem of accountability, Congress has further proposed that during the crucial 90 day period—when the Corporation is set into motion—its governance is to rest exclusively in the hands of designees of five private interest groups. That proposal should be dropped.

It would be better to have no legal services corporation than one so irresponsibly structured. I urge the Congress to rewrite this bill, to create a new National Legal Services Corporation, truly independent of political influences, containing strict safeguards against the kind of abuses certain to erode public support—a legal services corporation which places the needs of low-income clients first, before the political concerns of either legal service attorneys or elected officials.

But the most deeply flawed provision of this legislation is Title V, "Child Development Programs."

Adopted as an amendment to the OEO legislation, this program points far beyond what this administration envisioned when it made a "national commitment to providing all American children an opportunity for a healthful and stimulating development during the first five years of life."

Though Title V's stated purpose, "to provide every child with a full and fair opportunity to reach his full potential" is certainly laudable, the intent of Title V is overshadowed by the fiscal irresponsibility, administrative unworkability, and family-weakening implications of the system it envisions. We owe our children something more than good intentions.

We cannot and will not ignore the challenge to do more for America's children in their all-important early years. But our response to this challenge must be a measured, evolutionary, painstakingly considered one, consciously designed to cement the family in its rightful position as the keystone of our civilization.

Further, in returning this legislation to the Congress, I do not for a moment overlook the fact that there are some needs to be served, and served now.

One of these needs is for day care, to enable mothers, particularly those at the lowest income levels, to take full-time jobs. Federal support for State and local day care services under Head Start and the Social Security Act already totals more than half a billion dollars a year—but this is not enough. That is why our H.R. 1 welfare reform proposals, which have been before the Congress for the past 26 months, include a request for $750 million annually in day care funds for welfare recipients and the working poor, including $50 million for construction of facilities. And that is why we support the increased tax deductions written into the Revenue Act of 1971, which will provide a significant Federal subsidy for day care in families where both parents are employed, potentially benefitting 97 percent of all such families in the country and offering parents free choice of the child care arrangements they deem best for their own families. This approach reflects my conviction that the Federal Government's role wherever possible should be one of assisting parents to purchase needed day care services in the private, open market, with Federal involvement in direct provision

of such services kept to an absolute minimum.

A second imperative is the protection of children from actual suffering and deprivation. The administration is already moving on this front, under a policy of concentrating assistance where it will help the most—a policy certain to suffer if Title V's scatteration of attention and resources were to become law. Action we are presently taking includes:

—Expansion of nutritional assistance to poor children by nearly tripling participation in the food stamp program (from 3.6 million people to 10.6 million people) and doubling support for child nutrition programs (from less than $600 million to more than $1.2 billion) since 1969.

—Improvement of medical care for poor children through the introduction of more vigorous screening and treatment procedures under Medicaid.

—More effective targeting of maternal and child health services on low income mothers who need them most.

Furthermore, Head Start continues to perform both valuable day care and early education services, and an important experimentation and demonstration function which identifies and paves the way for wider application of successful techniques. And the Office of Child Development which I established within the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare in 1969 provides overall leadership for these and many other activities focused on the first five years of life.

But, unlike these tried and tested programs for our children, the child development envisioned in this legislation would be truly a long leap into the dark for the United States Government and the American people. I must share the view of those of its supporters who proclaim this to be the most radical piece of legislation to emerge from the Ninety-second Congress.

I also hold the conviction that such far-reaching national legislation should not, must not, be enacted in the absence of a great national debate upon its merit, and broad public acceptance of its principles.

Few contend that such a national debate has taken place. No one, I believe, would contend that the American people, as a whole, have determined that this is the direction in which they desire their government and nation to go.

Specifically, these are my present objections to the proposed child development program:

First, neither the immediate *need* nor the desirability of a national child development program of this character has been demonstrated.

Secondly, day care centers to provide for the children of the poor so that their parents can leave the welfare rolls to go on the payrolls of the nation, are already provided for in H.R. 1, my workfare legislation. To some degree, child development centers are a duplication of these efforts. Further, these child development programs would be redundant in that they duplicate many existing and growing Federal, State and local efforts to provide social, medical, nutritional and education services to the very young.

Third, given the limited resources of the Federal budget, and the growing demands upon the Federal taxpayer, the expenditure of two billions of dollars in a program whose effectiveness has yet to be demonstrated cannot be justified. And the prospect of costs which could eventually reach $20 billion annually is even more unreasonable.

Fourth, for more than two years this administration has been working for the enactment of welfare reform, one of the objectives of which is to bring the family together. This child development program appears to move in precisely the opposite direction. There is a respectable school of opinion that this legislation would lead toward altering the family relationship. Before even a tentative step is made in this direction by their government, the American people should be fully consulted.

Fifth, all other factors being equal, good public policy requires that we enhance rather than diminish both parental authority and parental involvement with children—particularly in those decisive early years when social attitudes and a conscience are formed, and religious and moral principles are first inculcated.

Sixth, there has yet to be an adequate answer provided to the crucial question of who the qualified people are, and where they would come from, to staff the child development centers.

Seventh, as currently written, the legislation would create, ex nihilo, a new army of bureaucrats. By making any community over 5,000 population eligible as a direct grantee for HEW child development funds, the proposal actively invites the participation of as many as 7,000 prime sponsors—each with its own plan, its own council, its own version of all the other machinery that has made Head Start, with fewer than 1,200 grantees, so difficult a management problem.

Eighth, the States would be relegated to an insignificant role. This new program would not only arrogate the initiative for preschool education to the Federal Government from the States—only 8 of which even require kindergarten at present. It would also retain an excessive measure of operational control for such education at the Federal level, in the form of the standards and program guidelines to be set down by the Secretary of HEW.

Ninth, for the Federal Government to plunge headlong financially into supporting child development would commit the vast moral authority of the National Government to the side of communal approaches to child rearing over against the family-centered approach.

This President, this Government, is unwilling to take that step. With this message, I urge the Congress to act now to pass the OEO extension and to create the legal services corporation along the lines proposed in our original legislation.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
December 9, 1971

NOTE: The veto message, dated December 9, 1971, was transmitted to the Senate on December 10.

On December 9, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing on the veto message by Frank C. Carlucci III, Associate Director, Office of Management and Budget, and Stephen Kurzman, Assistant Secretary for Legislation, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

The Senate sustained the President's veto on December 10.

388 Remarks on Presenting the Distinguished Service Medal to General Leonard F. Chapman, Jr. *December* 10, 1971

Ladies and gentlemen:

As you know, we are all gathered here today for a ceremony which has occurred before as far as General Chapman is concerned. This is the third Distinguished Service Medal he has received.

This one has a very special significance because it marks the completion of 4 years of service in the highest post in the Marine Corps—Commandant of the Marine Corps—and, although it is very hard to realize in looking at him and his wife, 36 years in the Marine Corps.

On such occasions, it is best to let the citation speak for the record, and the citation will be read by the Secretary, but I would simply like to say that in the time I have known General Chapman, I am enormously impressed with his qualifications as a military officer and by his very great ability as an advocate of the Marine Corps and of the uniform he proudly wears, exemplified across this country by the affection and respect the men in the Marine Corps have for him.

Certainly as he leaves as Commandant, he has nothing but a record of pride to look back upon.

I would also like to say that a Marine wife has to be outstanding, and Mrs. Chapman, in the social functions, has had an opportunity of being an ideal Marine wife.

I would also like to add that General Chapman is a Marine in the truest sense. I understand he started, as a matter of fact, in the Army, and decided to take his commission as second lieutenant in the Marine Corps 36 years ago, as a matter of choice—not because he didn't like the Army, but because he did like the Marine Corps.

But in any event, he carried that tradition on, and two of his sons became Marines, and both of them served with distinction in Vietnam.

We honor today the Marine Corps, and we honor its Commandant and a splendid Marine family.

If you will read the citation, Mr. Secretary.

[At this point, Secretary of the Navy John H. Chafee read the citation, the text of which follows:

The President of the United States takes pleasure in presenting the DISTINGUISHED SERVICE MEDAL (Gold Star in lieu of the Third Award) to

GENERAL LEONARD F. CHAPMAN, JR.
UNITED STATES MARINE CORPS

for service as set forth in the following

Citation:

For exceptionally meritorious service to the Government of the United States in a duty of great responsibility as the Commandant of the Marine Corps from February 1969 through December 1971.

A splendid leader with enduring values and great patriotism, General Chapman, during four years as its Commandant, led the Marine Corps through the height of the Vietnam Conflict and the process of returning to peacetime posture. With keen foresight and conviction, General Chapman forged a renewed Corps emphasizing readiness, equality, and professionalism.

As a member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Chapman, through his statesmanship and superb understanding of the factors which influence the formulation of national policy,

contributed substantially to the development of important policies during a period of vital and unusual significance to the United States. His wise advice, exceptional judgment, and clarity of vision have been acknowledged in the highest councils of our Government.

By his dedicated and distinguished service during more than thirty-six years of devoted duty, General Chapman has contributed greatly to the success of the United States and friendly forces engaged in the protection of citizens of free nations, thereby upholding and contributing to the highest traditions of the Marine Corps and the United States Naval Service.

RICHARD NIXON

The President then resumed speaking.]

I told you about the General's speechmaking ability. Now we will give him a chance to respond.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:07 p.m. in the Oval Office at the White House.

General Chapman's remarks are printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 7, p. 1637).

General Chapman served as Commandant of the Marine Corps from January 1, 1968, until his retirement on January 1, 1972.

389 Remarks on Signing the Revenue Act of 1971. *December* 10, 1971

I WOULD like to say a word about this bill. I have issued the usual formal statement about it, but I want to say a word that relates to the bill and also relates to the Members of the House and Senate who are here, both Republicans and Democrats who worked on it.

I will just begin by saying this is the kind of Christmas bill we like to get. It is a bill which truly benefits virtually all Americans. Through the increased exemptions, virtually all Americans benefit.

In another sense, it is also vitally important to the future of this country. The new economic program that was announced on August 15 had several parts. The part that has received the most publicity, of course, is that part directed toward controlling inflation and the wage-price freeze. The Phase 2 program has been remarkably successful in stopping the rise in the cost of living.

The other part of the program equally important is that of creating jobs, and that is what this bill is about, primarily, because as a result of more purchasing power, as a result of the provisions repealing the auto excise tax, which I understand several Michigan people are interested in, as well as the rest of the country—just to give an example, over 3 million automobiles have been sold since the announcement on August 15 was made. That means that an average of $200 per 3 million people will be rebated as a result of the action of Congress. We can see that approximately $600 million going to those who purchased automobiles around this Christmas season will be a good shot in the arm for the economy. We trust that it will.

On the other side, too, we have the job creation aspects, which you are all familiar with; the job development credit, which we believe will have the effect of stimulating investment by American industry in new equipment which will also have the added benefit of making American industry more competitive with industries abroad.

Now a word about how it all came about. When I made the proposal when

the Secretary of the Treasury and I were, as I recall, at Camp David, along with other members of the Administration working on the new economic policy, some of those who were there said it was impossible to present a tax bill to the Congress at this time of year just before an election year and expect the bill to come out in any responsible way. In fact, it was said that a tax bill presented to the Congress now would inevitably end up as a Christmas tree. What of course they meant was that it would be a Christmas tree in the sense that it would be so loaded down with goodies that it would break down the tree.

I would like to say that the responsibility that has been shown by the ranking members and all the members of the finance committees—the chairman and the ranking member and their colleagues on the Ways and Means Committee of the House, the chairman and the ranking member and their colleagues on the Senate Finance Committee—has certainly been a splendid example of our system at work, and at work at its best.

This is a Christmas tree. It is one in which there is something for all of the American people. But it is one which will not break down the tree. That temptation has been avoided, and the Congress has come forward with a responsible bill which will benefit the economy and benefit all Americans.

So speaking for the American people and for the Administration, I want to give the credit where it is due, not only to the Secretary of the Treasury and others who worked on the bill here, but to the Members of the House and the Senate, Democrat and Republican, who put the interests of the country first and came forward with a very responsible tax bill, despite the prophecies that it would be impossible to do so.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:11 p.m. in the Cabinet Room at the White House.

As enacted, the bill (H.R. 10947) is Public Law 92–178 (85 Stat. 497).

On November 29, 1971, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing by Clark MacGregor, Counsel to the President for Congressional Relations, on Senate amendments to the bill.

390 Statement About the Revenue Act of 1971. *December* 10, 1971

PRACTICALLY every American—taxpayers, jobseekers, housewives, businessmen, workers—will benefit from the historic tax-cut legislation which I have today signed into law. And so will the American economy.

The most important thing this act means is jobs. In addition to the job-creating effects of the auto excise tax repeal and of the increase in consumers' after-tax income, the job development credit will create new jobs by encouraging American businesses to buy new equipment—and, by increasing the productivity of our workers, it will help make American business more competitive in the world, and thus keep more jobs here in the United States. Increased productivity will also provide a basis for wage increases not offset by price increases—an increase in our real standard of living.

In its major provisions, this act follows closely the recommendations I made last August. It represents a critical part of the

71-234—72——78

program I announced then to create new jobs and build a new prosperity.

Enactment of this bill means an increase in exemptions for all individual taxpayers and deductions as well for many of them, especially for low-income persons. It means an average saving of $200 for every new car buyer—a fact which has already produced a gratifying upsurge in auto sales, and has thus provided a major stimulus to the economy as a whole. It means that millions of Americans who have demonstrated their own confidence in the economy since August 15 by buying new cars will have a chance to receive that saving in the form of a rebate at Christmastime.

The act also helps meet the special needs of working parents, by providing them with generous new deductions for the cost of child care.

I would have preferred the more stimulative form of the job development credit that I recommended, that is, a 10-percent credit this coming year and 5 percent thereafter. This would have had a greater job-creating impact now when the jobs are most needed. But the credit as enacted will provide a significant boost.

I remain firmly opposed on principle to the tax checkoff device for financing presidential campaigns out of the public treasury which is also included in this act. By postponing the effective date, the Congress has allowed ample opportunity for reconsideration of this measure on its own merits, rather than as part of the tax package. The Senate was right in 1967, when by a bipartisan majority it reversed its earlier decision and rendered inoperative a similar plan that had been enacted in 1966. I have signed this act today because I am confident that, with the time now allowed for reconsideration, this provision—like the earlier one—will not become operative. I strongly urge outright repeal by the Congress of both the 1971 and the 1966 checkoff provisions.

391 Statement About Senate Confirmation of Lewis F. Powell, Jr., and William H. Rehnquist as Associate Justices of the Supreme Court. *December* 10, 1971

I AM extremely gratified that the Senate has now confirmed both Lewis Powell and William Rehnquist as Associate Justices of the Supreme Court.

These two men have undergone intensive scrutiny by the legislative and executive branches of the Federal Government and, as reported by the Senate Judiciary Committee, have been found "thoroughly qualified." Indeed, I believe that they bring to the bench such an exceptional degree of integrity and intellect and so keen an understanding of the judicial process that the quality of the Court decisions should be enhanced for years to come.

They take the place of two men—Justice Harlan and the late Justice Black—who were among the giants of modern Court history.

I am confident that they will fill those vacancies with a distinction worthy of the Court, and worthy of the men whose seats they fill.

NOTE: The Senate confirmed the nomination of Mr. Powell on December 6, 1971, and Mr. Rehnquist on December 10.

On December 22, the President presented commissions of appointment to Mr. Powell and Mr. Rehnquist in the Oval Office at the White House.

392 Letter Accepting the Resignation of David Packard as Deputy Secretary of Defense. *December* 11, 1971

Dear Dave:

It is with the deepest regret that I accept your resignation, as you have requested, as Deputy Secretary of Defense, effective December 13, 1971.

Few men have given so much and so willingly to their country as you have for the past thirty-five months—and few have discharged their responsibilities with such distinction and excellence. In assuming this demanding position—at great personal and financial sacrifice—you demonstrated once again your commitment to effective public service and gave testimony to your belief that every American can and should contribute to the cause of good government.

Managing a vast array of exceedingly complex defense matters, you have shown outstanding judgment and uncommon ability, and have justly won the admiration and respect of your colleagues. Your wise counsel in vitally important national security questions has been of immense value to Mel Laird and to me, and I want you to know that these exceptional accomplishments have earned for you the Nation's gratitude.

As you return to private life, I am sure that each and every one of your many friends and associates here would want to join me in thanking you for a job superbly done and in wishing Lucile and you the happiness you so richly deserve.

Sincerely,

RICHARD NIXON

[Honorable David Packard, The Deputy Secretary of Defense, Washington, D.C. 20301]

NOTE: Secretary Packard's letter, dated December 10, 1971, and released with the President's letter on December 11, read as follows:

Dear Mr. President:

Last July I informed you that for strictly personal reasons I could not continue in a full-time government position after this year. I want to advise you today that I must resign as Deputy Secretary of Defense effective December 13, 1971.

I will leave the Department of Defense with both regrets and a real sense of accomplishment. I have developed great admiration and respect for the men and women of the Department—military and civilian. Their dedication and personal competence is the Department's greatest source of strength and our best assurance of maintaining our national security.

Secretary Laird has built an excellent management team in the Department and I believe that its accomplishments have established this excellence. I have seen what I believe to be major forward steps, particularly in the fields of management, procurement and equal opportunity. I am sure these steps will help you in the years ahead in maintaining both a more economical and effective national defense. I am equally confident that this team will continue its effective implementation of your national security programs and will work closely and well with my successor.

I want to take this opportunity as a citizen and as Deputy Secretary of Defense to express my appreciation and admiration for the outstanding leadership you have provided to the nation and the Department of Defense. Under your leadership I have seen the Vietnamization program turn the nation from war to peace, seen great new initiatives in negotiations and in nation-to-nation contacts, and seen a basic

restructuring of national and international programs to recognize new realities and essential new priorities. You have established the basis for a generation or more of peace.

It has been a privilege and honor to serve you and to play a small role in assisting you in exercising American leadership for world peace and in supporting your determination that our nation remain both strong and free.

I want to emphasize that my decision to resign from a full time government position has been made for strictly personal reasons. I am, of course, available to assist you from private life in any way you may feel appropriate. I am certain the American people will re-elect you in 1972 so that you can continue your great work for peace and stability both at home and abroad. I want to help and will help in this important job of pointing out in coming months your accomplishments, your goals, and the importance of your re-election to the welfare not just of the United States, but to the entire Free World.

It has been the greatest honor of my lifetime to have served in your Administration. Your leadership, backed by courage, wisdom and understanding, has been magnificent. Thank you for the opportunity to serve my President and my country.

Respectfully yours,

DAVID PACKARD

[The President, The White House, Washington, D.C. 20500]

393 Statement on the Death of General David Sarnoff. *December* 12, 1971

THE DEATH of General David Sarnoff is a great loss not only for America but for the world. A monumental figure in electronic communications, history will record him as a man of pioneering vision and indomitable action. General Sarnoff had those qualities of spirit that embody the highest tradition of our Nation—imagination, daring, patriotism, and generosity. Mrs. Nixon and I join his family and the Nation at large in mourning the passing of this gifted American.

NOTE: General Sarnoff, 80, died after a lengthy illness in New York City. He was chairman of the board of the Radio Corporation of America from 1947 until his retirement in 1970. At the time of his death, he was honorary chairman of the board.

The statement was released at Lajes Field, the Azores.

394 Toasts of the President, Prime Minister Marcello Caetano of Portugal, and President Georges Pompidou of France at a Dinner Hosted by the Prime Minister During Meetings in the Azores. *December* 13, 1971

Mr. Prime Minister, or Mr. President as you may be called, President Pompidou, all of the distinguished guests here this evening:

As the one who has the privilege of offering the last toast of the evening, I first pay my respects to those that have preceded me.

As we sit around this table, I am sure that all of us are aware of the fact that perhaps never before in the history of our nations, or the history of the world, have

the President of France, the President of the United States, and the Prime Minister of Portugal been so honored at a dinner of this type, and I join President Pompidou in expressing our very warm appreciation to our host for giving us such a generous welcome on Portuguese soil.

President Pompidou and the Prime Minister have both spoken eloquently of the historical backgrounds of our various countries. I come from what is usually described as the New World, but it has just occurred to me how much that New World, the American hemisphere, owes to the Old World, and particularly to the two countries represented at this table from that Old World.

For example, last week I met in Washington the President of the largest country in South America and the Prime Minister of the largest country in North America. The President of Brazil spoke Portuguese, and his great country represents the enormous contribution that was made by the Portuguese settlers in that part of the world.

The Prime Minister of Canada spoke English, but he came from the French part of Canada, and his presence and what he spoke of indicated the enormous contribution that France has made not only to Canada but to the United States and all the New World.

We, of course, in the United States owe so much to France from the time that we became a nation during our Revolution—and speaking as a native of the State of California, I am aware of the fact that my State was first discovered by a Portuguese captain, Cabrillo.

So what the New World is and what it may become is due to the ability, the exploration, the genius that we have inherited from the Old World, and particularly from these nations that are represented here tonight.

Now, as we meet, we find that sometimes we are competitors, we in the New World and those in the Old World, in Europe particularly.

When I arrived at the airport on the Spirit of '76, a Boeing 707, I saw parked in front of me a Concorde which had carried the President of France.[1] Our Ambassador to France, Mr. Watson, pointed out that he had come from France at a speed three times as fast as we had come from the United States. I do not speak in envy; I only wish we had made the plane ourselves.

We do live in a time, a fortunate time, when the competition between our great countries is competition which builds progress for all of our people that can be shared in a peaceful way. It is inevitable that there will be problems arising in trade and monetary affairs, in all those areas where advanced societies may compete. But where those problems can be settled peacefully, as they always will between our countries, it can only mean that the whole world benefits from the competition that each gives to others.

A nation or a people that lives as an island unto themselves inevitably will fall behind the rest of the world. There are some voices in our country who speak of turning inward, of turning away from responsibilities in the world. But those are not the voices that will make the future of America. The future of America will be made by a people who will welcome the opportunity to compete with other nations in the world, and to play our role, bear

[1] On December 14, 1971, prior to his departure from Lajes Field, the Azores, the President inspected the French supersonic aircraft Concorde.

our fair share of the burdens which are involved in world leadership.

I have spoken of what the New World owes to the Old World, and particularly what the Americans owe to Portugal and to France. What can the New World do, and particularly what can America do to repay that debt?

We can be responsible partners in the world community. And in this Christmas season, with these Christmas flowers, and on this island with the Christmas name, Jesus Christ, we can think of a world which we hope will be a peaceful world. France, Portugal, the United States may have some differences in trade, in other areas, but we are totally united in our devotion to peace and in building a world in which all nations may enjoy the blessings of peace.

It is my sincere hope, as the President of France and the President of the United States meet here as guests of the Prime Minister of Portugal, on Portuguese soil, that our meetings will not only contribute to the solution of our temporary economic differences, but that in the great tradition of our two countries, our meetings will contribute to the cause of peace and freedom in the world. There would be no better Christmas present for the world than to have a meeting such as this, between the heads of state and heads of government of two great nations, make progress toward the goal of a more peaceful world.

It is in that spirit, in the true spirit of Christmas, that I offer a toast to the Prime Minister of Portugal, to the President of Portugal, and to the President of the French Republic.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:30 p.m. in the Governor's Palace at Angra do Heroísmo on Terceira Island, in response to toasts proposed by Prime Minister Caetano and President Pompidou.

In his opening remarks, President Nixon was referring to the fact that Prime Minister Caetano's official title was President of the Council of Ministers of Portugal.

The Prime Minister's remarks follow:

It is to me a singular privilege to welcome to Portuguese territory the heads of state of two friendly nations.

In these days, so full of the worries that reflect the birth pangs of a new world, it is good that, from time to time, the people's leaders should look for a small island. Small islands have about them a mythical charm. They are a haven—not for oblivion, but for meditation. Man needs to know his own limits if his actions are to be realistic and fertile, and an island is, by definition, a piece of land limited on all sides.

This island where we stand is one of the many discovered by those Portuguese who ventured across unknown seas aboard their frail vessels during the 14th and the 15th centuries. These islands were desert. The Portuguese navigators revealed their existence, gave them names, and added to them a human dimension.

They had to possess a lot of courage, those fellow countrymen of mine of five centuries ago. But they needed a good deal of imagination, too, for the places they christened are numberless, be it over the oceans or on the continents, in Africa, in America, in Asia, in Oceania—there where today the presence of Portugal is, in many cases, still alive.

Sometimes the beauty of the new land excited such wonder that the native lyrical talent of the Portuguese soul would flow free, and then the islands received names like Flores, Graciosa, or Formosa.

At other times, his sense of the real would lead the sailor or geographer to pick out one of the physical traits of the place in order to name it. But when no other way remained, Heaven came to the rescue, and, thus, the whole calendar of saints has been scattered around the earth by the devotion of the Portuguese.

Here in this archipelago, called Azores because it was so rich in that particular species of bird, the first island to be discovered was piously dedicated to Saint Mary. The second one was placed under the protection of Saint

Michael. And then the discoverers reached the third. Three is a magic number. It had to be celebrated in a special way, and the island was given the name of Jesus Christ.

During its first period of settlement, the island was indeed called Jesus Christ. And more than any other land it is linked through its former name with the culture and civilization which ennobled Europe and marked the growth of the Americas.

On the other hand, placed between Europe and the Americas, the archipelago of the Azores has always been a connecting link between the two continents. Lord of Ilha Terceira in the earlier period of its colonization, a Corte-Real, is found to be connected with the discovery of Newfoundland. In later times, when the size of the population outgrew the scanty space of these islands and was scarce in the vast areas of the Americas, there started in that direction a continuous flow of emigrants which has not yet ceased.

In the United States of America, Azoreans build up the major part of the Portuguese community. Many of them came from this island where, since the last war, an air base has been established that has rendered no small service to the cause of the West and to the security of the Atlantic.

The two peoples cannot but understand each other. The Portuguese are sensitive to the prestige of a nation which, like the American, bases its greatness on the moral strength of its civic life and on the indomitable energy of its children, and they admire the courage with which it fights to preserve the freedom of the Western World. Here, in the Azores, is one of the bulwarks for that struggle.

[After delivering the above remarks in English, the Prime Minister continued his remarks in French. A translation follows:]

However, if the President of the United States of America has good motives to find in this place many affinities with his country and to be welcome here with warm friendship, the reasons why the President of the French Republic may feel in friendly country are none the less.

In order to colonize the islands in the 15th century, the Portuguese resorted to other peoples in Europe. And many of the first settlers came from territories which nowadays are French or which enjoyed at the time a very close relationship with France.

At São Miguel there is a village called Bretanha. And the language spoken there is still typical compared to the other parts of the island. Many of those who accepted to take part in the adventure of covering with human life these bits of solidified lava were Flemish. The landscape, the habits, the language have kept an indelible imprint left by those men who brought with them their own tradition and the elements of a culture that has so strongly contributed to the wealth of French culture, which was then taking its modern form.

You cannot compare France's cultural influence in Portugal to that of any other country. No economic or political influences can be called to justify this fact. The only valid explanation must come from affinities of the mind. The cultured Portuguese admires the French literature, French art, the French way of life and of being. And it is not only admiration that he feels; it is also love. Sadness overcomes him when he sees, so often, how misjudged and badly known his country is, owing to lack of information, but he forgives many a thing out of that tolerance which, in the heart of the Lusitanian, goes hand in hand with friendship.

Luckily, the relations between the two peoples are very cordial, and that cordiality is mirrored in the relations between their governments. Many Portuguese are at present working in France, thus contributing towards the economic prosperity of the country and creating one more link between the two mother countries.

These are indeed good reasons to welcome warmly the presence on Portuguese soil of the President of the French Republic.

The world expects a lot from this meeting between the two of you, Mr. Presidents, and it is justified in doing so. Two gentlemen are talking face to face. Two experienced statesmen are drawing up the balance of a critical situation. The leaders responsible for two great nations are facing courageously, but carefully, the difficulties of the present and the ways of the future.

My wish is that the atmosphere of this place may contribute to an understanding in these talks and to their happy conclusion. Beyond

its stormy, wintry aspects, a feature of this island is its human climate of goodness and mutual understanding. It is full of a passionate wish to help others, of an unbounded yearning to better life, a yearning nourished by a stubborn hope and expressed in patient and honest work.

We have, very close to here, the anti-cyclone center. I know nothing about meteorology, but the word does convey to me that, were it not for the currents which brake the whirlwinds built up in the same direction as the rotation of the earth, we would lay open to much more frequent catastrophes. Nature has created the normal movement, but it has also foreseen a remedy to its excesses.

Allow me, Mr. Presidents and gentlemen, to give now a thought to all the men scattered throughout the world whose destinies lie in the hands of those who have been assigned to heavy responsibilities of governing, and to wish, on this island of Jesus Christ, that mankind be still in time to hear the resonances of the Christian message.

I toast to the health of the President of the United States of America and of the President of the French Republic. I toast to the peoples they represent. And I toast to the success of the talks which have started today.

Following Prime Minister Caetano's remarks, President Pompidou spoke in French. A translation follows:

Mr. President:

Thank you for your kind words and for the warm welcome extended to us by the Government of Portugal and the people of Terceira. Well do we know your country's hospitality, but this evening, after a full day's work in the midst of these natural surroundings that civilization has not destroyed but made even more beautiful, I sense particularly strongly all that these islands—the ocean itself—mean for a European and a Frenchman. Perhaps it is the invisible presence of three continents which makes us feel the full pressure of the universe we live in.

The Azores, which belong to the old continent because geologically they are this side of the mid-Atlantic ridge, are really the extreme tip of Portugal itself. For many years they were the westernmost outpost of our civilization, at a time the great Portuguese sailors were ever carrying further afield the frontiers of Europe.

The ancestors of those who peopled these islands came from the various nations of Europe, and even the variety of the scenery reflects the different lands of our continent.

But we cannot talk of the Europe of the past without mentioning the Europe which is in the making and which we know you are ready to take part in. Once the European Community felt strong enough to expand, you saw clearly that you should establish special ties with it—which is also our view—and thus important negotiations have started in Brussels. It is France's wish, in keeping with her philosophy at the Hague Conference, that they should succeed and that an agreement be reached which, while taking into account the specific features of the Portuguese economy, will bring your country both immediate benefits and the future prospects which it is entitled to expect from an arrangement designed to bring its economy gradually closer to that of the Common Market countries.

May I add that in the Azores, where we are meeting, traditions still reflect memories of France. French sailors were at one time attracted to the idea of settling in these beautiful islands, and although I have not been able to check this myself, I understand that their influence lingers on in certain aspects of local pronunciation. In any case, these island districts of Portugal fully contribute to the ties of all kinds which unite our two countries. First and foremost I should mention the cultural exchanges which through the centuries have never ceased to make the Franco-Portuguese relationship a particularly intimate one—and all the stronger because it is based not only on historical circumstances but even more on the preestablished harmonies which spring from the two countries' common Latin origin.

Today, this profound mutual understanding, which is based on far more than interest, facilitates extensive exchanges among people, and in so doing becomes even stronger. Despite inevitable difficulties which we solve together, the immigration of numbers of your compatriots to France has contributed, especially in recent

years, and is contributing to a strengthening and a deepening of Franco-Portuguese friendship, while at the same time being beneficial, directly or indirectly, to the economy of both countries.

In turning towards President Nixon, with whom I had frank and searching talks early in 1970 and whom I saw again in sad circumstances in November of the same year, I would like to say that it would be difficult to find a better place for talks between the President of the United States and the President of the French Republic. The Azores were on the route of the great liners, which seemed to be drawn like a magnet to São Miguel; more recently they have been an airline stop between Europe and America; and so they are a link between the two continents. It is not without significance that we should be meeting here tonight, 26 years after the Second World War.

Our world today is, to be sure, one of uncertainty. Deplorable conflicts, like the one which is causing such tragedy between India and Pakistan, are there to remind us that nothing is ever settled once and for all, even if the fantastic development of the means of destruction produced by modern science has so far made men shrink from the prospect of wars such as those which Europe and, through Europe, the world have known twice in the 20th century. However, the stability of Europe, the economic growth and prosperity of our societies, international exchanges, the universality that has now been achieved in the United Nations—all these are factors of encouragement. If we are here tonight, it is no doubt because we want to prevent the difficulties of the monetary system of the West from upsetting a family of nations whose prosperity is fundamental for world equilibrium, but it is also because the United States and France, along with other countries, have deliberately and resolutely chosen to strive for better understanding among peoples and for the elimination of divisions based on ideological opposition. This is no easy task. But as representative of a country which today has ties of friendship and cooperation with nearly all states, I see in this gathering tonight an alliance between the tradition of European civilization, the dynamism of the New World, and even the Latin genius—all of which is a symbol of unity and hope.

I give you the toast: Admiral Américo Thomaz, President of the Republic of Portugal; our host, President Marcello Caetano; Mr. Richard Nixon, President of the United States of America; and the longstanding and longlasting friendship between the people of Portugal, the people of America, and the people of France.

395 Remarks of the President and President Pompidou of France Following Their Meetings in the Azores. *December* 14, 1971

PRESIDENT Pompidou and I have just concluded our very extensive discussions. In those discussions, we have made significant progress in the problem that I know many have been concerned with on the international monetary situation.

That progress will be indicated by the joint statement which will be read to the members of the press after the President and I have addressed you briefly now.

However, in addition to that subject which is covered by our joint statement, the President and I discussed a wide range of international issues, and we also discussed a wide range of bilateral issues.

I can only characterize the meetings by saying that, as was the previous case when I have met with the President, our discussions were not only candid and frank but, above all, they were constructive and, we believe, contributed in this instance not only to good relations between our two

countries but also to progress on the economic and other fronts for better understanding in the world.

[At this point, President Pompidou spoke in French. The President then resumed speaking.]

Ladies and gentlemen, I want to express, on my part, on behalf of all of the American party, our very deep gratitude to the Prime Minister of Portugal and to the Government of Portugal and to the people of this city and of this island for their very warm hospitality. We leave here with unforgettable memories of magnificent weather, of very friendly people, and also of hospitality and friendship which cannot be excelled any place in the world. The fact that we met—the President of France and I—under such pleasant circumstances, I am sure, contributed to the fact that our meeting was, we believe, a very successful meeting. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:38 p.m. in the rose garden outside the Junta Geral at Angra do Heroísmo on Terceira Island.

A translation of President Pompidou's remarks follows:

The excellent hospitality which the Portuguese Government has afforded us has contributed to giving our conversation an agreeable character. It was not needed to make them friendly. I am happy, following these 2 days of talks, to be able to say, as President Nixon said, that these conversations have been constructive.

They dealt, as you were told, with all conceivable subjects, whether it be bilateral matters of interest to the United States and France, whether it be our respective views on world problems now pending, and more generally about everything that can help the return and the strengthening of peace.

As was natural, part of our conversation was devoted to economic and monetary problems. We have, I believe, well prepared [for] the meeting which the Group of Ten is to hold in the near future, and I think that we will have made a constructive contribution to the solution of these problems.

396 Joint Statement Following Meetings in the Azores With President Pompidou of France. *December* 14, 1971

PRESIDENT Nixon and President Pompidou reached a broad area of agreement on measures necessary to achieve a settlement at the earliest possible date of the immediate problems of the international monetary system. In cooperation with other nations concerned, they agreed to work toward a prompt realignment of exchange rates through a devaluation of the dollar and revaluation of some other currencies. This realignment could, in their view, under present circumstances, be accompanied by broader permissible margins of fluctuation around the newly established exchange rates.

Aware of the interest of measures involving trade for a lasting equilibrium of the balance of payments, President Pompidou confirmed that France, together with the governments of the other countries which are members of the European Economic Community, was preparing the mandate which would permit the imminent opening of negotiations with the United States in order to settle the short-term problems currently pending and to establish the agenda for the examination of fundamental questions in the area of trade.

President Nixon underscored the contribution that vigorous implementation by the United States of measures to restore

domestic wage-price stability and productivity would make toward international equilibrium and the defense of the new dollar exchange rate.

The Presidents agreed that discussion should be undertaken promptly in appropriate forums to resolve fundamental and interrelated issues of monetary reform.

NOTE: The joint statement was released at Angra do Heroísmo on Terceira Island, the Azores.

On December 13, 1971, the White House released the transcript of remarks by Secretary of State William P. Rogers and French Minister of Foreign Affairs Maurice Schumann on trade and foreign policy matters following their meeting in the Azores. The remarks are printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 7, p. 1656).

On the same day, the White House also released the transcript of a news briefing by Secretary of the Treasury John B. Connally on economic and monetary affairs following his discussions in the Azores with French Minister of Economy and Finance Valéry Giscard d'Estaing. The briefing is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 7, p. 1658).

On December 15, the President met with the bipartisan leadership of the Congress to brief them on the monetary and financial aspects of his trip to the Azores. Following the meeting, Senators Mike Mansfield and Hugh Scott, Speaker of the House Carl Albert, Representatives Hale Boggs and Gerald R. Ford, and Clark MacGregor, Counsel to the President for Congressional Relations, held a news conference. A transcript of it was released by the White House and is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 7, p. 1666).

397 Remarks at Andrews Air Force Base on Returning From the Azores. *December* 14, 1971

Ladies and gentlemen:

As you know, we have just returned from an historic meeting in the Azores with President Pompidou. President Pompidou and I agreed, at the conclusion of our meeting, that our joint statement that has been issued to the press and some brief oral statements that we made would be the only statements we would make at this time. However, Secretary Connally, on the international economic front, and Secretary Rogers, on the international issues other than economic, will give you a brief fill-in of the other matters that were covered. I will say nothing more because of our understanding with the President that we would both at this point stand on what we have already said.

NOTE: The President spoke at approximately 4:15 p.m. at Andrews Air Force Base, Md.

Secretary of the Treasury John B. Connally spoke as follows:

Thank you. With respect to the international monetary affairs, I would simply like to say that the communiqué that was issued by the two Presidents was not specific in its treatment of the many items that were discussed. This was partially, deliberately so designed for the simple reason that our international monetary problems encompass the actions and the reactions of a great many more countries than just the United States and France. Consequently, we are not in a position to divulge all of the details of the discussion. I think it is fair to say that the meeting between the two Presidents resulted in a very significant step forward—looking toward the settlement of the international monetary problems that exist. The Group of Ten meeting which will occur here this weekend hopefully will bring us even closer to a solution. I would not now predict that we will finally settle it this weekend because I can't prejudice the actions of other nations. I will say that, beyond any question, the very significant step that results from the meeting of the two Presidents will contribute enormously toward an alternate solution and an early solution.

Q. Mr. Secretary, could you tell us anything about the timetable for devaluation and any idea of what the devaluation will be?

SECRETARY CONNALLY. No, we don't know the timetable, again, simply because this is going to depend entirely upon the actions of the Group of Ten and all the nations. And this is the thing that we want to emphasize, that this is not a two-nation affair. It is a package of actions that have to be taken by the Group of Ten. Trade issues have to be included. So, I can't give you a timetable, but we are certainly looking in the very short range for a solution to all these problems.

Q. One other question, Mr. Secretary. Do you feel assured that other nations will revalue their currencies forthwith to accommodate us?

SECRETARY CONNALLY. Well, certainly anticipated in any solution to the problem is a revaluation of some of the currencies around the world, yes.

Following the remarks of Secretary Connally, Secretary of State William P. Rogers spoke as follows:

I would just like to add, ladies and gentlemen, that I think that the conversations between President Nixon and President Pompidou were most significant and, as the President said, I think this was a historic meeting. We were able, during the course of 7 hours in our discussions, to come to a better understanding of common problems in the foreign affairs field. We particularly discussed the very tragic events in South Asia. We have a common position on the European Security Conference. I think that the planning that we are doing on mutual and balanced force reductions all indicate that the relations between France and the United States have been greatly improved as a result of this visit, and I think that the President, particularly, deserves a great deal of credit for resolving or helping to resolve these difficult problems in the monetary, economic, and trade field. And I think that the action that Secretary Connally has taken to give leadership in this field is very significant, and I am sure that it is going to be a great help to me in the field of foreign affairs.

Thank you.

398 Statement About the Absence of Emergency Strike Legislation for Labor Disputes in the Transportation Industry. *December* 15, 1971

NEARLY 2 years have passed since I proposed to Congress a realistic solution to emergency disputes in transportation.

In that period several rail crises and port shutdowns have retarded economic recovery and injured thousands of individuals who have no direct voice in the disputes process that can so adversely affect them. Workers in many industries have been thrown out of work. Losses in perishables have been tremendous. The overall impact on the American people, and especially on our farmers, has been devastating.

The Congress itself, under pressure from rail crises, has been forced to take crash actions and write improvised solutions.

Today, as Congress prepares to go into recess, emergency strike legislation still languishes deep in committee files.

In view of all these circumstances, I find it imperative to call to the attention of the Congress the fact that longshoremen in nearly all of our ports are working only because of Taft-Hartley injunctions, and that these have limited duration. A renewed work stoppage on our west coast is possible—and legal under present law—as early as Christmas Day.

If a renewed stoppage does occur, an emergency could develop while the Congress is in recess. I remind the Congress, therefore, to consider fully the implications of the absence of any statutory means to deal with any further emergencies.

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing by Laurence H. Silberman, Under Secretary of Labor, on the west coast dock dispute and the emergency strike legislation pending before the Congress.

399 Statement on Signing Bill To Protect Wild Horses and Burros. *December* 17, 1971

"WE NEED the tonic of wildness." During the past several months, many thousands of Americans, particularly children, have concurred in Thoreau's plea with an outpouring of concern for the preservation of wild horses and burros on our Western ranges. The 11-year-old son of one Congressman felt deeply enough on the issue to himself testify before the House of Representatives,[1] and countless personal letters—many from young people—have come to the Congress, to the Federal land management agencies, and in my own mail. I take special pleasure today, therefore, in signing strong new legislation to protect these noble animals.

Horses and burros were unknown to the people of the Americas in pre-Columbian times. It was the early Spanish expeditions which brought the first of these animals to the vast wild lands that later became our Western States. The descendants of these animals were joined over the centuries by other bloodlines, including horses and burros turned loose for economic reasons or abandoned with the advent of mechanized farming, until they numbered about 2 million by the turn of the 20th century.

In the past 70 years, however, civilization and economics have brought them to 99 percent extinction—so that on the public lands today there remain only about 9,500 unbranded and unclaimed horses and 11,000 free-roaming burros. The demands of the market for their processed products, competition for forage used by domestic livestock, construction of new roads and urban areas, and expansion of agricultural areas have reduced their numbers and sharply decreased the areas where they are free to roam. Overpopulation in other of their habitats has also resulted in disease and death for many of them. With the depletion continuing apace, immediate and effective measures are clearly needed to prevent the complete extermination of the wild breeds—and with it the death of part of the frontier spirit.

I believe that S. 1116, which I am approving today, prepares us to take just such measures. Embodying the best judgment of both the Congress and the executive branch, it should do much to insure a continuing safe habitat for wild horses and burros on the public lands of the United States. It declares that all such animals shall be managed and protected by either the Secretary of the Interior or the Secretary of Agriculture, according to which department administers the lands where they are found. It permits the estab-

[1] Gregory Gude, son of Representative Gilbert Gude of Maryland.

lishment of ranges for their use. It makes killing or molesting them a Federal crime. It prohibits their sale or that of their remains.

Wild horses and burros merit man's protection historically—for they are a living link with the days of the conquistadors, through the heroic times of the Western Indians and the pioneers, to our own day when the tonic of wildness seems all too scarce. More than that, they merit it as a matter of ecological right—as anyone knows who has ever stood awed at the indomitable spirit and sheer energy of a mustang running free.

I am happy to take part in the effort to guarantee their future, and I salute particularly those determined young defenders of the wild horse who have helped give impetus to this effort.

NOTE: The statement was released at Key Biscayne, Fla.

As enacted, S. 1116, approved December 15, 1971, is Public Law 92–195 (85 Stat. 649).

400 Statement on Signing Veterans Pension and Compensation Bills. *December* 17, 1971

I HAVE signed today two bills which will expand and reform pension payments and compensation benefits for America's veterans and their dependents. The enactment of this legislation marks another important step in our efforts to provide a better life for those who have given so much to preserve and protect our Nation. America's veterans and their families have a special place in our history—and in our hearts. The legislation I have signed today recognizes the special obligation our country owes them.

The veterans disability and death pension act of 1971 (H.R. 11651) both raises and revamps the monthly pensions which our Government now provides to some 2.2 million veterans and survivors. These benefits are paid, on the basis of need, to veterans who have served during wartime periods and have suffered disabilities not attributable to their service and to the families of such veterans whose deaths resulted from such injuries. As a result of this legislation, such pensions will rise by an average of 6.5 percent.

The veterans dependency and indemnity compensation act of 1971 (H.R. 11652) will increase and restructure monthly compensation benefits for some 290,500 widows, children, and dependent parents of veterans who have died as a result of service-incurred disabilities. The increase will range from 5 to 10 percent, depending primarily on the effective date of the previous benefit increase.

In addition, both of these acts contain one other reform of particular importance—one which was strongly recommended by this Administration. In keeping with the general strategy of our income maintenance programs, a change has been made in the method by which benefits are allocated.

The new allocation formula strengthens the principle that the size of a person's benefits should vary with the amount of his income. It accomplishes this by eliminating the more than 20 income categories—each spanning a $100 range—to which all recipients are now assigned. Under the old system, the size of a person's benefits fell abruptly whenever his income moved across the $100 line which sepa-

rated one category from another. This meant that a small increase in outside income, if it happened to move a person from the top of one category to the bottom of another, could cause an inequitable decrease in benefits—and could thus bring about a lower overall income position.

Under the new formula, the size of a person's benefits will change by a few cents every time his income changes by one dollar. Instead of more than 20 rigid categories, there will now be a much finer tuning of benefit amounts to an individual's income position. The danger of abrupt declines in pensions will thus be eliminated, and most recipients can be sure that when their outside income goes up, their overall income position will go up also.

The amount of benefits lost for each outside dollar received will be scaled progressively, so that those with lowest incomes will receive the most help. Under the new pension formula, for example, a single veteran whose outside income is above $2,200 will lose 7 cents in pension for every dollar of additional outside income. But if a veteran's income is below $1,000, his reduction rate will be only 3 cents in pension per dollar of additional outside income.

H.R. 11651 also provides that the ceiling on the amount of outside income a pensioner can receive before he loses all benefits will be raised by $300. It raises the ceiling by the same amount for the 13.6 percent of pensioners whose benefits are still determined under the flat-payment system in use before 1960. H.R. 11652 extends this same consideration to the dependent parents of deceased veterans. The two bills make a number of additional changes in our pension and compensation programs.

I have signed this legislation with the greatest pleasure. Along with other recommendations we have made and other actions we have taken, it can have a very direct impact for good in the lives of millions of Americans who deserve the very best from their country.

NOTE: The statement was released at Key Biscayne, Fla.

As enacted, H.R. 11651 is Public Law 92–198 (85 Stat. 663), and H.R. 11652 is Public Law 92–197 (85 Stat. 660), both approved on December 15, 1971.

401 Remarks Announcing a Monetary Agreement Following a Meeting of the Group of Ten. *December* 18, 1971

Ladies and gentlemen:

It is my very great privilege to announce on behalf of the Finance Ministers and the other representatives of the ten countries involved, the conclusion of the most sig-

nificant monetary agreement[1] in the history of the world. I know that may seem to be an overstatement, but when we compare this agreement with Bretton Woods, which, of course, was the last very significant agreement of this kind, we can see how enormous this achievement has been.

Bretton Woods came at a time when the United States, immediately after World War II, was predominant in economic affairs in the world and the decision of the United States was, perhaps, the most important one to be made at that time.

Now we have a new world, fortunately a much better world economically, where instead of just one strong economic nation, the nations of Europe, Japan and Asia, Canada and North America, all of these nations are strong economically, strong competitors, and, as a result, it was necessary in these meetings for a negotiation to take place between equally strong nations insofar as their currencies were concerned. And the fact that these gentlemen, over a period of weeks, finally culminating in the last 2 days, have reached agreement on the realignment of exchange rates, is, indeed, the most significant event that has occurred in world financial history.

I express appreciation to them for the work they have done and I would say finally this. The question will inevitably be asked when each returns to his country, as it will be asked of Secretary Connally and me when we refer to the Congress: Who won, who lost?

The answer is: When agreements are reached in which all parties bargain hard and fight hard for their position, when that agreement is mutually reached, then it is an agreement which is to the mutual benefit of both. What has happened here is that the whole free world has won, because as a result of this agreement, we will have, from a financial and monetary standpoint, a more stable world. We will have a world in which competition can be more fair. We will have a world in which we can have more true prosperity than would be the case if we continue to have an alignment which was inevitably doomed to fail because of the instability.

And so congratulations, in this historic room, to these men for their achievement, for their service to the cause of financial stability in the world, for progress economically in the world, and, of course, in the long run, to a more peaceful world.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 5:48 p.m. in the Commons Room at the Smithsonian Institution Building.

The Group of Ten met in Washington, D.C., December 17–18, 1971, under the chairmanship of Secretary of the Treasury John B. Connally. The Group of Ten comprised those countries participating in the International Monetary Fund's General Arrangements to Borrow, which were designed to provide supplementary resources to the Fund to deal with impairment of the international monetary system. The countries were Belgium, Canada, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Sweden, the United Kingdom, and the United States; Switzerland, which is not a member of the Fund, was also represented at the meetings.

[1] The Smithsonian Agreement of the Group of Ten consisted of a series of interrelated measures to help resolve balance of payments problems, to restore more settled conditions to exchange markets, and to provide a framework for longer term reform. These measures included agreement by the United States to propose to the Congress a suitable means for devaluing the dollar in terms of gold as soon as a related set of short term trade expansion proposals was available for Congressional scrutiny, and to suppress the 10 percent import surcharge and related provisions of the job development credit.

402 Remarks in Bermuda Announcing Removal of Surcharge on Imports. *December* 20, 1971

Ladies and Gentlemen:

I have just had my first meeting with the Prime Minister. He felt that it would be well that I make this announcement prior to the time that we go into our more extended meetings this afternoon.

I have today made the first decision implementing the agreement which was reached over the weekend by the Group of Ten in their meetings in Washington. After consultation with the Secretary of the Treasury and the Secretary of State today, I have signed a proclamation [4098] removing the 10 percent surcharge.

This first step having been taken, we can now move on to the trade areas and the monetary areas in which agreement was also reached over the weekend.

Later today, on the American side, Secretary Connally and Secretary Rogers will brief the press, and on the British side I know arrangements will probably be made for proper briefings also.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:50 p.m. on the grounds of Government House, Hamilton, Bermuda, following a preliminary meeting with Prime Minister Edward Heath of the United Kingdom.

On the same day, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing by Secretary of State William P. Rogers on his meetings in Bermuda with Sir Alec Douglas-Home, British Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs. The White House also released the transcript of a news briefing by Secretary of the Treasury John B. Connally on his meetings in Bermuda with British Chancellor of the Exchequer Anthony Barber and on international trade and monetary affairs. The transcripts of the briefings are printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 7, pp. 1694 and 1695).

403 Toasts of the President and Prime Minister Edward Heath of the United Kingdom at a Dinner During Their Meetings in Bermuda. *December* 20, 1971

Mr. Prime Minister, Your Excellency the Governor, gentlemen:

I could well respond to the Prime Minister's remarks by saying, as I can, with great conviction, that I agree with every word that he has uttered. However, I think the occasion demands a bit more than that because of its historic significance, and so it is important on such an occasion that I, on my part, state on behalf of all of our officials who are here, our appreciation for the hospitality that has been extended and our hopes for the future as that future will be affected by this meeting.

First, I think we will all agree that we could not have selected a better place in which to meet, as far as its historical significance.

The Prime Minister had some marvelous historical anecdotes with regard to Bermuda. I think the best one that our staff was able to think up was one from Mark Twain. Mark Twain once visited Bermuda, and he said to a friend at the conclusion of his visit, he said, "You may

want to go to heaven, but I would rather stay here." So the closest thing to heaven, certainly on this earth and this hemisphere, on such an occasion like this, is Bermuda.

Then, too, the place that we are meeting, this beautiful ship, the fact that it is Her Majesty's Navy, it seems to me, that that choice must have been made when the Prime Minister did his usual careful checking of the backgrounds of those who would be here—not only the President of the United States and his guests, the Secretary of State and the Secretary of the Treasury, were all former naval people.

But whatever the case might be, what really made me realize that he was going the extra mile in picking the place and picking this ship, was when I found that the motto of this ship is "Aim For The Highest." That just happens to be the motto of the Secretary of the Treasury, also.

As I was talking and reminiscing with a great deal of appreciation about the association we had during World War II, our two countries, and the friendships we developed, I was thinking of what is called that special relationship between Britain and the United States. I was thinking of how Bermuda fitted into that relationship, and the fact that we are the fourth of four very historic meetings that have been held here: 1953, Prime Minister Churchill and President Eisenhower; 1957, President Eisenhower and Prime Minister Macmillan; 1961, President Kennedy and Prime Minister Macmillan; and now Prime Minister Heath and I.

As I thought of those dates, and of the probable agendas of those meetings, I thought in terms of how much the world has changed, not simply since 1953 or since 1961—I thought of how much the world has changed, and I have tried to think in terms of that special relationship between Britain and the United States which has existed for so long and to what extent that relationship still is healthy, maturing, and, also, necessary.

On the one hand, it would be quite easy to gain the impression, through a superficial examination, that the relationship had not only changed, as the Prime Minister has already suggested, but that it perhaps no longer was relevant. Because on the one side, with the Prime Minister's courageous leadership, Britain is now entering the European Community, and as it enters Europe, its relationship with us will be one which is, of course, new in many respects, but necessarily will affect its relationship with the United States and other countries also.

On the other hand, we find that the President of the United States will be visiting this year Peking and Moscow. So a superficial examination of those events would say, on the one hand, the British are moving to Europe, and on the other hand, the United States is moving toward Moscow and toward Peking, and, therefore, what happens to the relationship, the relationship which meant so much in 1953, in 1957, and 1961? Is it still something that can be talked about? Is it still the same?

The answer, of course, is, it is not the same. The fact that it is not the same does not mean that it is still not very necessary, and perhaps even more important than it was. I say that for this reason: We do live in a changing world. We live in a world, as we all know, in which powers that were not important just a few years ago now have become enormously important. We live in a world where there are dangers on the scene today that no one could foresee

25 years ago, at the end of World War II, or even 10 years ago in 1961.

We also live in a world where there are great opportunities, opportunities in terms of building the structure of peace which may not have existed even 5 years ago.

So, as the Prime Minister, with his colleagues, with his Government, seeks to explore those opportunities in Europe, as we, in our own policies, seek to explore those opportunities for building a structure of peace by these significant journeys to nations with which we have now and will continue to have very fundamental and profound differences of philosophy, we look again back to that relationship between the two of us—what comes home on such a day as this, if I may speak in personal terms, the 5 hours today the Prime Minister and I talked, that was really a full, far-ranging discussion. And all the diplomatic words—"a very candid," "straightforward," "frank" exchange of views—could be applied to it.

What impressed me at the conclusion of that discussion was not the fact that there were some tactical differences, but the fact that after we had discussed virtually all the problems in this complex world, in this changing world, that there are certain fundamental facts that have not changed in the relationship between Britain and the United States.

We all know we share a common language. We share the common law. But what is more important is that we have, without question, dedication to principles that are uncommon, uncommon because they are transcendent and because they are ones to which we, whatever journeys we may make in the world, whatever new initiatives we may undertake separately, they are principles to which we will always have dedication.

We know, therefore, that when we talk, we begin with a devotion to the freedom of men, a devotion to economic progress in a climate of freedom, and a devotion to building a structure of peace in which all nations may have the right to their independence without infringement by other nations, great or small.

These could be just words. They are usually spoken on such occasions as this. But I can assure you that after one of the most fruitful discussions that it has been my privilege to have since holding this office, that I have been reassured of the fact that that special relationship—special in the sense of a dedication to principles that are inalienable, indestructible, and which will be here long after all of us are gone—that that relationship is as strong now, and even more necessary now than ever before. Because as the world changes, as the forces of power and the balances of power shift throughout the world, it is even more vital that these principles to which our Nation and the British people have been devoted throughout our history, that those principles be maintained, that we believe in them, that we sacrifice for them, and that we work together to see that they prevail, whatever our journeys may be, together or separately.

For that reason, I believe that this meeting has been, along with its predecessors, an historic meeting. I believe it will serve a useful purpose. I believe that it builds that kind of foundation on which our two countries can go forward together in different ways, at times, toward the same great goal of a world of peace in which people can live in freedom and have progress without infringement by other peoples.

Because of that kind of ideal, may I say that on this occasion, while it is normally

the custom to, as we have, very properly, toast the Queen, we have toasted the President of the United States, I think that all of you would like to join me in a toast to our host, the Prime Minister. Mr. Prime Minister.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:20 p.m. on board the British guided missile destroyer H. M. S. *Glamorgan* in response to a toast proposed by Prime Minister Heath.

Excerpts of the Prime Minister's remarks, made available by the British Embassy in Washington, follow:

. . . We are meeting at a time of great monetary and economic problems but also great political problems. These are the problems of a world that is changing more now than at any time in the last 25 years.

These problems call for careful examination and discussion. Whether we are talking about the monetary system, commercial practices, defence, or relations between East and West, this is the way that we must proceed between friends. You, Mr. President, are having a whole series of meetings with world leaders. There are also to be meetings among the Six[1] and between the Six and others.

We in the West must never forget our responsibilities towards the Third World. The developing nations, too, must be part of this process of discussion and examination. Their interests must be taken fully into account in any decisions.

. . . A healthy relationship can withstand change, and, as the date of Britain's entry into the European Community approaches, there will indeed be some changes in our relations. I see no cause for alarm or dismay in this. In many fields our traditional ties will remain unchanged. We have always made it clear that we believe that a united Europe should maintain the closest possible links with the United States, based on the vast area of common interests which we shall continue to share.

[1] The Six, member countries of the European Economic Community, were Belgium, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands.

404 Remarks of the President and Prime Minister Heath of the United Kingdom Following Their Meetings in Bermuda. *December* 21, 1971

Mr. Prime Minister:

I want to express my appreciation for the very warm welcome you have given us here in Bermuda on this historic occasion, and to say first that the remarks that you have just made are ones that I can subscribe to completely.

As you have pointed out, we are entering a new era in the relations between our two countries, and a new era in the history of the world. That is exemplified by the fact that Britain will be going into Europe. It is also exemplified by the reference that you made to the fact that I will be visiting Peking and Moscow during the next year.

As we look at those changes in the world, as we look at what is really a new world, we also realize, however, that there are some things that have not changed. One thing that has not changed, and that will not change, is the friendship, the communication, the fact that our two countries, and the leaders of our two countries, have met here on, now, four occasions and, despite some tactical differences, find that on the great issues we see the problems of the world in exactly the same way.

I would put it very briefly in this way: As Britain goes into Europe, there will be a new Europe. The United States is, at the present time, embarked on creating what is really a new America, and we do

live at a time when because of the fast changing events in the world, we live in a new world. It is essential that the new Europe and the new America, together with the other nations in the world, and particularly in Asia, Japan, the other great economic power in the world—it is essential that we work together.

It is inevitable that as free nations, believing in competition, we will compete, but it is also indispensable that that competition be constructive and not destructive, and I think that our talks have contributed toward that goal.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at approximately 4:20 p.m. at Government House, Hamilton, Bermuda, in response to Prime Minister Heath's remarks.

On the same day, the President and the Prime Minister participated in the ceremonial planting of Canary Island date palm trees on the grounds of Government House. The White House released an announcement containing additional information on the traditional tree-planting ceremony reserved by custom to residents of Government House and their house-guests.

The Prime Minister's remarks follow:

Mr. President:

You and I have just come from the room in which your predecessors, President Eisenhower and President Kennedy, and the former Prime Ministers Winston Churchill and Harold Macmillan, sat and had talks in their day about the great problems of the world which confronted them. And in these talks you and I have been looking toward the future, a future in which we in Britain will become part of the European Community, and in which that larger, strengthened, more prosperous Europe will be a partner with you in the Atlantic Alliance.

We find ourselves now in a world which is changing faster than ever before with the development of the great powers and the emergence of China. So it has been a particularly fortunate time, when you are early next year going both to Peking and Moscow, for us to review this situation. What gives me particular pleasure is that, just as our predecessors sat there so informally and discussed these matters so frankly, so we have been able to do exactly the same for these 2 days.

I am one of those who believe that in the years to come, when we are part of a united Europe, we shall be carrying on talks of this kind, just as freely, just as frankly, whenever we feel the need, as we have done now.

And so I would like to thank you for coming here to Bermuda. A year ago you entertained me most hospitably in Washington, and I would like to wish you well in your talks with the other leaders in the Western World, and also with your visits in 1972.

I believe that the future of the Western World depends upon Europe and the United States and Japan being not in confrontation, but working together in harmony, because the interests which we have in common are of vital importance to us, and so much greater than any differences which may, from time to time, in various ways, divide us.

So these talks have confirmed once again the abiding nature of the Anglo-American relationship, the friendship which exists between Britain and the United States, and I would like to thank you again for the part which you and your colleagues are playing in this, and in the talks which we have just had.

405 Joint Statement Following Meetings in Bermuda With Prime Minister Heath of the United Kingdom. *December* 21, 1971

THE PRESIDENT of the United States, the Honorable Richard M. Nixon, and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, the Right Honorable Edward Heath, meeting in Government House, Bermuda, on 20 and 21 December 1971, discussed

the world situation in all its aspects. They agreed that the period which lies ahead is likely to be one of rapid change, which will offer the free world both opportunity and challenge on an unprecedented scale. This will call for the maintenance of the closest possible degree of understanding and unity of purpose not only between their two countries but also between themselves and their allies and partners. In view of the significance of the natural relationship between the United Kingdom and the United States they resolved to maintain their close and continuing consultation at all levels in their approach to world problems.

They recognized that the fulfillment of their objectives will be promoted by the United Kingdom's forthcoming accession to the European Economic Communities, which will reinforce the strength of the Atlantic Alliance. This Alliance is, and must remain, the cornerstone of the defence of the free world. The President and the Prime Minister agreed that there is no inconsistency between a resolute and determined adherence to the principles which inspire the Alliance and the pursuit of that relaxation of international tension which is necessary to satisfy the natural aspirations of mankind to live in peace and prosperity.

Not the least of the problems confronting the free world is the need to promote conditions for more liberal commercial exchanges. The President and the Prime Minister welcomed the realignment of exchange rates and accompanying measures agreed in Washington on 17 and 18 December and agreed upon the necessity for their two countries, in consultation with their international partners, to intensify their efforts to promote a reformed international monetary system. They noted the importance of reviewing international commercial relations in order to reduce barriers to trade between the major trading countries of the world.

In the same spirit they agreed that one of the most essential tasks of statesmanship today is to lift the sights beyond the problems of immediate urgency to those major political and economic issues, which in the longer term will determine the shape of the world in which we all live. They agreed that they would direct all their consultations to this end.

NOTE: The joint statement was released at Hamilton, Bermuda.

406 Statement on Signing the Economic Stabilization Act Amendments of 1971. *December 22, 1971*

TWO WEEKS ago I signed into law the Revenue Act of 1971—providing tax cuts of some $15 billion over the next 3 years to stimulate the economy and provide hundreds of thousands of new jobs. Last weekend, at the meeting of finance ministers in Washington, new ground rules were completed for the international economic order—a step which will also do much to strengthen our domestic economy. Today, I have taken the third major step this month to put our economy on a sound footing by signing into law the Economic Stabilization Act Amendments of 1971.

I am grateful for the timely response of the Congress to the request I made for this legislation just 2 months ago. This

prompt action means that our battle against inflation—which has been making significant progress in recent months—can be continued and completed in the coming year.

The legislation I have signed today extends and amends the Economic Stabilization Act of 1970 under which both the first and second phases of our anti-inflation program were launched. It provides authority for continuing these efforts through April 30, 1973. I hope and expect, however, that before that date we will see the end of the inflationary psychology that developed in the 1960's, achieve lasting price stability, end controls, and return to reliance on free market forces.

The enactment of the Economic Stabilization Act Amendments means that the Cost of Living Council, the Price Commission, the Pay Board, the Committee on Interest and Dividends, and the advisory committees on rent,[1] on State and local governments, and on the health services industry, can continue to play very important roles in stabilizing the cost of living for all Americans. Already their work has produced heartening results. The Consumer Price Index was increasing at an annual rate of a little more than 4 percent during the 6 months prior to August, but since August it has been cut dramatically to an annual rate of less than 2 percent. Industrial commodity prices, which were climbing at an annual rate of 5½ percent during the 6 months prior to August, have since August actually decreased at an annual rate of more than 1 percent.

Interest rates have also generally declined since August, increasing the attractiveness of job-creating investment.

Much work still remains to be done. That is why this legislation is so important. Our objective of reducing price increases to 2 to 3 percent during 1972 is within reach. Most importantly, this program continues to have wide support from labor, business, and from the general public.

Because voluntary public cooperation remains the keystone of success of these efforts, we continue to be most heartened by the determination so widely evident among the American people to make this program work. The strong bipartisan support which the Congress has given to the Economic Stabilization Act is further evidence of the cooperative and unified spirit in which this country is facing its economic challenges.

In a number of ways, the Congress has gone beyond my recommendations and included provisions in this legislation which could complicate its operations in the future. One such section provides for pay increases for Federal employees, effective for calendar year 1972. I am today signing two Executive orders implementing this section and I am also issuing a separate statement describing my position on this matter.

The major elements of our new economic program are now in place. The program of personal and business tax cuts which I called for in August and which I signed into law on December 10 promises to expand purchasing power, increase sales, and provide hundreds of thousands

[1] On November 22, 1971, the President signed Executive Order 11632 establishing the Rent Advisory Board. White House announcements of the appointment of the members of the Board were released on November 23 and December 23 and are printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 7, pp. 1557 and 1708).

of new jobs. The Emergency Employment Act which I signed on July 12 will provide many jobs in the public sector; nearly 125,000 jobs in areas such as education, environmental protection, law enforcement, public works, and transportation have already been funded. The budget that I will present to Congress in January will also be designed to stimulate the economy and create additional jobs.

On the international scene, our major trading partners have agreed to adjust the dollar prices of their currencies upward and to negotiate for adjustments in trade barriers, while we in turn will eliminate our import surtax and, with Congressional approval, will lower the price of the dollar in relation to gold. The result of these efforts will be more markets for American goods abroad and thus more jobs and higher incomes for the American people.

Already, the stimulative effect of our new economic policies has been evident. It now appears that the gross national product will rise at an annual rate of more than 6 percent in the fourth quarter of 1971, compared to 4 percent in the third quarter and 5 percent in the second quarter. Since July, employment has grown by over 1 million, and more jobs are being created each month. Industrial production is rising and businesses are now planning to increase investment by some 6½ percent during the next 6 months because of the favorable economic environment.

All of these efforts are designed to create a new prosperity in peacetime for America. The extension of the Economic Stabilization Act assures that we will not see our prosperity neutralized—as so often in the past—by the forces of inflation.

We can now confidently say that 1971 is ending on a most encouraging economic note and that 1972 will begin as a year of great economic promise.

NOTE: As enacted, the bill (S. 2891) is Public Law 92-210 (85 Stat. 743).

407 Statement on Signing Executive Orders Prescribing Federal Civilian and Military Pay Increases. *December 22, 1971*

THE Economic Stabilization Act Amendments which I have signed into law today provide in section 3 that adjustments in statutory pay systems for Federal employees shall be effective in January 1972, and that such adjustments shall not be greater than permitted by the guidelines established for the private sector. Accordingly, I have today also signed an Executive order [11637] which provides a 5.5 percent increase in the statutory pay systems covering those employees.

A 1967 law provides that pay of military personnel shall be increased automatically whenever adjustments are made in the rates of pay for Federal civilian employees covered by the basic statutory system. Therefore, I have also signed an Executive order [11638] which will grant comparable increases in pay for military personnel. These increases are in addition to the pay increases provided for military personnel when the Selective Service Act was extended last September.

In connection with this action, a question has arisen as to whether Federal civilian employees and military personnel will be entitled to a second pay increase in October 1972, unless I submit to the Congress, as I did last August, an alternative plan postponing or otherwise modifying the raises that would be prescribed by the machinery established by the Pay Comparability Act. Therefore, I believe it is appropriate for me to state my understanding of the law at this time.

The purpose of section 3 of the Stabilization Act Amendments was to provide equal treatment for Federal employees and military personnel as compared with employees in the private sector who are subject to the Phase 2 pay guidelines. The raises I am implementing today do precisely that. Should a second raise be granted next October, Federal employees and military personnel would be receiving preferential treatment—raises in excess of the Phase 2 guidelines. That would be plainly inconsistent with the overall intention of the Congress, which is to relate Federal pay to the guidelines of the Pay Board.

Therefore I am authorizing an annual increase consistent with these guidelines, interpreting the law to mean there will be no automatic October adjustment.

408 Remarks on Signing the National Cancer Act of 1971. *December 23, 1971*

Members of the Senate, Members of the House, ladies and gentlemen:

We are here today for the purpose of signing the cancer act of 1971. I hope that in the years ahead that we may look back on this day and this action as being the most significant action taken during this Administration. It could be, because when we consider what cancer does each year in the United States, we find that more people each year die of cancer in the United States than all the Americans who lost their lives in World War II.

This shows us what is at stake. It tells us why I sent a message to the Congress the first of this year, which provided for a national commitment for the conquest of cancer, to attempt to find a cure.

Now, with the cooperation of the Congress, with the cooperation of many of the people in this room, we have set up a procedure for the purpose of making a total national commitment. I am not going to go into the details of that procedure, except to say this: As a result of what has been done, as a result of the action which will come into being as a result of signing this bill, the Congress is totally committed to provide the funds that are necessary, whatever is necessary, for the conquest of cancer. The President is totally committed—we have a Presidential panel headed by Benno Schmidt, which will report directly to the President so that the President's influence, whenever necessary, can be used to reach this great goal.

And, in addition to that, all of the agencies of government, the National Institutes of Health, HEW, et cetera, are totally committed.

Now, having said that, I have spoken exclusively of government up to this point. In this room are scores of people who have worked voluntarily for this cause for many, many years. The American Cancer Society, of course, is the best known or-

71-234—72——79

ganization, but there are many others as well.

In saying that there will be a Presidential commitment, in saying that there will be a Congressional commitment, a government commitment, I should emphasize that a total national commitment means more than government. It means all the voluntary activities must also continue. We have to realize that only one-sixth of everything that is produced in America is produced by what government does. Five-sixths of what we do in America is produced by what people do in their voluntary and cooperative capacities.

So, we need the continued cooperation of all the volunteer organizations. You will have, of course, the total commitment of government, and that is what the signing of this bill now does.

Finally I should emphasize, as Benno Schmidt mentioned just a moment ago, that we would not want to raise false hopes by simply the signing of an act, but we can say this: That for those who have cancer and who are looking for success in this field, they at least can have the assurance that everything that can be done by government, everything that can be done by voluntary agencies in this great, powerful, rich country, now will be done and that will give some hope, and we hope those hopes will not be disappointed.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, for those of you who have not participated in signing ceremonies—and that, of course, does not include the Members of the House and Senate who are here; I see that many of them have been here previously—the custom is always to sign with the Presidential pen. I will use two pens for the signature, but a souvenir pen will be available to everybody in the audience here. We had to stretch a little to find that many, but we did it.

Incidentally, it is a very good pen, but the box is worth more than the pen.

[At this point, President Nixon signed the act. He then resumed speaking.]

Benno, you get the "Richard." Dr. Letton, if you will step forward—the president of the American Cancer Society—you get the last name.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12 noon in the State Dining Room at the White House.

Dr. A. Hamblin Letton's response is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 7, p. 1711).

As enacted, the bill (S. 1828) is Public Law 92-218 (85 Stat. 778).

On the same day, the White House released an announcement of the signing and a fact sheet on the provisions of the act.

An announcement of the appointment of Benno C. Schmidt as Chairman of the President's Cancer Panel was also released on December 23, 1971, and is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 7, p. 1712).

409 Statement About the National Cancer Act of 1971. *December 23, 1971*

HOPE and comfort, the relief of suffering and the affirmation of life itself—these are qualities which have traditionally been associated with the Christmas season. There could be no more appropriate time than this to sign into law the National Cancer Act of 1971. For this legislation—perhaps more than any legis-

lation I have signed as President of the United States—can mean new hope and comfort in the years ahead for millions of people in this country and around the world.

The enactment of this legislation culminates a yearlong effort to launch an unprecedented attack against cancer. I called for such a program in my State of the Union Message in January 1971, and I expanded on that call in my special message to the Congress concerning health on February 18. Early in May, I submitted to the Congress very specific proposals for a cancer cure program — proposals which are reflected in all important respects in the legislation I have signed today.

The effort to mobilize a concerted national campaign against cancer has continued to make significant progress since those proposals were submitted. One of the most important steps was the approval by the Congress of the additional $100 million I requested to support an expanded attack on cancer. This additional $100 million, when added to the regular appropriation for this fiscal year, gives the national cancer program a current operating level of $337.5 million, compared to only $180 million during the first half of fiscal year 1972. Another important component in our campaign was put in place in October when I announced that the bacteriological warfare research facilities at Fort Detrick, Maryland, would be converted into a leading center for cancer research.

Now this year of preparation for an all-out assault on cancer comes to a climax with the signing of the National Cancer Act. The new organizational structure which this legislation establishes will enable us to mobilize far more effectively both our human and our financial resources in the fight against this dread disease.

I appreciate deeply the months of hard and careful effort which so many Members of the Congress gave to this cause. I am especially pleased that the new national cancer program incorporates the basic recommendations I made last May. It allows the President to appoint the Director of the National Cancer Institute and provides that the budget of the National Cancer Institute be submitted directly to the President. It creates a 3-member President's Cancer Panel to monitor its development and execution on a regular basis and a 23-member National Cancer Advisory Board to offer general guidance. Both of these groups are to be appointed by the President and will report directly to him. The important result of all these provisions is to place the full weight of the Presidency behind the national cancer program. As I recommended in May, the President will be able to take personal command of the Federal effort to conquer cancer so that its activities need not be stymied by the familiar dangers of bureaucracy and redtape.

Having asked for this authority—and this responsibility—I now pledge to exercise it to the fullest. Biomedical research is, of course, a notoriously uncertain enterprise, and its rate of progress cannot be predicted with confidence. But I can say with the greatest confidence that there will be no uncertainty about the Government's role in this effort. I am determined that the Federal will and Federal resources will be committed as effectively as possible to the campaign against cancer and that nothing will be allowed to compromise that commitment.

I make this statement with even greater confidence knowing that Benno C.

Schmidt has accepted my invitation to become the first Chairman of the President's Cancer Panel. As chairman of the National Panel of Consultants on the Conquest of Cancer, Mr. Schmidt has played an active role in the development and enactment of the National Cancer Act. He is an effective leader of men and a dedicated community servant. The Nation is fortunate that he will be heading this important panel in its critical first year.

Even as the plans for our national cancer program were being completed in the past few months, other developments have continued to fuel our hopes for further substantial progress in discovering the causes and cures of cancer. Scientists in all parts of the world have continued to contribute important new findings to the growing pool of knowledge about this disease. There continues to be every reason for believing that cancer research, of all of our research endeavors, may be in the best position to benefit from a new application of human and financial resources.

This is the case, however, only because so many men and women have already given so much to the battle against cancer in the past. Their energies and talents and sacrifices have built the foundations on which all future progress must rest.

As we plan for future progress, we should also remember that the expansion of the Federal campaign against cancer in no way diminishes the continuing importance of private and voluntary activities. It is essential, for example, that an organization such as the American Cancer Society—which has raised so much money for this cause and which has done so much to promote research and education in this field—continue to play its full effective role. The new national cancer program must not replace our present efforts to fight cancer; it must supplement them and build on them.

As this year comes to an end, cancer remains one of mankind's deadliest and most elusive enemies. Each year it takes more lives in this country alone than we lost in battle in all of World War II. Its long shadow of fear darkens every corner of the earth. But just as cancer represents a grim threat to men and women and children in all parts of the world, so the launching of our great crusade against cancer should be a cause for new hope among people everywhere.

With the enactment of the National Cancer Act, the major components for our campaign against cancer are in place and ready to move forward. I am particularly happy that the year 1971—at the beginning of which I issued my call for a new campaign against cancer—can end with the signing of this landmark legislation.

410 Christmas Message. *December 23, 1971*

CHRISTMAS is a season of joy and of love, and also a time for reflection.

We think, in this season, of those who are closest to our hearts, even though they may be far away in miles. We pause to give special thought to those in need, and to the universal bonds that link all mankind in brotherhood under God. In doing so, we touch something basic and good in the human spirit: that special grace that makes this a time of giving, and of forgiving—a time of goodwill,

when we know the true peace that lodges in the heart.

As we work toward peace in the world, let us do so both inspired and strengthened by this peace in the heart.

As we give to one another, in the spirit of Christmas, let us give of ourselves. For one of the lessons of Christmas is this: among God's greatest gifts to man is the gift of giving itself, and the more we give of ourselves the more of ourselves we have to give.

RICHARD NIXON

NOTE: The message was made available to the press.

411 Christmas Message to the Armed Forces. *December 24, 1971*

AS WE move into this season consecrated to the ideals of human brotherhood, for the first time in many years this Nation can see a day when those ideals may become a reality. We see before us a generation of peace for America.

Because we have seen the potentialities of war, we know the necessity of peace. But at this time of the year, we are especially conscious that peace is more than a practical necessity — it is a spiritual imperative.

We are equally conscious that the price of peace—like the price of freedom—is eternal vigilance. In the long journey toward peace, our men and women in uniform have kept the vigil. It is you who have recognized that peace without freedom is not acceptable, and that freedom without strength is not possible. It is because of your devotion, your courage, and your sacrifices that we now come to this season of light with the firm belief that the light will not fade again and that there may be at last peace on earth, good will towards men for our time and for all time.

Mrs. Nixon and I join with a grateful Nation in wishing you the warmest blessings of this Christmas season.

412 Informal Exchange With Reporters Following the President's Annual Physical Examination. *December 24, 1971*

Q. Mr. President, how do you feel, sir?

THE PRESIDENT. Oh, fine, fine.

Q. You know, whenever you sneeze or cough, the world takes notice. What can you say to allay their concern that you had to come to the hospital today?

THE PRESIDENT. It was the best day to come, because everybody is off at the White House, so I figured that this was a good day for me to come for my examination, and as was the case last year, I found that I was in good health, just as I expected to be.

Of course, I haven't gotten the final results here, but they tell me to just go on doing what I have been doing.

Q. Did you have any thoughts, as you were getting dressed after the physical, about other persons in this hospital who might not be as well off physically?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes. As a matter of fact, I thought of that, particularly after signing the cancer bill yesterday. I thought of the people who might be here with terminal diseases. And last night, too, it was brought home to me. I don't get to see television very often, but David [Eisenhower] told me that I had to see an ABC show, "Brian's Song," about Brian Piccolo and Gale Sayers.[1] Believe me, it was really one of the great motion pictures that I have seen. Some will say it was corny, and the rest. I think it was a beautiful production, and one that every American ought to see. I was glad I got a chance to see it.

But after seeing that picture, of course, I naturally thought of people who were in hospitals and what they were going through. I only wish I had time to go through and visit all the wards and wish them a Merry Christmas, but I must get back to sign some papers. I am going to have a little trouble. I got that eye dilation test today and I can't see a thing for 4 hours.

Q. Mr. President, as the chief physician for the Nation's health, at this particular time of the year, how do you feel about things? How do you feel the country is going?

THE PRESIDENT. The country is in better health this year than it was last year. Health is always a relative matter. We all like to think we are in perfect health, but no one is really in perfect health. But the Nation is moving forward, it is healthier, the economy is healthier, the chance for peace in the world is better, our people are coming home from wars abroad, and in terms of the relations of the nations generally, the people of this country, between each other, I think the Nation is in a better frame of mind than it was a year ago, not perfect, it never will be, but I think we are making progress. I felt it when I was in New York. I felt the Christmas spirit this year was better than it was last year when I was there. I hope this is not simply a superficial view, but I sense it from talking to people, the letters I receive, from the reports that I get from around the country.

Q. Mr. President, what can you tell us about Bob Hope's efforts in behalf of our POW's?

THE PRESIDENT. I can only say that the efforts that he makes and that anybody makes are deeply appreciated. This is perhaps the most discouraging aspect of our foreign policy at the moment, our inability to get a nation which basically is governed by international outlaws to abide by the very basic rules of international conduct in any way. But we are continuing to work on it, and I think efforts by people like Bob Hope may tend to emphasize to the North Vietnamese the fact that world opinion—if they pay any attention to world opinion—overwhelmingly believes that they should treat this as a humanitarian issue.

We are going to continue to treat that, of course, as the very highest priority in the weeks ahead as we complete our own withdrawal from Vietnam. We must, of course, do everything we can, and we will do everything we can, to see that our POW's are returned.

Q. Are you a Christmas morning early riser?

THE PRESIDENT. It is very hard to

[1] "Brian's Song" was the story of the careers and friendship of Brian Piccolo and Gale Sayers, teammates with the Chicago Bears professional football team, until Mr. Piccolo's death from cancer in 1970.

change habits. Once you have developed the habit of getting up early, it is hard to sleep in. I will try to sleep in, but Christmas morning I usually get up anyway. I like to get up and see the expressions on the faces of everybody when they see what is around the tree, and we do have a tree, too.

REPORTER. Merry Christmas, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. Merry Christmas to all of you.

NOTE: The President met with reporters before noon at the Bethesda Naval Medical Center, Md.

On the same day, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing by Brig. Gen. Walter R. Tkach, USAF, Physician to the President, on the President's annual physical examination.

413 Statement About the Death of General Emmett O'Donnell, Jr. *December* 27, 1971

ACROSS the Nation and around the world, Americans of all ages and every walk of life mourn the death of one of the greatest friends they ever had and one of this country's foremost patriots.

His unmatched warmth, human compassion, and consideration for the needs of others earned General Rosy O'Donnell the affection and respect of all who knew him. His courage in combat, his professional excellence and dedication, and his continuing concern long after his retirement for those in uniform won him a special place in the annals of our military history.

He was as sensitive as he was strong, and he never lacked the ability to lift the spirits of others and make them forget their sorrows. His death is a loss for each of us, but his life was our enduring gain, and a gain for the country he loved and served with such tireless energy and devotion.

My thoughts are particularly with his family, and we all pray that they may be strengthened by their remembrance of him—just as America will be for many years to come.

NOTE: General O'Donnell, 65, died of a heart attack in his home in McLean, Va., on December 26, 1971. General O'Donnell was Commander in Chief of the Pacific Air Forces, Hawaii, 1959–63. He retired from active duty in 1963, and was president of United Service Organizations, Inc., from 1964 until his death.

The statement was released at Key Biscayne, Fla.

414 Statement on Signing a Bill Amending the Social Security Act. *December* 28, 1971

I AM today signing into law H.R. 10604 which covers four unrelated subjects and makes desirable changes in portions of the Social Security Act.

Two provisions of the measure are technical in nature.

The first would provide more favorable treatment for certain social security beneficiaries, particularly parents who lost their sons in Vietnam, by paying lump-sum death benefits when the body is not recovered for burial.

Under a second amendment being signed into law, Medicaid benefits would be extended to cover services provided by Intermediate Care Facilities, the so-called ICF's. The purpose of this amendment: to provide a less costly alternative for the medically indigent, who do not need the institutional or intensive care provided in hospitals and skilled nursing homes.

A third worthwhile provision of H.R. 10604 will guarantee that some 600,000 Americans, needy, aged, blind, and disabled, now on public assistance, will continue to enjoy some benefits from the social security increases enacted in 1969. Were it not for this provision, these 600,000 would no longer be protected against a reduction of up to $4 monthly in their welfare checks.

The fourth provision represents a significant step in the direction of welfare reform.

Although they present some technical difficulties, the amendments the Congress voted to the Work Incentive program (WIN) would, in effect, essentially enact the workfare provisions I have proposed as a part of a complete reform of the welfare system.

Under these amendments, all able-bodied welfare recipients—rightly excepting the aged, children under 16 or attending school, those who are caring for ill or incapacitated persons, and mothers of small children—will be required to register for jobs or job training. The Federal Government will also assume 90 percent of the cost of child care and supportive services. The Federal matching rate for manpower services will rise from 80 percent to 90 percent. A new public service program will be established to replace some ineffective existing special work projects. Separate units of the Federal Work Incentive program will be established at all State agencies. Also added is a requirement that at least one-third of total WIN expenditures be used for on-the-job training and public service employment—reflecting a clear preference for real jobs, as opposed to long-term classroom training.

These amendments parallel my workfare recommendations embodied in H.R. 1. In my judgment, they reflect the national interest.

The United States today faces a changed world from the postwar world to which we had become accustomed. In the place of exhausted and dependent allies and defeated enemies, we today find ourselves with strong and independent friends and powerful adversaries competing for a new place in the sun.

No nation enjoys the unique advantages America possesses in that competition. But if we are to remain the most competitive, most productive society on earth, we must not forget how we got there. It is the sweat and labor of generations past and present that have brought us where we are today, that have piled high the wealth that enables us to be among the most generous nations in history with our own people, and with the world. The affluent society did not come into being by accident.

To those who deride the "work ethic," Americans must respond that *any* job for an able-bodied man is preferable to life on the public dole. No task, no labor, no work, is without dignity or meaning that enables an individual to feed and clothe and shelter himself, and provide for his family. We are a nation that pays tribute to the workingman and rightly scorns the freeloader who voluntarily opts to be a ward of the state. For over the last four

decades, we have learned, at inestimable social cost, the truth of Franklin Roosevelt's words:

> Continued dependence upon relief induces a spiritual and moral disintegration fundamentally destructive to the national fibre. To dole out relief in this way is to administer a narcotic, a subtle destroyer of the human spirit.

With passage of these amendments, a number of the workfare ideas outlined in my welfare reform recommendations of 1969 and beyond have now become law. The principle of work requirements is in place. The Federal Government is committed to 90 percent of the cost of day care and supplemental services. Tax deductions have been provided for working mothers, for day care costs, in the tax law I recently signed.

But the welfare system is yet in need of reform. Further economic incentives must be provided to keep families together, rather than break them apart—to encourage welfare recipients to take jobs, rather than to discourage them from working. With its return in January, this Congress should then complete the work of welfare reform.

NOTE: The statement was released at Key Biscayne, Fla.

As enacted, H.R. 10604 is Public Law 92-223 (85 Stat. 802).

415 Joint Statement Following Meetings With Chancellor Willy Brandt of the Federal Republic of Germany in Key Biscayne, Florida. *December* 29, 1971

THE PRESIDENT of the United States and the Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, meeting in Key Biscayne, Florida, on December 28 and 29, reviewed the international developments that have occurred since their last meeting. They agreed that the close partnership between America and Europe has successfully withstood difficult tests and has demonstrated its importance for their common future.

Cooperation on monetary and trade policy, one of the most important conditions and guarantees for close American-European relations, has been successfully adapted to new conditions and now holds out favorable prospects for further development.

The future shape of economic relations between America and Western Europe will be based on close cooperation to be arranged between the United States and the enlarged European community.

Common defense through NATO is an essential component of both U.S. and German policy. In this spirit the progress of joint efforts on the part of the European allies plays a major role.

The President and the Chancellor were in agreement that all members of the alliance must adequately share the defense burden in order to ensure their common security.

The President reaffirmed that no decisions affecting the Alliance will be taken without full consultation with its allies.

The President reiterated that the American commitments in Europe will remain unchanged and that, in particular, no reductions in the American troops stationed in Europe will be made.

Preparations for early East-West talks

71-234—72——80

on Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions should be fully coordinated within the Alliance. Agreed criteria for such reductions must insure that the Alliance's defense capability remains unimpaired. The U.S. will not negotiate its troop levels in Europe on a bilateral basis.

The President and the Chancellor agreed that a conference on European security and cooperation needs to be carefully prepared. In preparing common positions for CSCE and MBFR the United States and Western Europe will harmonize their views in the interest of improving East-West relations.

The President and the Chancellor welcomed the solidarity and close coordination between the three Western Powers, the Federal Republic of Germany and the other NATO allies throughout the negotiation of the Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin as well as the implementing agreement between the Federal Republic of Germany and the GDR [German Democratic Republic], which are important elements of the common Western policy.

NOTE: The joint statement was released at Key Biscayne, Fla.

On December 28, 1971, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing by Secretary of State William P. Rogers on his meeting in Key Biscayne with Walter Scheel, German Minister of Foreign Affairs.

416 Remarks Following Meetings With Chancellor Brandt of the Federal Republic of Germany. *December* 29, 1971

Mr. Chancellor, Mr. Foreign Minister, ladies and gentlemen:

The Chancellor and I have just finished 2 days of very intensive discussions. Those discussions covered the whole range of bilateral problems between the United States and the Federal Republic and also international problems with particular emphasis, of course, on the problems of Europe.

I can say without qualification that the state of German-American relations is excellent at this time. I can also say that in terms of the other discussions that we have had, that we found substantial agreement, as the statement which has been issued to the press has indicated, in economic areas and also on the problem of maintaining adequate forces in Europe in our commitment to NATO.

With regard to that commitment, incidentally, I am today announcing the appointment of Ambassador Kennedy as our Ambassador to NATO.[1] This indicates, as I have told the Chancellor, the commitment that the United States has to NATO—the importance that we attach to that commitment, sending a man who has such broad experience, who has my total confidence, as our Ambassador to that very important post.

Finally, Mr. Chancellor, on a personal note, may I here, before American television, speak for all the American people

[1] A White House announcement of the intention to nominate Ambassador at Large David M. Kennedy as United States Permanent Representative on the Council of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization was released on December 29, 1971, and is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 8, p. 9).

in congratulating the Nobel Prize winner for 1971.

I hope and I believe that the talks that we have had, covering the whole range of world affairs, will contribute to peace in the years ahead for our two countries and for the world.

We are very complimented that you have chosen Florida for a brief vacation. We hope the waters are peaceful and that the fishing is good.

NOTE: The President spoke at his home in Key Biscayne, Fla.

On December 28, 1971, the President greeted Chancellor Brandt at a formal arrival ceremony at Homestead Air Force Base, Fla. On the same day, the President hosted a working dinner at his Key Biscayne residence for the Chancellor.

Following the President's remarks, Chancellor Brandt responded as follows:

Mr. President, Mr. Secretary, ladies and gentlemen:

I am most grateful to President Nixon that he gave us, Foreign Minister Scheel and me, the chance to meet and discuss, in all frankness, problems of common interest, our common position and responsibilities within the Atlantic Alliance, future relations between the enlarging European Community and the United States, East-West problems, and other problems of common concern.

Mr. President, you should know that we in Germany regard the United States as our not only most powerful but also, for other reasons, most important partner abroad, and we will do all we can to strengthen the ties of friendship which have been developed over the years.

I think in spite of many difficulties in one part of the world and the other, in 1971 we have made some progress in trying to make peace safer, and I think there is a chance that you and we, together with our friends, can make even better progress in 1972, without having any illusions and without underestimating the difficulties which are still ahead of us.

Thank you very much for your hospitality, Mr. President. And as far as my vacation is concerned, it is true that I will concentrate on fishing for a few days ahead of us. I have been in the States many times—only the second time I have been in Florida. And I am happy I can be back here in this wonderful part of the United States.

Thank you very much, Mr. President.

417 Remarks in an Informal Exchange With German Correspondents Who Accompanied Chancellor Brandt on His Visit to the United States. *December 29, 1971*

THE PRESIDENT. The Chancellor invited me to the Olympic Games.

Q. We would like to have you there.

THE PRESIDENT. I remember my visit to Munich in '56. I was there then, after being in Austria, to meet with the Hungarian refugees. It is one of the most, I think, exciting cities in the world.

It was Christmastime, just before Christmas. There was snow. I remember the decorations, the music, and I remember I said, "Look, I want to visit"—they wanted to give this big, fancy party. I said, "No, I want to go to one of those famous Munich beer halls, the *Hofbräu,*" and I have a mug from there, from that. That was when I was Vice President. So I want to go back to Munich sometime.

Q. Are you going to the Olympics?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I am going to be a little busy at that time of the year.

Q. Why? [*Laughter*]

THE PRESIDENT. I will probably be watching some of it on television here, of

course, being somewhat of a sports fan. Let me say, if I am not there, I will be watching some of it on television, I am sure. I think it will be a very, very exciting Olympics, though, because Munich is an ideal city. It is a big enough city to take it, and yet it has a feeling of hospitality.

Have I met all of the Germans here?

[At this point, the President spoke with various members of the German press corps. He then resumed speaking.]

Well, we certainly wish you all the best, and at least I will keep the Munich invitation on the list. Whether I get away depends on other things.

Q. Mr. President, how many German correspondents do you intend to take with you to Peking, do you know?

MR. ZIEGLER. We will let you know on that.

THE PRESIDENT. Do we have anybody who wants to go?

Q. Oh, yes.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, you know, it is interesting. The Federal Republic has a considerable amount of trade with Mainland China; in fact, next to Japan, among the non-Communist countries, it has the most. It is a subject which we discussed, so I was interested in knowing that.

Let me say, that as far as I am concerned, I would take you all, but Ziegler is very hard. [*Laughter*] He is going to work it out. I don't know whether he will get out or not, but we will see.

Thank you very much. The Chancellor will be out fishing today. That will make him happy.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:12 p.m. at his home in Key Biscayne, Fla.

418 Statement on the Death of Former Associate Justice John M. Harlan. *December* 29, 1971

JUSTICE Harlan was one of the 20th century's giants on the Supreme Court of the United States—a man whose lucid intellect and consistently clear reasoning won him the highest respect of his judicial colleagues, of the legal profession at large, and of the Nation he served with such selfless dedication.

His contribution was enormous, and he will be deeply mourned and enormously missed.

Mrs. Nixon and I join the Nation in expressing our sympathy to the family of this splendid American.

NOTE: Justice Harlan, 72, died of cancer in George Washington University Hospital, Washington, D.C. He served on the Supreme Court from 1955 until his retirement in 1971.

The statement was made available to the press at Key Biscayne, Fla.

419 Statement About the Emergency Unemployment Compensation Bill. *December* 30, 1971

YESTERDAY I signed into law H.R. 6065, which in its major provision enacts the Emergency Unemployment Compensation Act of 1971. Additionally, it makes technical changes in the way certain unemployment insurance funds can be used by State governments.

The major provision extends unemploy-

ment benefits for an additional 13 weeks for workers whose existing benefits have been exhausted and who live in States where the unemployment rate is high.

I have signed this legislation because it will help to ease the transition of workers adjusting from the wartime to a peacetime economy, and because I recognize that during the winter months employment prospects are often limited. Approximately 750,000 workers will have their incomes maintained for up to 52 weeks under the provisions of this law.

In signing this act, however, I would emphasize that I endorse it only as a temporary expedient and not as the best or soundest method of helping the unemployed nor as a precedent for future legislation.

The Congress has also indicated a concern about the desirability of continuing this program. The bill requires the Secretary of Labor to conduct a comprehensive review of the program and to submit a report to the Congress by May 1, 1972, commenting on the desirability of continuation.

The major reason for my misgiving is that this legislation undermines the insurance concept of the unemployment compensation program. Under the present system, employers contribute to a trust fund which is used to provide income assistance to those who are temporarily out of work. H.R. 6065 would, in effect, draw the estimated $454 million needed to fund this program from the general treasury.

To require the general taxpayer to bear the costs of this program means a sharp departure from the previous practice under which employer taxes have been used to finance such aid. In essence, this legislation does not set up a program of unemployment insurance in which funding is related to employer experience with unemployment; instead, it sets up another program of public welfare.

In addition, by limiting the program to selected States, the present legislation discriminates against those similarly situated workers in other States and inhibits the labor mobility which could also ease long-term unemployment.

I have asked the Secretary of Labor to prepare promptly alternatives to this program, in the event one is needed, which would be properly financed and would distinguish between short- and long-term problems and their effective solution.

NOTE: The statement was released at Key Biscayne, Fla.

As enacted, H.R. 6065, approved December 29, 1971, is Public Law 92–224 (85 Stat. 810).

Appendix A—Additional White House Releases

NOTE: This appendix lists those releases which are neither printed as items in this volume nor listed in subsequent appendixes. If the text of a release was printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents, the page number is indicated below. Page references are to Volumes 7 and 8 of the Compilation.

January	*Vol. 7 page*
11 News briefing: on depreciation provisions of the tax laws—by Charls E. Walker, Under Secretary, and John S. Nolan, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Tax Legislation, Department of the Treasury	...
13 Designation: Russell E. Train as United States Representative to NATO Committee on the Challenges of Modern Society	59
13 Appointment: Seven members of the Commission on American Shipbuilding; and designation of Chairman	60
14 Advance text: remarks at the University of Nebraska	...
18 Recess appointment: Thomas S. Kleppe as Administrator of the Small Business Administration	87
18 Appointment: Fred E. Morr as Chairman of the Ohio River Basin Commission	78
18 News briefing: on President's meeting with the Construction Industry Collective Bargaining Commission to discuss wage and price trends in the construction industry—by Secretary of Labor James D. Hodgson	...
19 Appointment: Peter G. Peterson as Assistant to the President for International Economic Affairs and Executive Director of the Council on International Economic Policy	79
19 News conference: on appointment of Peter G. Peterson as Assistant to the President for International Economic Affairs and Executive Director of the Council on International Economic Policy—by Mr. Peterson and George P. Shultz, Director, Office of Management and Budget	...
20 Recess appointment: Chester L. Mize as member and Chairman of the United States Tariff Commission	84
20 Nomination: James H. Wakelin, Jr., to be an Assistant Secretary of Commerce	84
21 Nomination: Rear Adm. Don A. Jones to be Director of the National Ocean Survey, and Rear Adm. Harley D. Nygren to be Director of the Commissioned Officer Corps, National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, Department of Commerce	85
21 Recess appointment: five Directors of the Securities Investor Protection Corporation; and designation of Chairman	85
21 News briefing: on a summary report of the White House Conference on Food, Nutrition, and Health—by Elliot L. Richardson, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare; and Clifford M. Hardin, Secretary, and Edward J. Hekman, Administrator, Food and Nutrition Service, Department of Agriculture	...

Appendix A

January	page
22 Nomination: Thomas Edmund Carroll to be an Assistant Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency	88
22 Advance text: Annual Message on the State of the Union	...
25 News briefing: on proposals outlined in the State of the Union Message—by Republican Congressional leaders Senator Hugh Scott and Representative Gerald R. Ford	...
25 Table: estimates of allocations to States under the general revenue sharing plan	106
25 News briefing: on general revenue sharing plan—by Murray L. Weidenbaum, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury for Economic Policy	...
26 Nomination: John R. Quarles, Jr., to be an Assistant Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency	107
26 Appointment: five members of the President's Science Advisory Committee	120
26 Resignation: exchange of letters with Randolph W. Thrower on his resignation as Commissioner of Internal Revenue, Department of the Treasury	121
26 Fact sheet: 40 bills being resubmitted to the 92d Congress	...
27 Appointment: George Malcolm White as Architect of the Capitol	123
27 Announcement: conversion of the biological warfare facilities at Pine Bluff Arsenal, Ark., to the National Center for Toxicological Research	123
27 Announcement: National Medal of Science recipients for 1970	124
27 News briefing: on proposals outlined in the State of the Union Message—by John D. Ehrlichman, Assistant to the President for Domestic Affairs	...
28 Nomination: Stanley M. Greenfield and Donald MacMurphy Mosiman to be Assistant Administrators of the Environmental Protection Agency	124
28 Nomination: Robert M. White to be Administrator, Howard W. Pollock to be Deputy Administrator, and John W. Townsend, Jr., to be Associate Administrator, National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, Department of Commerce	127
28 News briefing: on draft reform message—by Roger T. Kelly, Assistant Secretary of Defense for Manpower and Reserve Affairs, and Dr. Curtis W. Tarr, Director of Selective Service	...
30 Appointment: nine members of the Commission on Marihuana and Drug Abuse; and designation of Chairman	150
30 Appointment: 23 members of the Annual Assay Commission	151
30 News briefing: on the Economic Report—by Paul W. McCracken, Chairman, and Hendrik S. Houthakker and Herbert Stein, members, Council of Economic Advisers	...
February	
2 Nomination: William J. Casey to be a member of the Securities and Exchange Commission; and his designation as Chairman	158
2 News briefing: on proposed establishment of a Federal Executive Service—by Robert E. Hampton, Chairman, and Seymour S. Berlin, Director, Bureau of Executive Manpower, United States Civil Service Commission	...
2 News briefing: on Cabinet discussion of proposals outlined in the State of the Union Message—by Maurice H. Stans, Secretary of Commerce, James D. Hodgson, Secretary of Labor, and Clifford M. Hardin, Secretary of Agriculture	...

Appendix A

February	*page*
3 Appointment: 13 members of the National Tourism Resources Review Commission; and designation of Chairman	159
3 News briefing: on proposed legislation for national emergency labor disputes in the transportation industry—by Secretary of Labor James D. Hodgson	...
4 Nomination: Richard H. Grant to be Chairman and six persons to be members of the National Credit Union Board	162
4 Fact sheet: general revenue sharing message	172
4 News briefing: on general revenue sharing message—by Murray L. Weidenbaum, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury for Economic Policy	...
5 Appointment: Daniel T. Kingsley as Special Assistant to the President	174
5 News briefing: on unemployment statistics for January—by Secretary of Labor James D. Hodgson	...
5 News briefing: on memorandums recommending proposals for executive reorganization—by John D. Ehrlichman, Assistant to the President for Domestic Affairs, and George P. Shultz, Director, Office of Management and Budget	...
8 Nomination: Philip V. Sanchez to be an Assistant Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity	186
8 Appointment: three members of the Administrative Conference of the United States; and reappointment of one member	204
8 Fact sheet: the 1971 environmental program	...
8 News briefing: on the 1971 environmental program—by Rogers C. B. Morton, Secretary of the Interior, Russell E. Train, Chairman, Council on Environmental Quality, and William D. Ruckelshaus, Administrator, Environmental Protection Agency	...
9 Appointment: five members of the Plymouth-Provincetown Celebration Commission; and designation of Chairman	205
9 Announcement: disaster assistance for California	206
9 Announcement: disaster assistance for Washington	206
9 News briefing: on Laos and on general health legislation—by Republican Congressional leaders Senator Hugh Scott and Representative Gerald R. Ford	...
10 Nomination: Herbert F. DeSimone to be an Assistant Secretary of Transportation	209
10 Nomination: Donald W. Whitehead to be Federal Cochairman of the Appalachian Regional Commission	209
11 Fact sheet: President's Advisory Council on Executive Organization's report on selected independent regulatory agencies	210
11 Announcement: signing of Executive Order 11582 on the observance of holidays by Government agencies	214
13 Nomination: Maj. Gen. David Stuart Parker to be Governor of the Canal Zone	228
13 Announcement: disaster assistance for Oregon	228
15 Nomination: Pinkney Calvin Walker to be a member of the Federal Power Commission	228
16 Appointment: Rev. Frank R. Haig, S.J., and Lt. Gen. Benjamin O. Davis as members of the Board of Visitors of the U.S. Air Force Academy	233
18 Fact sheet: outlining major features of the national health strategy message	...

Appendix A

February	*page*
18 News briefing: on national health strategy message—by Elliot L. Richardson, Secretary, Dr. Roger O. Egeberg, Assistant Secretary for Health and Scientific Affairs, Lewis H. Butler, Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation, and Robert E. Patricelli, Deputy Under Secretary for Policy Coordination, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.	...
18 News briefing: on the Consumer Price Index figures for January—by George P. Shultz, Director, Office of Management and Budget	...
22 Announcement: disaster assistance for Mississippi	283
22 Fact sheet: higher education message	...
22 News briefing: on higher education message—by Sidney P. Marland, Jr., Commissioner of Education, and Peter P. Muirhead, Executive Deputy Commissioner, Office of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare	...
23 Appointment: Jon Meade Huntsman as Special Assistant to the President	283
23 Announcement: disaster assistance for Nebraska	284
23 News briefing: on consumer protection and on Laos—by Republican Congressional leaders Senator Hugh Scott and Representative Gerald R. Ford	...
23 News briefing: on suspension of the Davis-Bacon Act provisions for Federal construction projects—by Secretary of Labor James D. Hodgson	...
24 Fact sheet: outlining major features of the consumer protection program for 1971–72	...
24 News briefing: on consumer protection message—by Virginia H. Knauer, Special Assistant to the President for Consumer Affairs; Elliot L. Richardson, Secretary, and Patricia R. Hitt, Assistant Secretary for Community and Field Services, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare; and Lewis A. Engman, General Counsel, Office of Consumer Affairs	...
25 Resignation: exchange of letters with Rocco C. Siciliano on his resignation as Under Secretary of Commerce	377
25 Advance text: radio address about second annual foreign policy report	...
25 News briefing: on second annual foreign policy report—by Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs (briefing held on February 23)	...
26 Appointment: three members and one alternate member of the District of Columbia Commission on Judicial Disabilities and Tenure; and resignation of Chairman	379
26 Nomination: Jerris Leonard to be Administrator of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, Department of Justice	379
26 News briefing: on revenue sharing—by John D. Ehrlichman, Assistant to the President for Domestic Affairs, and Edwin L. Harper, Special Assistant to the President	...
27 Nomination: James C. Fletcher to be Administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration	383
27 Resignation: letter to Fred J. Russell accepting his resignation as Under Secretary of the Interior	384

Appendix A

March		*page*
1	Fact sheet: report on availability of Government services to rural areas	...
1	Advance text: remarks to the Iowa State Legislature	...
1	News briefing: on meeting of Governors and representatives of four Midwestern States with the President to discuss rural development—by Secretary of Agriculture Clifford M. Hardin	...
1	News briefing: on their meeting with the President on rural development—by Governors Robert D. Ray of Iowa, Warren E. Hearnes of Missouri, Richard B. Ogilvie of Illinois, and Patrick J. Lucey of Wisconsin; and Senator Jack Miller of Iowa	...
2	Nomination: James T. Lynn to be Under Secretary of Commerce	417
2	Fact sheet: the proposed Law Enforcement Revenue Sharing Act of 1971	...
2	Fact sheet: Law Enforcement Assistance Administration	...
2	Fact sheet: law enforcement special revenue sharing fund	...
2	News briefing: on law enforcement special revenue sharing message—by Attorney General John N. Mitchell	...
3	Nomination: Stephen Kurzman to be an Assistant Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare	417
3	Nomination: Robert O. Beatty to be an Assistant Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare	418
3	News briefing: on problems of employment in the aerospace and defense industry—by Edward E. David, Jr., Science Adviser to the President, and Malcolm R. Lovell, Jr., Assistant Secretary of Labor for Manpower	...
4	Fact sheet: manpower special revenue sharing proposal	...
4	Fact sheet: manpower special revenue sharing fund	...
4	News briefing: on manpower special revenue sharing proposal—by James D. Hodgson, Secretary, and Malcolm R. Lovell, Jr., Assistant Secretary for Manpower, Department of Labor	...
5	Appointment: six members of the National Advisory Council on Vocational Education; and designation of Chairman	429
5	Fact sheet: urban community development special revenue sharing proposal	...
5	News briefing: on urban community development special revenue sharing message—by George W. Romney, Secretary, and Charles J. Orlebeke, Deputy Under Secretary for Policy Analysis and Program Evaluation, Department of Housing and Urban Development	...
5	News briefing: on unemployment statistics for February—by Secretary of the Treasury John B. Connally	...
9	News briefing: on problems of rural America and on Laos and Cambodian operations—by Republican Congressional leaders Senator Hugh Scott and Representative Gerald R. Ford	...
9	Announcement: flood preventive campaign, "Operation Foresight 1971"	453
9	News briefing: on flood preventive campaign, "Operation Foresight 1971"—by George A. Lincoln, Director, Office of Emergency Preparedness, Lt. Gen. F. J. Clarke, Chief of Engineers, Army Corps of Engineers, and William E. Hiatt, National Weather Service, National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, Department of Commerce	...

March	*page*
9 News briefing: on astronauts' visits to college campuses—by William A. Anders, Executive Secretary, National Aeronautics and Space Council, Lt. Col. William R. Pogue, Maj. Jack R. Lousma, and John L. Swigert, Jr .	...
10 Fact sheet: proposed Rural Community Development Revenue Sharing Act of 1971	...
10 Fact sheet: rural community development special revenue sharing program.	...
10 News briefing: on rural community development special revenue sharing program—by Clifford M. Hardin, Secretary of Agriculture, Maurice H. Stans, Secretary of Commerce, George W. Romney, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, and John R. Price, Special Assistant to the President	...
11 Appointment: Stephen D. Bechtel, Jr., as a member of the National Commission on Productivity; and designation: Secretary of the Treasury John B. Connally as a member, and Assistant Secretary of Labor for Policy, Evaluation, and Research Jerome M. Rosow as Vice Chairman, of the Commission	467
11 Advance text: remarks to the National Conference on the Judiciary	...
11 News briefing: on textile imports from Japan—by Representative John W. Byrnes and Peter M. Flanigan, Assistant to the President	...
12 Advance text: address at graduation exercises of the Naval Officer Candidate School at Newport, R.I . . .	...
13 Appointment: Franklin Haydn Williams as the President's personal representative for the negotiation of future political status with the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands . . .	473
15 Appointment: Cynthia S. Newman as a member of the National Tourism Resources Review Commission . . .	492

March	*page*
15 Announcement: disaster assistance for Florida	493
18 Fact sheet: proposed Transportation Special Revenue Sharing Act of 1971	...
18 Fact sheet: transportation special revenue sharing fund	...
18 News briefing: on transportation special revenue sharing program—by Secretary of Transportation John A. Volpe	...
19 Nomination: George C. Guenther to be an Assistant Secretary of Labor .	503
19 Nomination: three members of the Occupational Safety and Health Review Commission; and designation of Chairman	503
19 Nomination: Horace E. Menasco to be Administrator of the Wage and Hour Division, Department of Labor.	504
19 Appointment: John D. Harper as Chairman of the National Alliance of Businessmen	504
19 Biographical data: John D. Harper, appointed as Chairman of the National Alliance of Businessmen . . .	...
19 News briefing: on the Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970—by Secretary of Labor James D. Hodgson	...
19 News briefing: on Consumer Price Index figures for February—by Secretary of Labor James D. Hodgson . .	...
22 News briefing: on report on Federal activities in the fields of juvenile delinquency and youth development—by Robert H. Finch, Counsellor to the President; and John D. Twiname, Administrator, Social and Rehabilitation Service, and Robert J. Gemignani, Commissioner, Youth Development and Delinquency Prevention Administration, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare .	...

Appendix A

March	*page*
23 News briefing: on the supersonic transport program—by Republican Congressional leaders Senator Hugh Scott and Representative Gerald R. Ford	...
23 News conference: on the election of Edwin D. Etherington as President of the National Center for Voluntary Action—by Robert H. Finch, Counsellor to the President, and Dr. Etherington	...
23 News briefing: on a meeting of representatives of the National League of Cities and the U.S. Conference of Mayors with the President—by Mayors James H. J. Tate of Philadelphia and Richard G. Lugar of Indianapolis	...
24 News briefing: on the establishment of the Whitney M. Young, Jr., Skill Center memorial in Shelbyville, Ky.—by James D. Hodgson, Secretary of Labor, Gov. Louie B. Nunn of Kentucky, and Whitney M. Young, Sr	...
24 Fact sheet: Reorganization Plan 1 of 1971, establishing ACTION	...
24 News briefing: on Reorganization Plan 1 of 1971, establishing ACTION—by Joseph H. Blatchford, Director, Peace Corps, Department of State, and Carol Khosrovi, Director, VISTA, Office of Economic Opportunity	...
24 Biographical data: Comdr. Craig S. Campbell, appointed Naval Aide to the President	...
24 News briefing: on the supersonic transport program—by William M. Magruder, Director of Supersonic Transport Development, Department of Transportation	...
25 Fact sheet: four proposed Executive departments	...
25 News briefing: on proposed executive branch reorganization—by John B. Connally, Secretary of the Treasury, and Arnold R. Weber, Associate Director, Office of Management and Budget	...
25 News briefing: on meeting of black members of the House of Representatives with the President—by Representative Charles C. Diggs, Jr	...
25 News briefing: on meeting of black members of the House of Representatives with the President—by Robert H. Finch and Donald Rumsfeld, Counsellors to the President; and Clark MacGregor, Counsel to the President for Congressional Relations.	...
27 Biographical data: Samuel Goldwyn, Presidential Medal of Freedom recipient	...
27 Text: Presidential Medal of Freedom citation awarded to Samuel Goldwyn.	...
27 Fact sheet: Presidential Medal of Freedom	...
29 Statement: on stabilization of wages and prices in the construction industry—by Secretary of Labor James D. Hodgson	582
29 News briefing: on stabilization of wages and prices in the construction industry—by Secretary of Labor James D. Hodgson	...
30 Nomination: E. Ross Adair to be United States Ambassador to Ethiopia	585
30 Nomination: W. Tapley Bennett, Jr., to be United States Deputy Representative in the United Nations Security Council	585
31 Fact sheet: land in Camp Pendleton, Calif., to be made available for public recreational use	...

March — *page*

31 News briefing: on plans to make land in Camp Pendleton, Calif., available for public recreational use, and on President's letter to Wilbur Mills, Chairman, and John Byrnes, ranking minority member, House Committee on Ways and Means, on the welfare reform bill—by John D. Ehrlichman, Assistant to the President for Domestic Affairs . . . .

April

1 Biographical data: Max L. Friedersdorf, appointed Special Assistant to the President for Congressional Relations . . . .

1 Biographical data: Tom C. Korologos, appointed Special Assistant to the President for Congressional Relations. ...

1 News briefing: on technology mobilization and reemployment program in the aerospace industry—by James D. Hodgson, Secretary of Labor, and Edward E. David, Jr., Director, Office of Science and Technology . . . .

2 Reappointment: four members of the Civil Defense Advisory Council . . 590

2 Appointment: five members of the Commission on White House Fellowships. 591

2 News briefing: on welfare reform—by Gov. Ronald Reagan of California, Elliot L. Richardson, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, and Caspar W. Weinberger, Deputy Director, Office of Management and Budget . . . .

3 News briefing: on the President's decision to review the case of 1st Lt. William L. Calley, Jr.—by John D. Ehrlichman, Assistant to the President for Domestic Affairs . . . ...

April — *page*

5 News briefing: on problems in the motion picture industry—by Peter M. Flanigan, Assistant to the President, Charlton Heston, president, Screen Actors Guild, Jack J. Valenti, president, Motion Picture Association of America, Inc., and Taft B. Schreiber, vice president, Music Corporation of America . . . .

6 Appointment: four members of the National Advisory Council on Supplementary Centers and Services . . 602

6 Fact sheet: education special revenue sharing program . . . .

6 News briefing: on education special revenue sharing program—by Elliot L. Richardson, Secretary, Sidney P. Marland, Jr., Commissioner of Education, and John R. Ottina, Deputy Commissioner of Education for Management, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare . . . .

6 Fact sheets: hold harmless base line figures for States and localities under special revenue sharing for law enforcement, manpower, urban community development, rural community development, transportation, and education (6 releases) . . . .

6 News briefing: on the hold harmless base line figures for States and localities under special revenue sharing—by Edwin L. Harper, Special Assistant to the President . . . .

6 News briefing: on an Alaska Natives' claims bill—by Senator Ted Stevens of Alaska, Rogers C. B. Morton, Secretary of the Interior, and Donald R. Wright, president, Alaska Federation of Natives . . . ...

7 Nomination: Douglas W. Toms to be Administrator of the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration, Department of Transportation . . . 605

Appendix A

April	*page*
7 News briefing: on message to Congress on District of Columbia affairs—by John A. Volpe, Secretary, and John P. Olsson, Deputy Under Secretary, Department of Transportation; and Richard P. Nathan, Assistant Director, Office of Management and Budget	...
7 Advance text: address to the Nation on the situation in Southeast Asia	...
8 Nomination: John W. Ingram to be Administrator of the Federal Railroad Administration, Department of Transportation	616
8 News briefing: on the President's meeting with the Council on International Economic Policy and with Franco Maria Malfatti, President, Commission of the European Community—by Peter G. Peterson, Assistant to the President for International Economic Affairs	...
9 Nomination: William N. Letson to be General Counsel of the Department of Commerce	617
9 News briefing: on summer programs for disadvantaged youth—by James D. Hodgson, Secretary, and Malcolm R. Lovell, Jr., Assistant Secretary for Manpower, Department of Labor; and James A. Lovell, Jr., Chairman, President's Council on Physical Fitness and Sports	...
12 Nomination: Nathaniel Pryor Reed to be Assistant Secretary for Fish and Wildlife, Department of the Interior	628
12 News briefing: on a new program for disadvantaged Vietnam-era veterans —by Donald E. Johnson, Administrator of Veterans Affairs, Frank C. Carlucci III, Director, Office of Economic Opportunity, Mayor Richard G. Lugar of Indianapolis, Ind., James F. Oates, Jr., Chairman, Jobs for Veterans, and Robert Penn, a Vietnam veteran	...
13 Appointment: John A. Scali as Special Consultant to the President	628
13 News briefing: on the third Inflation Alert—by Paul W. McCracken, Chairman, and Hendrik S. Houthakker, member, Council of Economic Advisers	...
14 Announcement: disaster relief for Texas	629
15 News briefing: on gross national product figures for first quarter, 1971—by George P. Shultz, Director, Office of Management and Budget	...
16 Nomination: Bernard Zagorin to be United States Representative on the United Nations Economic and Social Council	631
19 Advance text: remarks at the Republican Governors Conference in Williamsburg, Va.	...
19 Advance text: remarks at the 80th Continental Congress of the Daughters of the American Revolution	...
20 Nomination: William T. Pecora to be Under Secretary of the Interior	660
20 Appointment: Neal Ball as Deputy Press Secretary to the President	660
20 News briefing: on Republican Congressional leadership meeting with the President—by Senator Hugh Scott and Representative Gerald R. Ford	...
21 Appointment: Richard A. Moore as Special Counsel to the President	669
21 Nomination: Laurence E. Lynn, Jr., to be an Assistant Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare	670
21 Nomination: eight members of the Board of Directors of the National Railroad Passenger Corporation	672
21 Summary: message to the Congress on reform of the foreign assistance program	...

Appendix A

April	*page*
21 News briefing: on message on reform of the foreign assistance program—by Peter G. Peterson, Executive Director, and Ernest Stern, senior staff member, Council on International Economic Policy; C. Fred Bergsten, Assistant for International Economic Affairs, National Security Council; and James R. Schlesinger, Assistant Director, Office of Management and Budget	...
21 News conference: on a meeting with the President to discuss the American table tennis team's visit to the People's Republic of China—by Graham B. Steenhoven, president, United States Table Tennis Association	...
21 News briefing: on Consumer Price Index figures for March—by Paul W. McCracken, Chairman, Council of Economic Advisers	...
22 Appointment: Barbara H. Franklin as a Staff Assistant for Executive Manpower	672
22 Appointment: five members of the Board of Directors of the Federal National Mortgage Association	674
23 Designation: Arthur S. Flemming as Chairman of the White House Conference on Aging	674
23 News conference: on the designation of Arthur S. Flemming as Chairman of the White House Conference on Aging—by Elliot L. Richardson, Secretary, and John B. Martin, Commissioner, Administration on Aging, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare; and Dr. Flemming	...
23 Nomination: John W. Barnum to be General Counsel of the Department of Transportation	674
23 Appointment: five members of the National Advisory Council on Education Professions Development	675
26 Advance text: remarks at the annual meeting of the United States Chamber of Commerce	...
26 News briefing: on report of the President's Commission for the Observance of the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations—by Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, Chairman, Francis O. Wilcox, Chairman of the Working Group, James C. Hagerty, member, and Gerard J. Mangone, Executive Director, of the Commission	...
28 Nomination: James E. Johnson to be an Assistant Secretary of the Navy	695
28 Fact sheet: proposals for 14 additional wilderness areas	...
28 News briefing: on proposals for 14 additional wilderness areas—by Rogers C. B. Morton, Secretary, George B. Hartzog, Jr., Director, National Park Service, and F. Victor Schmidt, Assistant Director of Operations, Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife, Department of the Interior	...
28 News briefing: on the President's release of appropriated funds—by Caspar W. Weinberger, Deputy Director, Office of Management and Budget	...
29 Nomination: Jayne Baker Spain to be a United States Civil Service Commissioner; and her designation as Vice Chairman of the Commission	695
29 Appointment: Vicki L. Keller and Sallyanne Payton as Associates on the Staff of the Domestic Council	695
29 Biographical data: Dr. Valerija B. Raulinaitis, appointed Director, Leech Farm Road Veterans Administration Hospital, Pittsburgh, Pa.	...
May	
2 Advance text: radio address: "A Salute to Agriculture"	...

Appendix A

May		*page*
4	Nomination: Earl S. Smittcamp and Ernest G. Spivey to be members of the Federal Farm Credit Board, Farm Credit Administration	724
4	News briefing: on Republican Congressional leadership meeting with the President—by Senator Hugh Scott and Representative Leslie C. Arends	...
4	News briefing: on the progress report of the President's Commission on School Finance and the interim report of the President's Panel on Non-Public Education—by Neil McElroy, Chairman of the Commission, and Clarence Walton, Chairman of the Panel	...
5	Nomination: Norman Vickers Watson to be an Assistant Secretary of Housing and Urban Development	725
5	Nomination: Hadlai Austin Hull to be an Assistant Secretary of the Army	730
5	Fact sheet: major features of the proposed Legal Services Corporation bill	...
5	News briefing: on the proposed establishment of the Legal Services Corporation—by Frank C. Carlucci III, Director, Office of Economic Opportunity	...
6	News briefing: on request for legislation to provide loan guarantees for the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation—by Secretary of the Treasury John B. Connally	...
7	Resignation: President's Advisory Council on Executive Organization on completion of the Council's work	734
7	Announcement: signing of S. 70 (Public Law 92–12), establishing the Rural Telephone Bank	735
7	Appointment: Charles B. Thornton as member and Chairman of the President's Commission on White House Fellowships	735
7	Appointment: 10 members of the Advisory Committee on the Arts, John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts	736
8	Appointment: two members of the Board of Governors, and four members of the Corporation, United Service Organizations, Inc	736
10	Announcement: disaster assistance for Kentucky	751
10	Fact sheet: proposed Gateway National Recreation Area	...
10	News briefing: on proposed Gateway National Recreation Area—by Rogers C. B. Morton, Secretary, and George B. Hartzog, Jr., Director, National Park Service, Department of the Interior; Governors William T. Cahill of New Jersey and Nelson A. Rockefeller of New York; and Mayors Kenneth Gibson of Newark and John V. Lindsay of New York City	...
11	News briefing: on proposed national cancer program—by Elliot L. Richardson, Secretary, and Robert Q. Marston, Director, National Institutes of Health, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare; and Edward E. David, Jr., Science Adviser to the President	...
12	Announcement: trade adjustment assistance benefits for consumer electronics workers	755
12	News briefing: on proposed welfare reform and social security bill—by Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Elliot L. Richardson	...
13	Nomination: Merlin K. DuVal, Jr., to be an Assistant Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare; and appointment: Dr. Roger O. Egeberg as Special Consultant to the President on Health Affairs	755

May	*page*
13 News briefing: on preservation of the cultural environment—by Rogers C. B. Morton, Secretary, Department of the Interior, and Russell E. Train, Chairman, Council on Environmental Quality	...
13 News briefing: on the Citizens Committee for Government Reorganization meeting with the President—by James Roche, John Robson, Terry Sanford, and Dewey F. Bartlett, co-chairmen of the committee	...
13 News briefing: on revised figures for the gross national product for the first quarter of 1971—by George P. Shultz, Director, Office of Management and Budget	...
13 News briefing: on proposed amendment to reduce U.S. military forces in Europe—by Dean Acheson, former Secretary, and George Ball, former Under Secretary, Department of State	...
14 Appointment: four members of the Board of Trustees of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in the Smithsonian Institution	758
14 News briefing: on problems of senior citizens—by Arthur S. Flemming, Chairman, White House Conference on Aging; and Elliot L. Richardson, Secretary, and John B. Martin, Commissioner, Administration on Aging, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare	...
14 News briefing: on a meeting with the President to discuss a recent world trip on behalf of prisoners of war and missing in action—by Jacob A. O. Preus, president of the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod	...
15 List: former U.S. Government officials supporting the President's statement on U.S. military forces in Europe	772
17 Text: of proposed joint resolution providing for a temporary prohibition of strikes or lockouts in the current railway labor dispute	...
17 List: categories of essential items designated to receive transportation priorities in the event of a nationwide rail shutdown	...
18 Nomination: Robert W. Fri to be Deputy Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency	776
18 Announcement: disaster assistance for Tennessee	777
18 Announcement: disaster assistance for the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands	777
18 Appointment: three members of the National Capital Planning Commission; designation of Chairman	777
18 News briefing: on need for Congressional action to halt railway strike—by Republican Congressional leaders Senator Robert P. Griffin and Representative Gerald R. Ford	...
18 News briefing: on proposed welfare reform and social security bill—by Under Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare John G. Veneman	...
18 News briefing: on President's meeting with State legislators to discuss revenue sharing legislation—by Senator B. Mahlon Brown, majority leader of the Nevada Senate, and Senator Robert P. Knowles, president pro tempore of the Wisconsin Senate	...
18 News briefing: on bill ending the national railway strike and the need for permanent legislation—by James D. Hodgson, Secretary, and W. J. Usery, Jr., Administrator, Labor-Management Services Administration, Department of Labor	...

Appendix A

May	*page*
19 Nomination: 14 members of the National Commission on Libraries and Information Science; and designation of Chairman	782
19 News briefing: on Administration response to the Congressional Black Caucus recommendations—by George P. Shultz, Director, and Arnold R. Weber, Associate Director, Office of Management and Budget	...
19 News briefing: on the President's actions to alleviate hardships to farmers in drought-stricken areas in the Southwest—by Clifford M. Hardin, Secretary of Agriculture, and Senators Henry L. Bellmon of Oklahoma and John G. Tower of Texas	...
20 Text: statement read by the President on an agreement on strategic arms limitation talks between the Governments of the United States and the Soviet Union	...
20 Chronology: strategic arms limitation talks, including a list of the U.S. delegation	...
20 Fact sheet: status of the SAFEGUARD antiballistic missile system, and comparisons of U.S. and Soviet strategic force strengths	...
21 Appointment: 16 men and women as White House Fellows for 1971–72	788
21 Appointment: six members of the National Parks Centennial Commission; and designation of Chairman	788
21 News briefing: on their recent trip to Europe and North Africa to discuss drug abuse prevention and control with foreign officials—by Robert H. Finch and Donald Rumsfeld, Counsellors to the President	...
22 Advance text: remarks at the dedication of the Lyndon Baines Johnson Library at the University of Texas	...
22 Fact sheet: Andrew Jackson portrait loaned to the Lyndon Baines Johnson Library	...
24 Nomination: Joseph F. Donelan, Jr., to be an Assistant Secretary of State	805
24 Fact sheet: the Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway	...
26 Advance text: remarks at the Associated Councils of the Arts annual conference	...
26 Nomination: three members of the District of Columbia Council	822
27 Nomination: Catherine May Bedell to be a member of the United States Tariff Commission; and her designation as Chairman	824
27 Announcement: report of the Board of Visitors of the United States Naval Academy	825
28 Nomination: Charles J. Nelson to be United States Ambassador to Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland	826
28 Nomination: David D. Dominick to be an Assistant Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency	826
28 Designation: John C. Mundt as Special Representative of the United States for Interoceanic Canal Negotiations	826
28 News briefing: on final report of the White House Conference on Children—by Stephen Hess, Chairman, White House Conference on Children, and Edward Zigler, Director, Office of Child Development, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare	...
29 Advance text: remarks to the Corps of Cadets at the United States Military Academy, West Point, N.Y	...
June	
1 Nomination: Frederic G. Donner to be reappointed as a member of the Board of Directors of the Communications Satellite Corporation	844

Appendix A

June		*page*
2	Nomination: A. Sydney Herlong, Jr., to be reappointed as a member of the Securities and Exchange Commission	851
2	Nomination: Wythe D. Quarles, Jr., to be a member of the Railroad Retirement Board	852
2	Announcement: trade adjustment assistance benefits for electronics workers	854
2	News briefing: on summer job and recreation opportunities for youth—by James D. Hodgson, Secretary, and Malcolm R. Lovell, Jr., Assistant Secretary for Manpower, Department of Labor	...
2	Text: Presidential Medal of Freedom citation awarded to William J. Hopkins	...
2	Biographical data: William J. Hopkins, Presidential Medal of Freedom recipient	...
2	Fact sheet: Presidential Medal of Freedom	...
3	News briefing: on the recent increase in the number of police officers killed in the line of duty—by Attorney General John N. Mitchell and representatives of the International Association of Chiefs of Police and the National Sheriffs' Association	...
4	Fact sheet: energy resources message	...
4	News briefing: on energy resources program—by Rogers C. B. Morton, Secretary, and W. T. Pecora, Under Secretary, Department of the Interior; Edward E. David, Jr., Director, Office of Science and Technology; and Glenn T. Seaborg, Chairman, Atomic Energy Commission	...
4	News briefing: on employment and Wholesale Price Index figures for May—by Herbert Stein, Council of Economic Advisers	...
4	Fact sheet: McClellan-Kerr Arkansas River Navigation System	...
5	Advance text: remarks at the dedication of the McClellan-Kerr Arkansas River Navigation System, near Tulsa, Okla	...
7	Nomination: Ezra Solomon to be a member of the Council of Economic Advisers	885
7	Announcement: selection of 121 students as Presidential Scholars of 1971	886
7	News briefing: on the President's meeting with the executive board of the National Association of Home Builders—by George W. Romney, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, and John Stasstny, president of the Association	...
8	Appointment: Richard E. Bland as member and Chairman of the National Commission on Fire Prevention and Control	889
8	Nomination: five members of the Federal Metal and Nonmetallic Mine Safety Board of Review; and designation of Chairman	890
10	Statement: announcing termination of trade controls on nonstrategic U.S. exports to and imports from the People's Republic of China—by Press Secretary Ronald L. Ziegler	890
10	Announcement: termination of trade controls on nonstrategic U.S. exports to, and decision to permit imports from, the People's Republic of China	891
10	News briefing: on relaxation of trade controls with the People's Republic of China—by Ambassador Winthrop G. Brown, Deputy Assistant Secretary for East Asia and Pacific Affairs, and Robert B. Wright, Director, Office of East-West Trade, Department of State; and Ernest B. Johnson, Jr., National Security Council staff.	...

Appendix A

June		*page*
10	Nomination: Joseph O. Parker to be a member of the United States Tariff Commission; and his designation as Vice Chairman	891
13	News briefing: on employment opportunities for returning Vietnam-era veterans—by James D. Hodgson, Secretary, and Malcolm R. Lovell, Jr., Assistant Secretary for Manpower, Department of Labor; and Roger T. Kelley, Assistant Secretary of Defense for Manpower and Reserve Affairs (held on June 11)	...
15	Nomination: Robert F. Froehlke to be Secretary of the Army	923
15	Appointment: 15 members of the National Commission on State Workmen's Compensation Laws; and designation of Chairman and Vice Chairman	923
15	Announcement: selection of 10 high school students as Presidential Australian Science Scholars	924
15	Appointment: Bonn H. Clayton and Robert P. McCulloch as members of the Low-Emission Vehicle Certification Board; and designation of Chairman	928
15	News briefing: on Republican Congressional leadership meeting with the President—by Senator Hugh Scott and Representative Gerald R. Ford	...
16	Nomination: Zelma George to be a member of the Board of Directors of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting	928
17	Appointment: Dr. Jerome H. Jaffe as Special Consultant to the President for Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs	941
17	Highlights: Nixon Administration actions in the fields of drug abuse prevention and control	...
17	Fact sheet: drug abuse prevention and control message	...
17	News briefing: on drug abuse prevention and control program—by John D. Ehrlichman, Assistant to the President for Domestic Affairs, Egil Krogh, Deputy Assistant to the President for Domestic Affairs, and Dr. Jerome H. Jaffe, Special Consultant to the President for Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs	...
17	Announcement: extension of repayment period for certain emergency loans for farmers affected by natural disasters	942
18	List: participants in the Eastern media briefing on domestic policy, in Rochester, N.Y	...
18	List: participants in the President's meeting in Rochester, N.Y., with members of a committee of New York State citizens interested in revenue sharing	...
21	Nomination: Johnnie M. Walters to be Commissioner of Internal Revenue, Department of the Treasury	968
21	Appointment: Arthur Busch as a member of the Air Quality Advisory Board	968
22	Advance text: remarks to the American Medical Association's House of Delegates meeting in Atlantic City, N.J	...
22	List: general officers and board of trustees of the American Medical Association	...
23	Nomination: seven members of the National Commission on Materials Policy	975
23	Appointment: six members of a special committee to develop proposals for a comprehensive cable television policy; and designation of Chairman	975
23	Nomination: Richard S. Wilbur to be an Assistant Secretary of Defense	976

June	*page*
23 News briefing: on employment opportunities for Vietnam-era veterans—by James D. Hodgson, Secretary of Labor, John D. Harper, Chairman, National Alliance of Businessmen, and James F. Oates, Jr., Chairman, Jobs for Veterans . . .	. . .
25 Advance text: remarks at the convention of the National Retired Teachers Association and the American Association of Retired Persons in Chicago, Ill	. . .
28 Nomination: three members of the Board of Parole, Department of Justice	1002
29 News briefing: on economic and budget matters—by Secretary of the Treasury John B. Connally	1002
29 Nomination: Fred L. Hadsel to be United States Ambassador to Ghana	1004
30 Nomination: Richard Stockwell Bodman to be an Assistant Secretary of the Interior	1010
30 News briefing: on the Turkish ban on cultivation of opium poppies—by William P. Rogers, Secretary of State, and Melih Esenbel, Turkish Ambassador to the United States	. . .
30 Fact sheet: transfer of two parcels of Federal land in Alameda County, Calif., to local jurisdiction for use as parks and recreation areas	. . .
July	
1 Nomination: Joseph H. Blatchford to be Director of ACTION	1012
1 News conference: on the nomination of Joseph H. Blatchford as Director of ACTION—by Mr. Blatchford and Durward B. Varner, chancellor, University of Nebraska at Lincoln . . .	. . .
1 Appointment: Sammy Davis, Jr., as a member of the National Advisory Council on Economic Opportunity .	1015

July	*page*
2 Nomination: Brereton Sturtevant to be an Examiner-in-Chief of the Patent Office, Department of Commerce . .	1016
2 Appointment: eight members of the Board of Trustees of the Joseph H. Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, Smithsonian Institution . .	1017
2 Nomination: Peter G. Nash to be General Counsel of the National Labor Relations Board	1017
2 Resignation: letter to Thomas J. Houser accepting his resignation as a member of the Federal Communications Commission.	1018
2 Nomination: Charlotte T. Reid to be a member of the Federal Communications Commission.	1018
2 News briefing: on unemployment statistics for June—by Secretary of Labor James D. Hodgson	. . .
6 News briefing: on the President's meeting with union and management leaders of the steel industry—by George P. Shultz, Director, Office of Management and Budget	. . .
6 List: participants in the briefing for Midwestern media executives on domestic policy, in Kansas City, Mo .	. . .
7 Nomination: Charles L. Ill to be an Assistant Secretary of the Navy . .	1040
7 Announcement: disaster assistance for Nebraska	1040
8 Appointment: Chairman, Vice Chairman, and 13 members of the Advisory Council on Intergovernmental Personnel Policy	1041
8 Nomination: Benjamin Oliver Davis, Jr., to be an Assistant Secretary of Transportation	1042
9 Nomination: John W. Larson to be an Assistant Secretary of the Interior	1043

Appendix A

July		*page*
9	Nomination: Maj. Gen. Charles Carmin Noble to be a member and President of the Mississippi River Commission	1043
9	Text: letter from George P. Shultz, Director, Office of Management and Budget, to Senator Clifford P. Case, concerning the summer child feeding program	1043
10	Appointment: Richard V. Allen as Deputy Assistant to the President for International Economic Affairs	1052
12	Appointment: three members of the Commission on Highway Beautification	1055
12	Nomination: Rodney Doane Bennett, Jr., to be an Examiner-in-Chief of the Patent Office, Department of Commerce	1055
13	Nomination: David Luke Norman to be an Assistant Attorney General of the Department of Justice	1055
13	Appointment: five members of the Citizens' Advisory Committee on Environmental Quality; and designation of Chairman	1056
14	Nomination: Howard P. Mace to be United States Ambassador to Sierra Leone	1056
17	News briefing: on report of his trip to South Vietnam to study efforts to combat drug abuse among American servicemen—by Dr. Jerome H. Jaffe, Special Consultant to the President for Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs	...
19	Nomination: John Dickson Baldeschwieler to be Deputy Director of the Office of Science and Technology.	1066
20	Nomination: Rush Moody, Jr., to be a member of the Federal Power Commission	1068
20	Nomination: Peter C. Benedict to be a member of the National Mediation Board.	1068
20	News briefing: on the Republican Congressional leadership meeting with the President—by Senator Hugh Scott and Representative Gerald R. Ford	...
20	News briefing: on Ambassador at Large David M. Kennedy's recent discussions in the Far East on economic and trade matters—by Peter G. Peterson, Assistant to the President for International Economic Affairs	...
21	Nomination: James R. Schlesinger to be a member of the Atomic Energy Commission; and his designation as Chairman	1069
21	Nomination: William O. Doub to be a member of the Atomic Energy Commission	1070
21	Appointment: Mary Elizabeth Hanford as a Deputy Director of the Office of Consumer Affairs	1070
22	Appointment: Edward Teller as a member of the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board	1071
23	Appointment: William Nickerson Walker as a Deputy Director of the Office of Consumer Affairs	1076
23	Appointment: Desmond J. Barker, Jr., as Special Assistant to the President	1077
23	News briefing: on the emergency employment program—by James D. Hodgson, Secretary, and Malcolm R. Lovell, Jr., Assistant Secretary for Manpower, Department of Labor	...
27	Appointment: three members of the Water Pollution Control Advisory Board, Environmental Protection Agency	1091
27	Nomination: Richard Schubert to be Solicitor for the Department of Labor	1091
28	Appointment: William J. Porter as head of the U.S. delegation to the Paris talks on peace in Vietnam	1092

Appendix A

July	page
28 Nomination: Philip C. Habib to be United States Ambassador to Korea .	1092
29 Nomination: Nathaniel Davis to be United States Ambassador to Chile .	1095
29 Nomination: William G. Bowdler to be United States Ambassador to Guatemala	1095
29 Nomination: Henry E. Catto, Jr., to be United States Ambassador to El Salvador	1096
29 Resignation: John S. Davies as Special Assistant to the President and member of the National Visitor Facilities Advisory Commission; and appointment: Michael John Farrell as Special Assistant to the President . .	1096
29 Nomination: Edwin W. Martin to be United States Ambassador to Burma .	1096
29 News briefing: on the Planned Variation program—by Elliot L. Richardson, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare; and George W. Romney, Secretary, and Floyd H. Hyde, Assistant Secretary for Community Development, Department of Housing and Urban Development . . .	...
30 Appointment: Donald T. Williams as Commissioner of the Ohio River Valley Water Sanitation Commission .	1097
30 Appointment: three members of the Quetico-Superior Committee . . .	1097
30 Announcement: trade adjustment assistance benefits for pipe organ workers	1097
30 News briefing: on the President's meeting with top railroad management and union officials concerning the railroad strike—by James D. Hodgson, Secretary of Labor, and Paul W. McCracken, Chairman, Council of Economic Advisers . . .	...
31 Advance text: remarks at the dedication of the Rathbun Dam	...

August	page
2 Nomination: James F. Campbell to be an Assistant Administrator of the Agency for International Development, Department of State	1115
2 News briefing: on his meeting with the President to discuss the rail and steel situations—by Secretary of Labor James D. Hodgson	...
3 News briefing: on the status of the Administration's legislative proposals—by Clark MacGregor, Counsel to the President for Congressional Relations, and John D. Ehrlichman, Assistant to the President for Domestic Affairs	...
4 Appointment: 10 members of the Committee for Purchase of Products and Services of the Blind and Other Severely Handicapped	1125
5 Nomination: Henry M. Ramirez to be Chairman of the Cabinet Committee on Opportunities for Spanish-Speaking People	1125
5 Appointment: nine members of the Advisory Council on Spanish-Speaking Americans	1126
5 News conference: on the nomination of Henry M. Ramirez as Chairman of the Cabinet Committee on Opportunities for Spanish-Speaking People and the appointment of nine members of the Advisory Council on Spanish-Speaking Americans—by Mr. Ramirez and Robert H. Finch, Counsellor to the President	...
5 Appointment: William D. Eberle as United States Representative on the High-Level Trade Group of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development	1129
6 Nomination: Samuel C. Jackson to be a member of the Board of Directors of the Community Development Corporation; and his designation as General Manager of the corporation .	1131

Appendix A

August		*page*
6	News briefing: on control of grade escalation in the General Schedule for Federal Government employees—by George P. Shultz, Director, Office of Management and Budget	...
6	News briefing: on the second annual report of the Council on Environmental Quality—by Russell E. Train, Chairman, and Dr. Gordon J. F. MacDonald and Robert Cahn, members, of the Council	...
6	Fact sheet: nursing homes	...
7	Nomination: Philip A. Loomis, Jr., to be a member of the Securities and Exchange Commission	1152
7	Nomination: Clarence Morse to be a Federal Maritime Commissioner	1153
7	Nomination: four members of the United States Advisory Commission on International Educational and Cultural Affairs	1153
7	Nomination: Raymond L. Telles to be a member of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission	1154
12	News briefing: on classification and declassification procedures in the Federal Government—by John D. Ehrlichman, Assistant to the President for Domestic Affairs, and John Wesley Dean III, Counsel to the President	...
15	Advance text: address to the Nation outlining a new economic policy	...
15	News briefing: on the new economic policy—by John B. Connally, Secretary of the Treasury, George P. Shultz, Director, Office of Management and Budget, and Paul W. McCracken, Chairman, Council of Economic Advisers	...
16	Appointment: five members of the National Advisory Council on Extension and Continuing Education	1175
17	Announcement: disaster assistance for Maryland	1177
17	Advance text: remarks to the Knights of Columbus annual meeting in New York City	...
18	Announcement: signing of H.R. 9798 (Public Law 92-127), establishing the Lincoln Home National Historic Site	...
18	Fact sheet: the Lincoln Home National Historic Site	...
19	Fact sheet: the "Legacy of Parks" program	...
19	Statement: about reaction of the Governor of Texas to the wage-price freeze—by Press Secretary Ronald L. Ziegler	1204
19	Advance text: remarks at the Veterans of Foreign Wars annual convention, in Dallas, Tex	...
20	News briefing: on efforts to insure that suppliers of Government purchases are in full compliance with the wage-price freeze—by Caspar W. Weinberger, Chairman, Regulations and Purchasing Review Board, and Deputy Director, Office of Management and Budget	...
20	Fact sheet: new Veterans Administration hospital at Loma Linda, Calif., and transfer of former hospital site at San Fernando, Calif., to the "Legacy of Parks" program	...
20	News briefing: on a demonstration project requiring welfare recipients in three States to participate in community work programs—by Under Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare John G. Veneman	...
21	Announcement: creation of Advisory Panel on South Asian Relief Assistance and designation of members	1208
27	News briefing: on the Four Power talks on Berlin—by Kenneth Rush, United States Ambassador to the Federal Republic of Germany	...

71-234—72——81

Appendix A

August — *page*

31 News briefing: on a meeting with the President on HEW matters—by Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Elliot L. Richardson . . . .

September

2 Nomination: Phillip V. Sanchez to be Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity 1226

2 Appointment: Chairman and four members of the President's Advisory Panel on Timber and the Environment 1226

3 Advance text: remarks at the annual convention of the Associated Milk Producers, Inc., in Chicago . . . .

4 Announcement: disaster assistance for New Jersey 1245

6 Advance text: address to the Nation on Labor Day . . . .

7 Announcement: National Commission on Productivity's policy statement, "Productivity and the National Interest" 1249

7 News briefing: on the policy statement of the National Commission on Productivity—by George P. Shultz, Director, Office of Management and Budget, and Chairman of the Commission . . . .

7 Nomination: Kenneth E. BeLieu to be Under Secretary of the Army . . 1250

7 News briefing: on the Cabinet Committee on International Narcotics Control and on recent developments in international narcotics control—by Secretary of State William P. Rogers, Chairman of the Committee . . . .

8 Nomination: United States Representative and five Alternate Representatives to the 15th Session of the General Conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency . . . 1250

9 Nomination: five Representatives and five Alternate Representatives to the U.S. Delegation to the 26th Regular Session of the United Nations General Assembly 1257

September — *page*

9 Advance text: address to a joint session of the Congress on stabilization of the economy. . . . .

10 Announcement: signing of Executive Order 11618 providing for the administration of the Ryukyu Islands until their reversion to Japan 1257

11 Appointment: Donald Rumsfeld as Chairman of the Property Review Board. 1259

11 News briefing: on the President's meeting with the Cost of Living Council—by John B. Connally, Secretary of the Treasury and Chairman of the Cost of Living Council. . . . ...

13 Announcement: disaster assistance for New York 1274

13 Nomination: Harold B. Scott to be an Assistant Secretary of Commerce; and appointment: Harold B. Scott as a member of the Board of the Overseas Private Investment Corporation . 1274

13 Appointment: 13 members of the National Highway Safety Advisory Committee 1275

13 Appointment: 11 members of the Postal Service Advisory Council . . 1276

13 News briefing: on report of the Commission on International Trade and Investment Policy—by Peter G. Peterson, Assistant to the President for International Economic Affairs; and Albert L. Williams, Chairman, and Isaiah Frank, Executive Director, of the Commission . . . .

14 Appointment: six members of the Consumer Advisory Council 1277

14 Nomination: four members of the Board of Regents of the National Library of Medicine, Public Health Service, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare 1277

Appendix A

September		*page*
14	Appointment: seven members of the President's Committee on Mental Retardation	1277
14	News briefing: on the impact of the economic stabilization program—by Republican Congressional leaders Senator Hugh Scott and Representative Gerald R. Ford	...
14	News briefing: on establishment of the President's Committee on Health Education and their meeting with the President—by Elliot L. Richardson, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, and Joseph C. Wilson, Chairman of the Committee	...
14	News briefing: on Federal efforts to expedite a settlement in the west coast dock strike—by Secretary of Labor James D. Hodgson	...
15	Nomination: John E. Reinhardt to be United States Ambassador to Nigeria	1278
15	Nomination: Richard J. Grunewald to be an Assistant Secretary of Labor	1278
15	Appointment: five members of the Air Quality Advisory Board, Environmental Protection Agency	1278
15	Appointment: 11 members of the Board of Directors of the Rural Telephone Bank	1279
15	Appointment: four members of the Commission of Fine Arts	1279
15	Appointment: three members of the President's Commission on White House Fellowships	1280
16	Appointment: 15 members of the National Advisory Council on Education of Disadvantaged Children	1280
16	News briefing: on the President's meeting with Governors and other representatives of State, county, and local governments to discuss Phase 2—by Gov. Arch A. Moore, Jr., of West Virginia	...
17	Announcement: disaster assistance for New Jersey	1286
17	Announcement: disaster assistance for Pennsylvania	1286
17	Announcement: disaster assistance for Texas	1287
20	Nomination: Romana A. Banuelos to be Treasurer of the United States	1304
20	Nomination: Dudley C. Mecum to be an Assistant Secretary of the Army	1305
20	Fact sheet: assignments of the 1971–72 White House Fellows	...
21	Nomination: Robert M. Duncan to be a Judge on the United States Court of Military Appeals	1307
21	Nomination: William D. Eberle to be Special Representative for Trade Negotiations	1308
21	Announcement: disaster assistance for Maryland	1308
21	Announcement: disaster assistance for New York	1309
24	Announcement: approval of two agreements negotiated with the Soviet Union at the strategic arms limitation talks	1318
24	Appointment: two members of the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations	1319
24	Announcement: promotion of Eugene S. Cowen and Richard K. Cook, Special Assistants to the President, to be Deputy Assistants to the President for Congressional Relations	1320
25	Announcement: signing of H.R. 234 (Public Law 92–128), repealing the Emergency Detention Act of 1950	...
28	Remarks: on United States-Thai Memorandum of Understanding on International Narcotics Control—by William P. Rogers, Secretary of State, and Thanat Khoman, Foreign Minister of Thailand	1352

September	*page*
28 News briefing: on the United States-Thai Memorandum of Understanding on International Narcotics Control—by Leonard Unger, United States Ambassador to Thailand; Egil Krogh, Jr., Executive Director, Cabinet Committee on International Narcotics Control; and Nelson G. Gross, Senior Adviser and Coordinator for International Narcotics Matters, Department of State	...
28 Announcement: Secretary of Agriculture Clifford M. Hardin's mission to Turkey to assist in an agricultural development program following ban on cultivation of opium poppies	1354
28 Announcement: disaster assistance for Oklahoma	1354
28 Announcement: signing of H.R. 6531 (Public Law 92-129), authorizing extension of the draft and increases in military pay, and outlining of bill's provisions	...
28 News briefing: on Republican Congressional leadership meeting with the President—by Senators Hugh Scott and Robert P. Griffin, and Representatives Gerald R. Ford and Leslie C. Arends	...
29 Nomination: Elmer F. Bennett to be an Assistant Director of the Office of Emergency Preparedness	1357
29 Nomination: Richard T. Burress to be a member of the Renegotiation Board; and his designation as Chairman	1358
29 Designation: Charles S. Rhyne as Chairman of the U.S. Delegation to the 22d Session of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees Program	1358
29 Text: Presidential Medal of Freedom citation awarded to Manlio Brosio	...
29 Biographical data: Manlio Brosio, Presidential Medal of Freedom recipient	...
29 Fact sheet: Presidential Medal of Freedom	...
September	*page*
30 Appointment: five members of the National Advisory Council on Adult Education	1360
30 Nomination: Richard W. Murphy to be United States Ambassador to Mauritania	1361
30 Nomination: four members of the General Advisory Committee of the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency	1361
30 Nomination: Walter James Hodges to be a member of the Board of Directors of the National Corporation for Housing Partnerships	1362
30 News briefing: on a meeting of leaders of national education organizations with the President to discuss problems in elementary and secondary education—by Elliot L. Richardson, Secretary, and Sidney P. Marland, Jr., Commissioner of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare; and Kenneth E. Buhrmaster, president, National School Boards Association	...
October	
1 Nomination: Donald B. Easum to be United States Ambassador to Upper Volta	1363
1 Nomination: Malcolm Toon to be United States Ambassador to Yugoslavia	1363
4 Appointment: eight members of the National Advisory Council on Economic Opportunity	1373
7 Advance text: address to the Nation on the post-freeze economic stabilization program: "The Continuing Fight Against Inflation"	...
8 Appointment: 10 members of the National Commission on Productivity	1379
12 Summary statement: the roles of the Cost of Living Council, the Pay Board, and the Price Commission in the post-freeze economic stabilization program	1394

Appendix A

October		*page*
12	Nomination: W. W. Little to be reappointed as a member of the Federal Metal and Nonmetallic Mine Safety Board of Review	1396
12	Nomination: Fred J. Russell to be United States Ambassador to Denmark	1397
12	Appointment: Arthur E. Dewey as Director, and Frederick B. Rentschler as Associate Director, of the President's Commission on White House Fellowships	1397
12	News briefing: on AFL–CIO decision to participate on Cost of Living Council and Pay Board—by George P. Shultz, Director, Office of Management and Budget	...
13	Announcement: disaster assistance for Louisiana	1406
13	Fact sheet: minority business enterprise message	...
13	News briefing: on minority business enterprise program—by Maurice H. Stans, Secretary, and John L. Jenkins, Director, Office of Minority Business Enterprise, Department of Commerce; and Sam Wyly, Chairman, and Berkeley G. Burrell, Vice Chairman, Advisory Council for Minority Enterprise	...
14	Nomination: Scott P. Crampton to be an Assistant Attorney General, Department of Justice	1407
15	News briefing: on textile agreements with Japan, Republic of Korea, Republic of China, and Hong Kong—by Peter G. Peterson, Assistant to the President for International Economic Affairs	1408
15	Fact sheet: U.S. textile and apparel industry	...
15	Fact sheet: Executive Order 11627 on the post-freeze economic stabilization program	...
15	News briefing: on Executive Order 11627 concerning the post-freeze economic stabilization program—by Donald Rumsfeld, Counsellor to the President and Director of the Cost of Living Council, and Frank C. Carlucci III, Associate Director, Office of Management and Budget	...
18	Designation: Robert H. Finch, Counsellor to the President, as the President's special representative to the Pan American Highway Congress and the Inter-American Travel Congress	1424
18	Nomination: H. Mason Neely to be a member of the Public Service Commission of the District of Columbia	1426
18	Appointment: Coleman duPont Donaldson as a member of the Air Quality Advisory Board	1426
18	Announcement: 15 winners of the 1971 Presidential Management Improvement Awards	1427
18	Fact sheet: conversion of the biological warfare facilities at Fort Detrick, Md., to a cancer research center	...
19	Appointment: 25 members of the National Advisory Committee on Oceans and Atmosphere	1429
19	Appointment: Lewis A. Engman and John F. Evans, Jr., as Assistant Directors of the Domestic Council	1429
19	News briefing: on the Republican Congressional leadership meeting with the President—by Senator Hugh Scott and Representative Gerald R. Ford	...
19	Fact sheet: proposed legislation to extend the Economic Stabilization Act of 1970	...

Appendix A

October	*page*
19 News briefing: on proposed legislation to extend the Economic Stabilization Act of 1970—by Charls E. Walker, Under Secretary of the Treasury; and Donald Rumsfeld, Director, and Stanley Rose, Deputy General Counsel, Cost of Living Council	...
20 Nomination: Albert C. Hall to be an Assistant Secretary of Defense . .	1430
21 Biographical data: Lewis F. Powell, Jr., nominated to be an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court . . .	...
21 Biographical data: William H. Rehnquist, nominated to be an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court .	...
22 Appointment: Chairmen and members of the Pay Board and Price Commission	1438
22 News conference: on the appointment of the Chairmen and members of the Pay Board and Price Commission—by Donald Rumsfeld, Counsellor to to the President and Director of the Cost of Living Council; C. Jackson Grayson, Jr., Chairman, Price Commission; and George H. Boldt, Chairman, Pay Board	...
24 Advance text: Veterans Day address .	...
27 News briefing: on his meetings in Peking with Premier Chou En-lai—by Henry A. Kissinger, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs.	...
29 News conference: on his resignation—by Postmaster General Winton M. Blount	...
30 Statement: the Senate's rejection of the foreign aid bill—by Press Secretary Ronald L. Ziegler	1457
31 Fact sheet: the Environmental Merit Awards Program for high school students	...
31 News briefing: on the Environmental Merit Awards Program for high school students—by William D. Ruckelshaus, Administrator, Environmental Protection Agency (held on October 29)	...

November	*page*
1 News briefing: on his recent trip to Europe and upcoming trip to South Vietnam—by Secretary of Defense Melvin R. Laird	...
2 Nomination: Roy E. Batchelor to be an Assistant Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity	1471
2 Nomination: Vincent E. McKelvey to be Director of the Geological Survey, Department of the Interior	1471
2 Appointment: United States delegation to ceremonies marking 25th anniversary of United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization	1472
2 News briefing: on foreign policy matters—by Secretary of State William P. Rogers	...
2 News briefing: on Government reorganization measures following the Cabinet Group on Executive Reorganization's meeting with the President—by Rogers C. B. Morton, Secretary of the Interior, George W. Romney, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, and George P. Shultz, Director, Office of Management and Budget	...
3 Nomination: Nicholas W. Craw to be an Associate Director of ACTION. .	1475
4 Nomination: Ronald S. Berman to be Chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities	1478
4 News briefing: on the President's statement following action by the House Committee on Banking and Currency on the post-freeze economic stabilization legislation—by Donald Rumsfeld, Counsellor to the President and Director, Cost of Living Council .	...
5 Announcement: management steps to improve the effectiveness of the U.S. intelligence community	1824

November		*page*
6	Appointment: Lt. Comdr. Alexander R. Larzelere as the first Coast Guard Aide to the President	1497
8	Appointment: Betty Crites Dillon as United States Representative on the International Civil Aviation Organization Council	1498
10	Appointment: Chairman and members of the Committee on State and Local Government Cooperation	1504
10	Appointment: Chairman and members of the Committee on the Health Services Industry	1505
10	News briefing: on the functions of the Committee on State and Local Government Cooperation and the Committee on the Health Services Industry—by Donald Rumsfeld, Counsellor to the President and Director, Cost of Living Council	...
11	Biographical data: Earl L. Butz, nominated as Secretary of Agriculture	...
12	Nomination: Donald W. Banner to be Commissioner of Patents, Department of Commerce	1510
12	News briefing: on transition from the wage-price freeze to the post-freeze economic stabilization program—by Donald Rumsfeld, Counsellor to the President and Director, Cost of Living Council	...
15	Nomination: H. Guyford Stever to be Director of the National Science Foundation	1528
16	News briefing: on the Republican Congressional leadership meeting with the President—by Senator Hugh Scott and Representative Gerald R. Ford	...
16	Fact sheet: mental retardation	...
16	News briefing: on national effort to prevent and treat mental retardation—by Elliot L. Richardson, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare; and Clair W. Burgener, Vice Chairman, Joseph H. Douglass, Executive Director, and Margaret B. Ulle and Kenneth S. Robinson, members, President's Committee on Mental Retardation	...
16	News briefing: on welfare reform—by Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Elliot L. Richardson	...
17	Nomination: Edgar R. Fiedler to be an Assistant Secretary of the Treasury	1531
17	Appointment: Col. Brent Scowcroft as Military Assistant to the President	1532
17	News briefing: on his recent trip to Asia as the President's personal representative at the Republic of China's National Day ceremonies—by Gov. Ronald Reagan of California	...
18	Nomination: Robert L. Kunzig to be an Associate Judge of the United States Court of Claims	1533
18	Fact sheet: the health manpower training act	...
18	Fact sheet: the Nurse Training Act of 1971	...
18	News briefing: on the health manpower and nurse training acts—by Dr. Merlin K. DuVal, Jr., Assistant Secretary for Health and Scientific Affairs, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare; and Victor M. Zafra, Budget Examiner, Office of Management and Budget	...
23	Appointment: 14 members of the Rent Advisory Board; and designation of Chairman	1557
23	Nomination: William A. Stoltzfus, Jr., to be United States Ambassador to Kuwait, Bahrain, and Qatar	1557
23	Nomination: Robert Foster Corrigan to be United States Ambassador to Rwanda	1557

Appendix A

November	*page*
23 Fact sheet: proposed Federal acquisition of Big Cypress Swamp for a national reserve	...
23 News briefing: on proposed Federal acquisition of Big Cyprus Swamp for a national reserve—by Secretary of the Interior Rogers C. B. Morton	...
24 Remarks: announcing the resignation of Dr. Paul W. McCracken, and the designation of Dr. Herbert Stein, as Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers—by Press Secretary Ronald L. Ziegler, Dr. McCracken, and Dr. Stein	1561
26 Fact sheet: Eisenhower Memorial Hospital at the Eisenhower Medical Center	...
29 News briefing: on Senate amendments to the Revenue Act of 1971—by Clark MacGregor, Counsel to the President for Congressional Relations	...
30 Nomination: Richard E. Wiley to be a member of the Federal Communications Commission	1580
30 Nomination: Lt. Gen. Robert E. Cushman, Jr., to be Commandant of the Marine Corps	1581
30 Nomination: Shiro Kashiwa to be an Associate Judge of the United States Court of Claims	1581
30 Reappointment: 11 members of the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations; and designation of Chairman.	1581
30 News briefing: on plans for the President's visit to the People's Republic of China and U.S. foreign policy—by Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs	1582

December	*page*
1 Resignation: exchange of letters with Arthur A. Fletcher on his resignation as United States Alternate Representative to the United Nations General Assembly	1588
1 Advance text: remarks to the National 4-H Congress	...
2 Nomination: Robert Anderson to be United States Ambassador to Dahomey	1605
2 Advance text: remarks to the White House Conference on Aging	...
6 Appointment: three members of the Board of Foreign Scholarships; and reappointment of two other members.	1622
6 Nomination: John A. Buggs to be Staff Director for the Commission on Civil Rights	1623
7 Nomination: Anthony D. Marshall to be United States Ambassador to Trinidad and Tobago	1625
8 Nomination: John A. Penello to be a member of the National Labor Relations Board	1626
8 Nomination: Robert Strausz-Hupé to be United States Ambassador to Belgium	1627
8 Fact sheet: pension reform program.	...
8 News briefing: on pension reform program—by Peter M. Flanigan, Assistant to the President, Laurence H. Silberman, Under Secretary of Labor, and Ronald B. Gold, Financial Economist, Office of Tax Analysis, Department of the Treasury	...
9 Announcement: Report of the Board of Visitors of the United States Naval Academy	1633

Appendix A

December		*page*
9	News briefing: on the President's veto of the Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1971—by Frank C. Carlucci III, Associate Director, Office of Management and Budget, and Stephen Kurzman, Assistant Secretary for Legislative Affairs, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. .	...
10	Nomination: Charles W. Ervin to be an Associate Director of ACTION.	1639
12	Statement: about United Nations resolution calling for a cease-fire and a withdrawal of troops in the India-Pakistan War—by Press Secretary Ronald L. Ziegler	1656
13	Statement: about the release of American prisoners by the People's Republic of China—by Press Secretary Ronald L. Ziegler	1656
13	Remarks: on trade and foreign policy matters following their meeting in the Azores—by Maurice Schumann, French Minister of Foreign Affairs, and William P. Rogers, Secretary of State	1656
13	News briefing: on economic and monetary affairs following discussions in the Azores between French Minister of Economy and Finance Valéry Giscard d'Estaing and Secretary of the Treasury John B. Connally—by Secretary Connally . . .	1658
15	News conference: on monetary and financial aspects of the President's trip to the Azores—by Congressional leaders Senators Mike Mansfield and Hugh Scott, Speaker Carl Albert, Representatives Hale Boggs and Gerald R. Ford; and Clark MacGregor, Counsel to the President for Congressional Relations	1666
15	News briefing: on the west coast dock dispute and the emergency strike legislation pending before the Congress—by Under Secretary of Labor Laurence H. Silberman	...
15	Nomination: Kevin O'Donnell to be an Associate Director of ACTION .	1667
16	Nomination: William Rinehart Pearce to be Deputy Special Representative for Trade Negotiations	1668
16	Nomination: Matthew James Looram, Jr., to be United States Ambassador to the Somali Democratic Republic .	1668
18	News briefing: on the first session of the 92d Congress—by Clark MacGregor, Counsel to the President for Congressional Relations	...
20	News briefing: on the Bermuda meeting between Sir Alec Douglas-Home, British Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, and Secretary of State William P. Rogers —by Secretary Rogers	1694
20	News briefing: on international trade and monetary affairs and on the Bermuda meeting between British Chancellor of the Exchequer Anthony Barber and Secretary of the Treasury John B. Connally—by Secretary Connally	1695
21	Fact sheet: traditional tree-planting ceremony at the Government House in Bermuda	...
22	Appointment: five members of the Boards of Visitors of the armed service academies; and reappointment of one member	1707
22	News briefing: on a staff paper summarizing Administration progress for 1971—by Herbert G. Klein, Director of Communications for the Executive Branch, and Clark MacGregor, Counsel to the President for Congressional Relations	...
23	Designation: David H. Ward as Special Representative of the United States for Interoceanic Canal Negotiations	1707

71-234—72——82

Appendix A

December	*page*
23 Appointment: Doris Bunte as a member of the Rent Advisory Board . . .	1708
23 Recess appointment: John Eugene Sheehan as a member of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System	1708
23 Appointment: Benno C. Schmidt as Chairman of the President's Cancer Panel	1712
23 Announcement: signing of S. 1828 (Public Law 92–218), the National Cancer Act of 1971	...
23 Fact sheet: provisions of the National Cancer Act of 1971	...
24 News briefing: on the President's annual physical examination—by Gen. Walter R. Tkach, USAF, Physician to the President	...
	Vol. 8
28 News briefing: on the Key Biscayne meeting between German Minister of Foreign Affairs Walter Scheel and Secretary of State William P. Rogers—by Secretary Rogers . .	4
29 Nomination: David M. Kennedy to be United States Permanent Representative on the Council of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization . . .	9

Appendix B—Additional White House Announcements

NOTE: This appendix lists those items of general interest which were announced to the press during 1971 but which are not noted elsewhere in this volume.

January

5 Three Republican Governors met with the President at the White House to discuss revenue sharing and welfare reform. They were: Nelson A. Rockefeller of New York, Louie B. Nunn of Kentucky, and Raymond P. Shafer of Pennsylvania.

5 British Ambassador John Freeman paid a farewell courtesy call on the President at the White House.

8 The President flew from the Western White House to Santa Catalina Island, where he was greeted and accompanied on a tour of the Island by Mayor Harvey Cowells.

12 The President has directed the Cabinet Committee on Economic Policy to review the effect of steel price increases, the import of foreign steel, and related problems, and to report to him promptly suggestions for action.

13 The President visited Concordia Elementary School in San Clemente, Calif., to meet with fourth and fifth grade students who had sent him cards for his birthday January 9.

15 The President met, in separate meetings, with John A. McKesson 3d, United States Ambassador to Gabon, Henry A. Byroade, United States Ambassador to the Philippines, and Luther I. Replogle, United States Ambassador to Iceland.

15 Officers of the Women's National Republican Club, Inc., met with the President to present their 50th Anniversary Distinguished Political Service Award.

January

15 Printing industry representatives presented the President with the industry's 20th Annual Franklin Award for Distinguished Service. The ceremony marked the 265th anniversary of the birth of Benjamin Franklin and the start of International Printing Week, 1971.

15 Mrs. Louise D. Perry of West Winfield, N.Y., called on the President. Mrs. Perry, 79, had sent a Presidential Seal in needlework as a birthday gift.

15 The President and Mrs. Nixon hosted a reception for members of the Republican National Committee and their wives or husbands.

18 Secretary of Defense Melvin R. Laird met with the President at the White House to report on his trip to Vietnam.

23 Gov. Ronald Reagan of California met with the President at the White House to discuss Federal-State relations, welfare, and revenue sharing.

23 The bipartisan leadership of the new Congress met with the President at the White House.

24–29 In the course of the week, the President and members of his staff held a series of meetings with Members of Congress to discuss the programs outlined in the State of the Union Message.

On Monday, January 25, the President met with the Republican Congressional leadership and with the chairman and ranking minority member of the House Committee on Ways and Means. On the same day, he also participated in two meetings

January

with the bipartisan leadership of the Senate and House of Representatives.

From Tuesday, January 26, through Friday, January 29, he breakfasted each day with Republican Members of Congress. Invitations to the four breakfasts included the entire Republican membership.

As his schedule permitted during the week, he also joined in a series of briefings by White House staff members for the chairmen and ranking minority members of several Congressional committees.

26 Terence Cardinal Cooke, Archbishop of New York, met with the President at the White House to discuss his Christmas visit with the troops in Vietnam.

26 The President addressed a message to Americans of Chinese origin celebrating the Year of the Boar, 4669 on the Chinese calendar.

27 The President participated in two White House briefings for executive directors and presidents of various business associations. The briefings dealt with revenue sharing and Government reorganization.

28 The President met with 11 college newspaper editors who were participating in a series of Department of State briefings on foreign policy and the operations of the Department.

28 The President hosted a reception for new Members of Congress.

February

2 W. T. "Shorty" Smith, the American Trucking Association's 1971 Driver of the Year, called on the President at the White House.

2 The President received the Honorary Big Brother of the Year Award for 1971, from officers of the Big Brother Organization, Inc., in a ceremony at the White House.

2 Representatives of the National Student Coordinating Committee for Freedom in Vietnam and Southeast Asia met with the President at the White House.

February

2 Speaker of the House Carl Albert received the American Heart Association's "Heart of the Year Award" from the President in a ceremony at the White House.

2 In the sixth of a series of "Evenings at the White House," coloratura soprano Beverly Sills entertained the President and the First Lady and their guests.

3 Mrs. Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis and her children were the guests of the First Family at a private dinner at the White House. During their visit, they viewed the portraits of President John F. Kennedy and of Mrs. Onassis, which have become a part of the White House collection.

5 Senator John G. Tower of Texas met with the President at the White House to discuss domestic legislation, including revenue sharing and Government reorganization.

5 The President sent a telegram to Mayor C. E. Haskins of Woodbine, Ga., to express his sympathy following an explosion at the munitions plant at Woodbine.

8 Ambassadors Antonio Sanchez de Lozada of Bolivia, José Juan de Olloqui of Mexico, and the Earl of Cromer of the United Kingdom presented their credentials to the President in the Blue Room at the White House.

8 The President and Mrs. Nixon hosted a reception at the White House for members of the diplomatic corps.

9 Fourteen Boy Scouts and Explorers presented the Scouts' annual report to the President in a ceremony at the White House.

9 Mayor and Mrs. J. P. (Rory) Liddy of Limerick, Ireland, called on the President at the White House.

9 In connection with the observance of Negro History Week, a group of Negro publishers and authors called on the President to present 21 volumes for the White House Library.

February

9 The White House announced that the President had asked Vice President Agnew to go to Los Angeles to meet with city, county, and State officials concerning Federal assistance to California following an earthquake in the Los Angeles area.

10 The President hosted the first of two breakfasts for Democratic Members of the Senate and House of Representatives at the White House.

10 The President greeted members of the Business Council at a reception at the White House.

17 Foreign Minister Walter Scheel of the Federal Republic of Germany met with the President at the White House.

17 Gov. Daniel J. Evans of Washington met with the President at the White House.

17 The President and the First Lady hosted a reception for senior members of the Armed Forces.

18 The President hosted the second of two breakfasts for Democratic Members of the Senate and House of Representatives at the White House.

19 The President met at the White House with a group of editors of Fortune magazine to discuss the economy.

19 Lionel Hampton, whose jazz band is leaving on a State Department sponsored tour of Eastern Europe next month, called on the President at the White House.

19 H. R. Rainwater, national commander of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, called on the President at the White House.

19 The President hosted a reception in the East Room at the White House for participants in the National Young Republican Leadership Training School.

22 Members of the Advisory Council for Minority Enterprise met with the President at the White House.

February

22 Dr. Oswald Hoffmann, Lutheran Hour speaker who visited United States troops in South Vietnam in 1969 and again, with Cardinal Cooke, in 1970, called on the President at the White House.

23 Gov. John R. (Jack) Williams of Arizona met with the President at the White House.

23 Members of the President's Science Advisory Committee met with the President at the White House.

23 The President participated in an executive session of the National Governors' Conference at the Washington Hilton Hotel.

24 The President met with members of the Federal Regional Councils and Chairmen of the Federal Executive Boards who were participating in a White House briefing.

25 The President attended the swearing in of Thomas S. Kleppe as Administrator of the Small Business Administration, in a White House ceremony.

25 Felipe Herrera, President of the Inter-American Development Bank, called on the President at the White House.

26 Chairman Wilbur D. Mills and ranking minority member John W. Byrnes of the House Committee on Ways and Means breakfasted with the President at the White House.

26 Adm. Sir Nigel Henderson of the United Kingdom Royal Navy called on the President at the White House. He will be completing his term as Chairman of the NATO Military Committee in April.

26 Winners of the Federal Woman's Award for 1971 met with the President at the White House.

26 Members of Undergraduates for a Stable America (USA), a student organization at Princeton University, called on the President at the White House.

February

26 The national commander of Disabled American Veterans, Cecil W. Stevenson, met with the President to present an album of stamps commemorating the DAV's 50th anniversary and honoring prisoners of war and those missing and killed in action.

26 Bonnie Cook, 1971 Poster Child of the National Association for Retarded Children, called on the President at the White House.

March

2 Ambassadors Abdessadek el Glaoui of Morocco and Orlando Letelier of Chile presented their credentials to the President in a ceremony in the Blue Room at the White House.

2 Rudolph A. Peterson, chairman of the executive committee, Bank of America, met with the President at the White House.

2 Turgut Menemencioglu, Secretary General of the Central Treaty Organization, called on the President at the White House.

2 Peter Jon Heltemes, 6, of Rockville, Md., National Easter Seal Child, called on the President at the White House to present the first issue of 1971 Easter Seals. He was accompanied by Robert Young, National Easter Seal Chairman.

2 Kenneth T. Lyons, president of the National Association of Government Employees, called on the President at the White House.

3 The White House announced that Dr. Edward E. David, Jr., Science Adviser to the President, chaired a working conference with representatives of private industry, university and college faculties, and Government, to discuss employment problems of scientists and engineers in the aerospace and defense industries. The meeting was called at the initiative of the President.

5 Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller of New York met with the President at the White House to discuss revenue sharing programs and Government reorganization.

March

8 President Zalman Shazar of Israel met with the President at the White House.

8 Representatives of Research To Prevent Blindness, Inc., met with the President at the White House. The President presented the organization's first membership plaque to Dr. A. Edward Maumenee, director of the Wilmer Ophthalmological Institute at Johns Hopkins University Medical Center.

8 The National Farm Family of the Year, Mr. and Mrs. Gerritt Boerema and their four children, of Hyde County, N.C., called on the President at the White House. They were selected in the first annual Farm Family of the Year contest sponsored by the Farmers Home Administration.

9 Richard Dusterberg of Cincinnati, Ohio, presented a copy of his book, "The Official Inaugural Medals," to the President at the White House. He was accompanied by Senator Robert Taft, Jr., of Ohio.

9 A delegation from Whately, Mass., accompanied by Representative Silvio O. Conte, met with the President to present a commemorative coin in honor of the town's 200th anniversary.

9 Representative Manuel Lujan, Jr., of New Mexico called on the President to present a ticket for the World Series of the Babe Ruth League in Albuquerque, N. Mex., on August 21–28.

9 Representatives of the Legislative Council of Retired Persons were greeted by the President at the White House.

10 The President has acted to resolve split decisions by the United States Tariff Commission in two cases: one relating to ampicillin and one regarding the availability of adjustment assistance benefits for H. H. Scott, Inc., of Maynard, Mass., a high fidelity equipment manufacturing firm.

11 Ambassador Gerard C. Smith, chief of the United States delegation to the strategic arms limitation talks, met with the President prior to his departure for Vienna for resumption of the talks.

March

16 Representatives of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick of Philadelphia called on the President at the White House.

16 At an "Irish Evening at the White House," celebrating the birthday of the First Lady and the visit of Prime Minister John M. Lynch of Ireland, the President and Mrs. Nixon announced the engagement of their daughter Tricia to Edward Cox of New York.

19 The President hosted a reception at the White House for members of the National Alliance of Businessmen.

23 The President met with a group of mayors of large and medium-sized cities and representatives of the U.S. Conference of Mayors and the National League of Cities for a discussion of common problems, revenue sharing, and Government reorganization.

23 Leaders of the dairy industry met with the President at the White House to discuss industry problems.

24 Representatives of the International Military Sports Council met with the President to present him with the Council's Grand Medal of Honor.

24 The annual USO report was presented to the President by Harvey S. Firestone, Jr., chairman, and Gen. Emmett O'Donnell, Jr., president, of the United Service Organizations, Inc.

24 The Creston High School Choir of Grand Rapids, Mich., was invited to sing for the President during a tour of the White House.

24 The President spoke at a Republican fund-raising dinner at the Washington Hilton Hotel.

25 Members of the National Newspaper Association, an organization of publishers of small newspapers, were guests of the President at a reception at the White House.

25 Five student body presidents representing the Association of Student Governments met with the President at the White House.

March

They had been elected as a steering committee to follow up on resolutions passed by the National Student Congress which met in Washington earlier in March.

26 The President greeted members of the American Justinian Society, who are American jurists of Italian descent.

26 The President met with religious leaders attending a conference on drug abuse at the White House.

29 The President has approved a time extension for the report of the Emergency Board created on March 4, 1971, to investigate a railway labor dispute. The extension permits the Board to file its recommendations by April 14, 1971, instead of April 3.

30 The President has approved the Articles of Incorporation of the National Railroad Passenger Corporation, forwarded to him pursuant to the Rail Passenger Service Act of 1970.

April

8 The President spoke at the opening of a special briefing for the wives of Cabinet members and top White House Staff and for women in key Government positions. The briefing, held in the East Room at the White House, dealt with the Administration's domestic programs.

8 The President chaired the first meeting of the Council on International Economic Policy at the White House. At the meeting, he announced that he was appointing Ambassador at Large David Kennedy as a member of the Council and that Ambassador Kennedy would, over the next several months, travel as his personal envoy to consult with the leaders of our major trading partners in Europe, the Far East, and Latin America about problems in international trade. The President also stated that he was authorizing adjustment assistance benefits for 11 shoe plants, in cases where the United States Tariff Commission had split evenly, and called for further examination of escape-clause implications.

April

8 Prime Minister Keith J. Holyoake of New Zealand paid a courtesy call on the President at the White House.

9 Ambassador at Large David Kennedy met with the President at the White House to report on his recent trip to South Vietnam, Thailand, Singapore, Indonesia, and Micronesia.

9 Marguerite Piazza, singer and entertainer, who is chairman of the 1971 Cancer Crusade, and Dr. H. Marvin Pollard, president of the American Cancer Society, called on the President to launch the Crusade. The President presented Miss Piazza with the Society's annual Courageous Person Award.

9 The President met with Bowie Kuhn, commissioner of baseball; Joseph E. Cronin, president of the American League; Charles S. (Chub) Feeney, president of the National League; and Robert E. Short, president, Ted Williams, manager, Joseph R. Burke, vice president, and James H. Lemon, vice president and former owner, all of the Washington Senators, who presented him with passes for the coming season.

9 The President presented the 25th annual "Boy of the Year" award to 18-year-old Pelton H. Stewart of San Francisco. He also presented plaques to the nine regional winners at the White House ceremony.

9 The President met with Robert H. Taylor, Special Agent in Charge of Presidential Protective Division, United States Secret Service, who is taking a leave of absence until September to attend the Institute for Court Management in a program designed to train Court Administrators to relieve judges of administrative responsibilities.

9 T. Kong Lee, a leader of the San Francisco Chinese community and a member of the National Advisory Council on Adult Education, met with the President at the White House.

9 The President attended Good Friday services at St. John's Episcopal Church, Lafayette Square.

April

12 Ambassador Chow Shu-kai of the Republic of China paid a farewell call on the President at the White House prior to his return to Taiwan to assume the post of Foreign Minister.

12 Mrs. Anna Chennault met with the President at the White House to report on her recent visit to Southeast Asia.

12 Marilyn Cochran, of Richmond, Vt., representing the 1970–71 United States Alpine Ski Team, called on the President at the White House to present an autographed picture of the team. She was accompanied by her brother and sisters, Bob, Barbara, and Lindy.

12 The President announced the designation of Ambassador Joseph L. Jova, United States Representative on the Council of the OAS, to be United States Representative to the 14th session of the Economic Commission for Latin America of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations. The session will convene in Santiago, Chile, on April 27 and continue through May 8, 1971.

13 At the invitation of the President, the leadership of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy attended the Cabinet meeting for a report by Atomic Energy Commission Chairman Glenn T. Seaborg on the development of nuclear energy supply in the United States.

13 Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge met with the President at the White House to report on his third visit to the Vatican.

13 Carl Yastrzemski, left fielder for the Boston Red Sox, who received the Commissioner's Award for being the most valuable player in the 1970 All-Star Game, called on the President at the White House.

14 Senators John C. Stennis and Margaret Chase Smith, chairman and ranking Republican member of the Senate Committee on Armed Services, met with the President at the White House to discuss matters which will be considered by the committee, including the military pay raise and draft extension bill.

April

14 The President attended the swearing in of William J. Casey as Chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission, at a White House ceremony.

14 Rainer Barzel, Chairman of the Christian Democratic Union-Christian Social Union, Federal Republic of Germany, called on the President at the White House.

15 Prime Minister Ahmed Laraki of Morocco met with the President at the White House.

15 Members of the President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped called on the President at the White House. Included in the group were Richard and Robert Santin, twin brothers from Fullerton, Nebr., both of whom are nearly completely paralyzed by muscular dystrophy. The Santins were the recipients of the President's Trophy Award at the opening session of the Committee's annual meeting in Washington.

16 The White House announced that the President has asked Clifford M. Hardin, Secretary of Agriculture, and George A. Lincoln, Director of the Office of Emergency Preparedness, to go to Texas to personally assess conditions brought on by the current drought.

16 Bernard Lasker, chairman of the New York Stock Exchange, Albert H. Gordon, senior partner of Kidder, Peabody & Co., and Donald T. Regan, chairman of Merrill Lynch, Pierce, Fenner, and Smith, Inc., called on the President at the White House.

16 The President greeted members of the student council of Rio Grande High School, Rio Grande City, Texas, in the Rose Garden at the White House.

19 Representatives of the Robert A. Taft Institute of Government, including Senator Robert Taft, Jr., of Ohio, presented the President with the Institute's commemorative medal.

19 Members of the executive committee of the Building Trades Council met with the President at the White House.

April

20 The President greeted a group of agricultural editors from throughout the country, who were in Washington for briefings by Secretary of Agriculture Clifford M. Hardin and others. He told the editors of plans for a White House Salute to Agriculture Day on May 7.

20 The President met with 160 representatives of the United States Jaycees attending an annual Government Affairs Leadership Seminar.

20 Marcel Naville, President of the International Committee of the Red Cross, paid a courtesy call on the President at the White House.

21 The President met with national officers of the Navy League of the United States at the White House.

21 Delegates to the National 4–H Conference were greeted by the President at the White House.

21 The President met with Ann Ucello, Director of the Office of Consumer Affairs, Department of Transportation, and Mary Lou Grier, Chairman, National Advisory Council, Small Business Administration, to discuss the role of women in Government. Miss Ucello and Mrs. Grier were sworn in to Government service on April 14.

22 The President is sending a message of condolence to the Haitian Government and to Jean Claude Duvalier on the death of President François Duvalier of Haiti.

23 The Better Hearing and Speech Month campaign poster child, 2-year-old Michael Newton of Temple Hills, Md., visited the President at the White House.

23 A delegation from Birmingham, Ala., called on the President at the White House. They were accompanied by Senator James B. Allen and Representative John Buchanan of Alabama.

26 The 1971 Cystic Fibrosis Poster Child, 6-year-old Cathy "Mim" Frazier of Davison, Mich., visited the President at the White House.

April

26 Gordon Wetmore, a young artist from Signal Mountain, Tenn., called on the President at the White House to present a portrait of the President which he had painted. He was accompanied by Senator Howard H. Baker, Jr., and Representative LaMar Baker of Tennessee.

26 The All Ohio State Fair Youth Choir performed for the President in the Rose Garden at the White House. Present at the performance were Senators William B. Saxbe and Robert Taft, Jr., and Representatives Clarence J. Brown, Clarence E. Miller, and Chalmers P. Wylie of Ohio.

26 William Kuhfuss, president, and Roger Fleming, secretary and treasurer, of the American Farm Bureau, called on the President at the White House.

26 John G. Gorton, Defense Minister of Australia, met with the President at the White House.

26 Senators Russell B. Long and Wallace F. Bennett met at the White House with the President, Secretary of Labor James D. Hodgson, and Secretary Elliot L. Richardson and Under Secretary John G. Veneman, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, to discuss the Administration's welfare reform legislation.

27 The President attended the swearing in of James C. Fletcher as Administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, at a White House ceremony.

27 Ambassadors El Hadj Mory Keita of Guinea and Shaykh Salim Al Sabah of Kuwait presented their credentials to the President in a ceremony in the Blue Room at the White House.

27 The President hosted a reception at the White House in honor of the Board of Directors of the National Center for Voluntary Action.

28 Winners of the White House News Photographers Association contest called on the President at the White House to display their awards.

April

28 Dr. Gerhard Schroeder, leader of the Christian Democratic Union in the Federal Republic of Germany, called on the President at the White House.

28 The President announced the designation of Emil Mosbacher, Jr., Chief of Protocol, Department of State, and Lloyd B. Waring, vice president of Kidder, Peabody & Co., Boston, Mass., to be his personal representatives with the rank of Special Ambassador, to attend the Coral Sea Commemorative Ceremonies to be held in Australia and New Zealand, May 2–13, 1971.

29 The President met at the White House with Barbara H. Franklin, Vicki L. Keller, Jayne Baker Spain, Sallyanne Payton, and Dr. Valerija B. Raulinaitis, new appointees in the Administration.

30 The President breakfasted at the White House with Harold Wilson, former Prime Minister of Great Britain.

May

5 Robert D. (Bob) Lee, director of sales at Goodwill Industries of San Antonio, visited with the President at the White House.

6 Charles S. Rhyne of Washington, D.C., called on the President to present a copy of his book on international law. The President and Mr. Rhyne were classmates at Duke University Law School.

6 Members of the Commission on Financial Structure and Regulation met with the President at the White House.

7 The President announced the transfer of 11.7 acres of Federal land in Redondo Beach, Calif., to the city for camping and conservation use. The land was formerly a Nike-Ajax site.

7 Ernest V. Siracusa, United States Ambassador to Bolivia, called on the President. Ambassador Siracusa is in Washington for consultations.

7 Participants in the Salute to Agriculture activities were guests of the President and Mrs. Nixon at dinner at the White House, with after-dinner entertainment by Glen Campbell.

May

8 The President met with Mayor Walter E. Washington and Police Chief Jerry V. Wilson of the District of Columbia, Lt. Gen. H. M. Exton, Director, Military Support, Department of the Army, Maj. Gen. Charles L. Southward, Commanding General, D.C. National Guard, and Maj. Gen. R. M. Gleszer, Commanding General, Military District of Washington, to express his appreciation for their work during the protest demonstrations in Washington.

8 The President attended the annual dinner of the White House Correspondents Association at the Sheraton Park Hotel.

10 M. M. Ahmed, Economic Adviser to the President of Pakistan, called on President Nixon at the White House.

11 At a meeting of the Cabinet presided over by the President, Dr. Edward E. David, Jr., Science Adviser to the President, presented a report concerning water desalinization.

11 The President met at the White House with the following new members of the Administration: John W. Barnum, General Counsel, Department of Transportation; Richard S. Bodman, Assistant Secretary for Administration, Department of the Interior; Stephen Kurzman, Assistant Secretary for Legislation, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare; William N. Letson, General Counsel, Department of Commerce; and Phillip V. Sanchez, Assistant Director, Operations, Office of Economic Opportunity.

11 The President transmitted to the Senate for advice and consent to ratification the following international agreements:

The Protocol to the International Convention for the Northwest Atlantic Fisheries Relating to Amendments to the Convention, dated October 6, 1970.

The convention between the United States of America and Japan for the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of fiscal evasion with respect to taxes on income, signed at Tokyo on March 8, 1971.

May

The convention between the United States and 12 other member states of the Organization of American States, designed to deal with the problem of kidnaping and other crimes against foreign officials, signed at Washington on February 2, 1971.

11 The President went to Capitol Hill to attend a luncheon hosted by Representative William M. Colmer, chairman of the House Committee on Rules.

12 The President attended the swearing in of Jerris Leonard as Administrator of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, Department of Justice, in a White House ceremony.

12 University of Maryland students Charles H. Blocher, Jr., and David H. Simpson met with the President at the White House.

13 Dr. Merlin K. DuVal, Jr., who has been nominated as an Assistant Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, met with the President at the White House. He was accompanied by Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Elliot L. Richardson.

13 The President designated Robert C. Tyson of New York City to be Chairman of the United States Delegation to the World Administrative Radio Conference for Space Telecommunications, with the personal rank of Ambassador. The Conference will be held in Geneva, June 7–July 17, 1971.

14 Members of the Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid met with the President at the White House.

14 A sequoia tree was planted by the President and the First Lady in a ceremony on the South Grounds at the White House.

18 John N. Frank, who was selected from 37 regional winners as the National Small Businessman of the Year, called on the President at the White House. Mr. Frank, who operates Frankoma Pottery, Inc., in Sapulpa, Okla., was accompanied by Thomas S. Kleppe, Administrator of the Small Business Administration.

May

18 Ambassadors Joao Augusto Araujo Castro of Brazil, James C. H. Shen of the Republic of China, and Epiphane Ayi Mawussi of Togo presented their credentials to the President in a ceremony in the Blue Room at the White House.

19 Ambassador Gerard C. Smith, Philip J. Farley, Paul Nitze, Lt. Gen. Royal B. Allison, Dr. Harold Brown, and Ambassador Llewellyn Thompson of the United States delegation to the strategic arms limitation talks met with the President at the White House to discuss the status of the talks in Vienna.

20 The President met separately with the Cabinet and with the bipartisan leaders of the Senate and House of Representatives to discuss the status of the strategic arms limitation talks.

20 The President went to the Department of the Treasury to meet with Secretary John B. Connally. They discussed Secretary Connally's upcoming trip to the international banking conference, sponsored by the American Bankers Association, in Munich.

20 The President and the First Lady hosted a reception at the White House for delegates to the strategic arms limitation talks and their wives.

20 The President went to the Washington Hilton Hotel to speak briefly at a Tulane University alumni dinner honoring Senator Allen J. Ellender, Representative Hale Boggs, and Representative F. Edward Hébert, all of Louisiana.

21 The President met with delegates to the strategic arms limitation talks prior to their return to Vienna.

23 The President is asking Eugene Ormandy, conductor and musical director of the Philadelphia Orchestra, to serve as his personal representative to the Fifth Inter-American Music Festival currently underway in Washington, D.C., and Philadelphia. The President and Mrs. Nixon are Honorary Chairmen of the Festival, which is held under the auspices of the Organization of American States and the Inter-American Music Council.

May

24 Michele McDonald, newly crowned Miss USA, called on the President at Key Biscayne, Fla.

26 Ambassador David K. E. Bruce, head of the United States Delegation to the Paris peace talks, met with the President at the White House.

26 The President met with Attorney General John N. Mitchell and Federal Bureau of Investigation Director J. Edgar Hoover to discuss the problem of police slayings.

27 Catherine May Bedell, nominee to the United States Tariff Commission, met with the President at the White House.

27 The President met with Carson Howell, Administrative Officer, White House Office, who is retiring this month.

28 The President met with Congressman-elect William O. Mills of Maryland, at the White House.

28 Gov. Luis A. Ferre of Puerto Rico paid a courtesy call on the President at the White House.

28 Ambassador Torben Ronne of Denmark paid a courtesy call on the President prior to his return to Copenhagen to assume a position in the Foreign Ministry.

28 James Suffridge, president emeritus, James Housewright, president, and William McGuire, secretary-treasurer, of the Retail Clerks International Association met with the President at the White House to present a membership plaque.

June

1 Mary Kay Leavitt, the 1971 Strawberry Festival Queen, called on the President at the White House. She was accompanied by Representative Harley O. Staggers of West Virginia.

June

2 The President announced the designation of Charles A. Meyer, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, and Hewson A. Ryan, United States Ambassador to Honduras, as his Personal Representatives with the rank of Special Ambassador to attend the ceremonies incident to the inauguration of His Excellency Ramon Ernesto Cruz as President of the Republic of Honduras, on June 5–7 in Tegucigalpa. In addition, the President designated Assistant Secretary Meyer as head of the delegation and John R. Breen, Country Director for Central America, as a member of the delegation.

2 President Anastasio Somoza of Nicaragua met with the President at the White House. President Nixon hosted a dinner in honor of President Somoza and distinguished members of the 1946 West Point graduating class, President Somoza's class.

3 The President met with the Secretary of Defense, the three Service Secretaries, members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and other Administration officials involved in dealing with drugs and related problems, to discuss the problem of drug abuse in the military services.

3 Members of the Poznan Boys Choir of Poland and the All-Philadelphia Boys Choir met with the President in the Rose Garden, where they sang several numbers.

3 The President and Mrs. Nixon held a reception at the White House for members of the 80th Congressional Club and other Members of the 92d Congress who also served in the 80th Congress, and their wives. The 80th Congress was the President's freshman Congress.

4 The President met with the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board.

4 Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller of New York, who was in Washington to attend the meeting of the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board, met with the President at the White House.

June

7 Gov. A. Linwood Holton of Virginia met with the President at the White House.

7 William D. Brewer, United States Ambassador to Mauritius, paid a courtesy call on the President.

8 Members of the Board of Directors of the National Railway Passenger Corporation met with the President at the White House.

8 Mayor John Driggs of Phoenix, Ariz., called on the President to present a commemorative centennial medallion.

8 The President has designated Secretary of Agriculture Clifford M. Hardin to head an official United States Delegation to the second Kinshasa International Trade Fair in the Democratic Republic of the Congo on July 2–4. Secretary Hardin and other representatives will participate in America Day ceremonies there on July 4.

8 The President announced that a 141-acre federally owned site adjacent to the Fort Snelling State Historical Park in Minnesota is being offered to the State for recreational purposes.

8 The President greeted bipartisan leaders of the House of Representatives who came to the White House for a briefing on long-range goals for the country and on the international trade and monetary situation. The briefing was conducted by Peter G. Peterson, Assistant to the President for International Economic Affairs. Members of the Senate were unable to attend because of votes and debate scheduled on pending legislation on the draft.

9 Members of the Vincent T. Lombardi Memorial Athletic Center Committee met with the President to discuss plans for the Center at Fordham University.

10 Jacob D. Beam, United States Ambassador to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, met with the President at the White House.

10 The President met with executives of national railroads for a discussion of the railway industry and prospects for the future.

June

11 The President announced that a 28-acre tract which had been part of the Veterans Administration hospital reservation at Cheyenne, Wyo., is being transferred to the city for park and recreation uses.

11 Senator John Sherman Cooper of Kentucky met with the President to report on his April visit to Vienna, Stuttgart, Bonn, and Brussels.

11 Representative Samuel L. Devine of Ohio called on the President at the White House.

11 Robert C. Hill, United States Ambassador to Spain, met with the President at the White House.

11 Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Elliot L. Richardson and Dr. Roger O. Egeberg, Special Consultant to the President on Health Affairs and Assistant to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare for Health Policy, met with the President at the White House.

11 The President and the First Lady attended the wedding rehearsal dinner for their daughter and her fiance at Blair House.

12 The President gave his daughter Tricia in marriage to Edward Finch Cox in the Rose Garden at the White House.

14 The President met with the United States Ambassadors to Thailand, Mexico, France, Luxembourg, Turkey, the Republic of Vietnam, and the United Nations, and officials from the Department of State and other interested departments to discuss international aspects of the drug problem.

14 The President participated in the swearing-in ceremony for Jayne Baker Spain as a member and Vice Chairman of the United States Civil Service Commission.

14 The President met with railway union leaders to discuss problems facing the industry.

14 Kenneth Rush, United States Ambassador to the Federal Republic of Germany, met with the President at the White House.

June

15 The President met with officers of the National Association of Real Estate Boards at the White House.

15 Chancellor Willy Brandt of the Federal Republic of Germany met with the President at the White House and was honored at a dinner hosted by the President. Chancellor Brandt, who had received an honorary doctorate from Yale University on June 14, paid an unofficial visit to Washington on June 15 and 16.

15 The President met, in separate meetings, with Arthur K. Watson, United States Ambassador to France, and Kenneth B. Keating, United States Ambassador to India.

16 The President met, in separate meetings, with Ellsworth Bunker, United States Ambassador to Vietnam, and E. Ross Adair, United States Ambassador to Ethiopia.

16 Participants in the Teenage Republican Leadership Conference being held at Mount Vernon Junior College were greeted by the President during their tour of the White House.

16 The President met with representatives of the White House News Photographers Association to mark the 50th anniversary of the Association.

16 The President greeted participants in a rural electric youth conference who were touring the White House. The group included winners of an essay contest sponsored by rural electric cooperatives in 25 States.

16 Foreign Minister Swaran Singh of India met with the President at the White House to discuss the situation in South Asia.

17 The President met with the bipartisan Congressional leadership to discuss his initiatives to prevent drug addiction and drug abuse.

17 Donald M. Kendall met with the President to report on his recent tour of the Near East.

June

17 Senator John L. McClellan of Arkansas presented the President with a replica of the original Bowie knife. Made by Jimmy Lile of Russellville, Ark., the knife is one of a number made in commemoration of the dedication of the McClellan-Kerr Arkansas River Navigation System.

17 Representative Wendell Wyatt of Oregon met with the President at the White House.

17 Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona reported to the President on his recent trip as the President's personal representative to the Paris Air Show.

18 President Leopold Sedar Senghor of Senegal met with the President at the White House. President Senghor also was the guest of honor at a luncheon given by Secretary of State William P. Rogers.

21 The President met at Miami Beach, Fla., with Frank E. Fitzsimmons, president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, and with members of the organization's Constitution Committee.

21 The President has authorized Secretary of Agriculture Clifford M. Hardin to make certain changes in the emergency drought assistance programs to make more hay available in certain drought areas by eliminating reductions in price support payments to farmers.

22 The President met at the White House with Governors A. Linwood Holton of Virginia, Arch A. Moore, Jr., of West Virginia, and Louie B. Nunn of Kentucky to discuss the Appalachian Regional Commission.

22 The President hosted a reception in honor of the board of directors of the National Association of Broadcasters in the Blue Room at the White House.

24 Representatives of the National Football League Players Association called on the President at the White House to present an honorary membership in the association.

June

24 The President met at the White House with a delegation of students from the Police Athletic League of Philadelphia who presented a pledge signed by 300,000 Philadelphia students affirming their belief in the principles of respect for law, authority, and fair play.

24 Anthony D. Marshall, United States Ambassador to the Malagasy Republic, met with the President at the White House.

28 Vernon Jordan, executive director of the National Urban League, met with the President at the White House.

28 The President was host to the Chowder and Marching Club at a private dinner.

29 The President met with the National Commission on Productivity at the White House.

29 The President greeted YMCA Youth Governors at the White House.

29 The President and the First Lady hosted a dinner in honor of Postmaster General and Mrs. Winton M. Blount, marking the changeover on July 1 of the Post Office Department to the United States Postal Service.

30 The President received a gold medal commemorating the 150th anniversary of Greek independence from the American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association, the Order of AHEPA, at the White House.

30 The President has asked Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, to visit South Vietnam from July 3 to 5 on a general fact-finding mission. Dr. Kissinger will return by way of Paris, where he will consult with Ambassador David K. E. Bruce. En route, he will also visit Thailand, India, and Pakistan.

July

1 Entertainer Sammy Davis, Jr., met with the President to discuss the problem of drug abuse.

July

2 The President and Mrs. Nixon hosted a luncheon in honor of Mrs. Juan Velasco, wife of the President of Peru.

6 The White House released the "Report to the President on the Economic Position of the Steel Industry from the Cabinet Committee on Economic Policy" (54 pages and appendixes).

6 During his visit to Kansas City, Mo., the President telephoned former President Harry S. Truman in Independence.

10 The President announced that he will declare excess two parcels of land in San Diego, Calif. One parcel, totaling 14.24 acres, will be transferred to the city of San Diego for use as a park area. The other parcel, totaling 21 acres, will be conveyed to the San Diego Unified Port District.

19 The President met separately with the Cabinet and with the bipartisan leaders of the Senate and the House of Representatives to discuss his planned visit to the People's Republic of China.

22 Ambassadors Rene Chalmers of Haiti, Semesa Koroikilai Sikivou of Fiji, Prince Khammao of Laos, and Jacob Arthur Christian Davies of Sierra Leone presented their credentials to the President in ceremonies in the Blue Room at the White House.

23 The President began a series of meetings at the White House on the fiscal 1973 budget. Among those in attendance were: John B. Connally, Secretary of the Treasury; George P. Shultz, Director, and Caspar W. Weinberger, Deputy Director, Office of Management and Budget; Paul W. McCracken, Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers; and John D. Ehrlichman, Assistant to the President for Domestic Affairs.

24 The President conducted further discussions on the fiscal 1973 budget in a meeting at the White House with Administration officials.

July

27 Ambassador Soedjatmoko of Indonesia paid a farewell call on the President at the White House.

27 The President presented the first strike of the Eisenhower silver dollar to Mrs. Mamie Eisenhower in a ceremony at the White House.

27 Alfred P. Chamie, national commander of the American Legion, called on the President to report on his recent visits to the Middle East, Europe, and Vietnam.

27 The President hosted a reception at the White House for representatives of the American Society of Association Executives.

28 The President greeted participants in Boys Nation, sponsored by the American Legion, following their tour of the White House.

28 The President greeted Vice President Spiro T. Agnew on the Vice President's return from his trip to the Far East, Middle East, Africa, and Europe and met with him to receive a report on the trip. The Vice President headed the United States Delegation at the inauguration of Park Chung Hee, President of the Republic of Korea on July 1.

The Vice President then visited Singapore, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Ethiopia, Kenya, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Spain, Morocco, and Portugal to demonstrate the President's continuing personal interest in those countries and to develop a firsthand knowledge of their problems and progress.

28 Ambassador Joseph S. Farland, United States Ambassador to Pakistan, met with the President at the White House.

28 The President has directed Secretary of Labor James D. Hodgson to send Assistant Secretary of Labor W. J. Usery, Jr., to Cleveland to meet with Charles Luna, president of the United Transportation Union, to discuss resumption of negotiations in the rail strike.

July

29 The President met with Representatives Olin E. Teague and Charles M. Teague of the House Committee on Veterans' Affairs and Donald E. Johnson, Administrator of Veterans Affairs, for a discussion of veterans affairs and legislation.

29 The President met at the White House with representatives of the high school and junior collegiate divisions of the Distributive Education Clubs of America.

31 During his overnight stay in Akron, Ohio, the President met with newspaper publisher John Knight.

August

2 The President has designated eight Federal departments and agencies to be represented on an interdepartmental council to coordinate all Federal juvenile delinquency programs.

4 The President and Mrs. Nixon went to New York City to have dinner with their son-in-law and daughter, Mr. and Mrs. Edward Cox, and to attend a performance of the Broadway musical "No, No, Nanette."

5 The 1971 Epilepsy Poster Child, 6-year-old Zachery Williams of Jackson, Miss., visited the President at the White House.

5 Senator James L. Buckley of New York met with the President at the White House.

5 The President today announced the transfer of two parcels of federally owned land in De Kalb County, Ga., to the county. The first tract totaling 207 acres is being transferred to the county for use as parks and recreational facilities. The second tract totaling 362 acres is being conveyed to Georgia State University, the De Kalb County Hospital Authority, and the De Kalb County School System.

5 The President met at the White House with editors and publishers of farm publications.

August

5 Members of the newly formed National Business Council for Consumer Affairs met with the President at the White House.

6 Carl Albert, Speaker of the House of Representatives, breakfasted with the President at the White House and discussed matters pending before the Congress and the Speaker's forthcoming trip to the Far East.

9 The President greeted members of Cyclemates II as they arrived at the White House after bicycling from Mercer Island near Seattle, Wash. Frances Call, teacher at North Mercer Junior High School, chose the 15 participants from her students and former students, and conducted the 60-day, 3,600-mile trip.

9 The President met with representatives of the Republican National Committee to receive a brief report on their recent convention in Denver.

9 The President met with six recent Presidential appointees at the White House.

9 Ambassador Ellsworth P. Bunker, United States Ambassador to Vietnam, met with the President at the White House.

10 The Prime Minister Delegate of the Khmer Republic, the acting Prime Minister of the Khmer Republic, Lt. Gen. Sisowath Sirik Matak, called on the President at the White House during his private visit to the United States.

10 Aldo F. DiChiara, national commander, and Cresenzi W. Castaldo, national adjutant general, of the Catholic War Veterans met with the President to present him with the organization's Humanitarian and Peace Award.

12 The President met with Dr. Harold C. Passer, Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Economic Affairs, to express his appreciation for Dr. Passer's decision to remain in his job beyond the time when he had planned to return to private life.

August

12 The President met with Dr. Arnold R. Weber, Associate Director of the Office of Management and Budget, to thank him for his work in that position and in his former assignment as Assistant Secretary of Labor for Manpower. Dr. Weber will return to the University of Chicago on September 1. George P. Shultz, Director of the Office of Management and Budget, also joined the meeting.

13 The President met with the National Security Council at the White House.

13 The President met with White House summer interns in his office at the White House.

13 The President met with the Quadriad at Camp David.

16 The President met with the Cabinet at the White House to discuss his address to the Nation outlining a new economic policy for the United States.

16 The President went to the State Department to open a briefing for sub-Cabinet and other officials on his new economic policy.

17 The President met at the White House with the bipartisan Congressional leadership and with chairmen and ranking minority members of several committees to discuss the President's new economic policy. In attendance at the meeting were Senators Mike Mansfield, Robert P. Griffin, Wallace F. Bennett, Russell B. Long, John G. Tower, Allen J. Ellender, and Milton R. Young, and Representatives Gerald R. Ford, Leslie C. Arends, John W. Byrnes, Wilbur D. Mills, and William B. Widnall.

17 The President attended the swearing in of James R. Schlesinger as Chairman and William Offutt Doub as a member of the Atomic Energy Commission, at a White House ceremony.

17 Members of the Oakland Athletics baseball team called on the President at the White House.

18 During a visit to New York City, the President met with Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller.

August

20 The President met with Gov. Ronald Reagan of California at the Western White House, for a discussion of welfare reform and the President's new economic initiatives.

24 Ambassador William J. Porter met with the President at the Western White House for consultation prior to assuming his post as the head of the United States delegation at the Paris meetings on Vietnam.

September

7 The President met with the Council on International Economic Policy at the White House.

9 Former Governor Raymond P. Shafer of Pennsylvania, Chairman of the Commission on Marihuana and Drug Abuse, met with the President to report on the Commission's deliberations and hearings to date.

9 The President participated in separate oath-taking ceremonies for Ezra Solomon as a member of the Council of Economic Advisers and for Frank C. Carlucci III as Associate Director of the Office of Management and Budget.

9 The President and Mrs. Nixon attended the National Symphony concert marking the opening of the Concert Hall at the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts.

10 Labor leaders met with the President at the White House for a discussion of his new economic policy.

10 The President participated in a ceremony marking the promotion of Brig. Gen. Albert J. Redman, Jr., Commanding Officer of the White House Communications Agency.

10 Ernst G. Breitholtz, president of Rotary International, called on the President at the White House.

11 The White House announced that approximately 4 acres of Federal land in West Haven, Conn., had been conveyed to that city for park and recreational uses, as part of the "Legacy of Parks" program.

September

13 Cabinet members and their wives met with the President at the White House for a discussion of the new economic policy.

13 Business leaders met with the President at the White House to discuss the new economic policy.

14 Agricultural leaders met with the President at the White House to discuss the new economic policy.

14 Senators Mike Mansfield and Hugh Scott met with the President at the White House to report on the Interparliamentary Union meetings which they attended in Europe.

14 Their Imperial Highnesses, Prince and Princess Hitachi of Japan, met with the President at the White House.

16 The President and the First Lady hosted a dinner at the White House in honor of the Apollo 15 astronauts and their families.

17 Charles S. Rhyne, former president of the American Bar Association, met with the President to report on his visit to Yugoslavia to attend the World Peace Through World Law Conference held in Belgrade.

17 Representative Jack Kemp of New York met with the President to report on his trip to Southeast Asia, Israel, and Poland.

17 Ambassador Corneliu Bogdan of Romania met with the President at the White House and delivered a message from Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu.

17 The President greeted winners of the 7th World International Bowling Federation at the White House.

17 John Geiger, commander of the American Legion, called on the President at the White House.

17 Actress Ginger Rogers called on the President at the White House.

17 Chairmen and ranking minority members of several Congressional committees met with the President at the White House to discuss the new economic policy.

September

20 The President met with the 1971–72 White House Fellows who began their year in the executive branch on September 1.

20 Laurie Lea Schaefer of Bexley, Ohio, who was chosen to be Miss America of 1972, and Phyllis George of Denton, Tex., who was Miss America of 1971, called on the President at the White House.

20 Ronald Au of Honolulu, Hawaii, president of the United States Jaycees, met with the President at the White House.

21 Representatives of consumer groups met with the President at the White House to discuss the new economic policy.

21 King Olav IV of Norway met with the President at the White House during his private visit to the United States.

21 Paul G. Hoffman, who will retire in January as Administrator of the United Nations Development Program, met with the President at the White House.

21 Participants in the International Seminar on Illicit Drug Traffic and Abuse met with the President at the White House.

21 Ambassadors Johan Samuel Frederick Botha of South Africa, Mustapha Ramathan of Uganda, Unia Gostel Mwila of Zambia, Karoly Szabo of Hungary, Gudmundur I. Gudmundsson of Iceland, and Eyvind Bartels of Denmark presented their credentials to the President in a ceremony at the White House.

21 The President greeted representatives of the auto racing world at a reception at the White House.

21 The President met with Kenneth E. BeLieu, newly confirmed as Under Secretary of the Army, to thank him for his 33 months of service on the White House Staff, where he was Deputy Assistant for Congressional Relations.

24 The President met with Rear Adm. Samuel Gravely, Brig. Gen. Cunningham C. Bryant, and Brig. Gen. Benjamin L. Hunton, and discussed the problems of blacks in the military services. Secretary of Defense Melvin R. Laird joined the meeting.

September

24 Michael Naranjo, a blind Santa Clara Pueblo Indian from New Mexico, met with the President to present one of his works of sculpture.

24 The President announced the transfer of federally owned lands to local jurisdictions for park and recreational use, as follows: 165 acres in Sandstone, Minn., to the State's Department of Conservation; two parcels in metropolitan Denver, Colo., to the city of Aurora; and parcels totaling 130 acres, to Brunswick, Maine; Flomaton, Ala.; Richland, Wash.; South Plainfield, N.J.; St. Louis, Mo.; and Old Field, N.Y.

28 President Moktar Ould Daddah of Mauritania, head of the Organization of African Unity, Dialo Telli, Secretary General of the OAU, and the Foreign Ministers of Mauritania, Kenya, Mali, Zambia, and Cameroon met with the President at the White House.

29 Pierre-Paul Schweitzer, Managing Director of the International Monetary Fund, met with the President at the White House.

29 Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko of the Soviet Union met with the President at the White House.

30 Lt. Gen. Herman Nickerson, Jr., Administrator of the National Credit Union Administration, and other members of the National Credit Union Board met with the President at the White House.

30 The President signed the National Newspaperboy Day Proclamation [4085] in a White House ceremony attended by 11 boys and one girl who are newspaper carriers.

30 The President received the recommendations of the Cost of Living Council for Phase 2 of the new economic policy.

30 Prince Souvanna Phouma, Prime Minister of Laos, met with the President at the White House.

September

30 Sir Alec Douglas-Home, Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs of the United Kingdom, met with the President at the White House.

October

4 The White House announced the transfer of Federal properties in Upton, N.Y., and Oak Ridge, Tenn., to local authorities as part of the President's "Legacy of Parks" program.

5 Joseph Vicites, commander, Veterans of Foreign Wars, called on the President at the White House.

5 Prime Minister Tun Abdul Razak of Malaysia met with the President at the White House.

5 The President went to Greenville, Del., a suburb of Wilmington, to attend a reception held for dinner chairmen and leaders making arrangements for "Salute to the President" Dinners on November 9. The reception was held at the home of Mr. and Mrs. John Rollins.

7 The President expressed sorrow in a statement issued on the death of Representative James G. Fulton of Pennsylvania.

7 The President met with the bipartisan Congressional leadership to discuss his scheduled address on the post-freeze economic stabilization program.

8 The President breakfasted with Secretary of the Treasury John B. Connally and Chairman Russell B. Long of the Senate Committee on Finance to discuss the tax bill and the economy.

8 The President participated in a swearing-in ceremony at the White House for Charlotte T. Reid as a member of the Federal Communications Commission.

8 Nine members of the French National Assembly, accompanied by French Ambassador Charles Lucet, Representative Wayne L. Hays of Ohio, and Representative Sherman P. Lloyd of Utah, met with the President at the White House.

October

8 The President met with Ambassador at Large David M. Kennedy, Peter G. Peterson, Executive Director of the Council on International Economic Policy and Assistant to the President for International Economic Affairs, and Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, to discuss textile negotiations in the Far East.

11 Aldo Moro, Foreign Minister of Italy, met with the President at the White House.

11 The President met with representatives of the Sons of Italy who presented their 1971 Marconi Award to him. They were accompanied by John A. Volpe, Secretary of Transportation.

12 The President met with bipartisan leaders of the Senate and the House of Representatives to discuss his plans to visit the Soviet Union in May 1972.

13 Mayor Walter E. Washington and Police Chief Jerry V. Wilson of the District of Columbia met with the President at the White House to discuss District matters.

13 Henry C. Clausen, sovereign grand commander, southern jurisdiction of Scottish Rite Masons, called on the President at the White House.

13 Ten Members of the House of Representatives met with the President at the White House to present a petition signed by more than 300 Members of the House expressing opposition to the expulsion of the Republic of China from the United Nations.

13 In a ceremony in the Blue Room at the White House, the President received diplomatic credentials from Ambassadors Abdulla al Suwesi of Libya, Eduardo Z. Romualdez of the Philippines, Christophe Maidou of the Central African Republic, and Francois Xavier Tchoungui of Cameroon, and from the members of the Panamanian negotiating team on the Panama Canal negotiations, Ambassadors José Antonio de la Ossa, Carlos Lopez Guevara, and Fernando Manfredo.

October

13 The President hosted a reception at the White House for members of Citizens for a New Prosperity.

14 The President has ratified the International Convention Relating to Intervention on the High Seas in Cases of Oil Pollution Casualties and also amendments to the International Convention for the Prevention of the Pollution of the Sea by Oil.

18 Maxie Baughan, Jack Pardee, and George Burman of the Washington Redskins were invited to meet with the President in his office as they were touring the White House with their families.

18 Representatives of the National Association of Retired Federal Employees met with the President at the White House.

18 The President and Mrs. Nixon attended the opening of the Eisenhower Theater in the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts, where they saw a performance of Ibsen's "A Doll's House."

19 Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike of Ceylon met with the President at the White House, during a private visit to Washington following her attendance at the United Nations General Assembly.

19 Representatives of the National Multiple Sclerosis Society met with the President at the White House, to mark the Society's 25th anniversary.

19 Secretary of the Treasury John B. Connally will be the President's representative at the inauguration of President Nguyen Van Thieu of the Republic of Vietnam on October 31. He will also visit other countries in the area, including Thailand, the Philippines, and Japan, for discussions of international economic matters.

20 The President sent a message of congratulations to Chancellor Willy Brandt of the Federal Republic of Germany upon the Chancellor's designation as winner of the Nobel Peace Prize. The President also sent letters of congratulation to American winners of Nobel prizes.

October

21 Mrs. Ruth Voss, editor of The Teenager, a supplement to the Cincinnati Enquirer, met with the President at the White House to discuss her volunteer work with young people.

21 Ambassadors Joseph Attard Kingswell of Malta, André Jean Coulbary of Senegal, Edmundo Valencia-Ibañez of Bolivia, Toma Granfil of Yugoslavia, and Carlos Manuel Muñiz of Argentina presented their credentials to the President in a ceremony at the White House.

22 Mrs. Ferdinand Marcos, wife of the Philippine President, called on the President at the White House.

22 Ambassador George H. Bush, United States Representative to the United Nations, and Secretary of State William P. Rogers met with the President to discuss Chinese representation in the United Nations.

22 Former Prime Minister Nobosuke Kishi of Japan met with the President and was guest at a working dinner at the White House.

23 Six Governors met with the President to report on their trip to the Soviet Union and Romania. They were Governors Marvin Mandel of Maryland, Warren E. Hearnes of Missouri, Dale Bumpers of Arkansas, William G. Milliken of Michigan, Stanley K. Hathaway of Wyoming, and David Hall of Oklahoma. Governors John A. Love of Colorado and Luis A. Ferre of Puerto Rico traveled with the group but were still in Europe.

26 Vice President Agnew met with the President to report on his trip to Turkey, Iran, and Greece. The Vice President visited Turkey and Greece en route to and from Iran where he represented the United States at the celebration of the 2500th anniversary of the founding of the Persian Empire by Cyrus the Great, at Persepolis.

26 Senator Wallace F. Bennett of Utah met with the President at the White House to discuss matters relating to the Senate Finance Committee.

October

26 The President met at the White House with a group of Vietnam veterans who returned to South Vietnam as civilian volunteers to work on a housing project for disabled Vietnamese veterans.

28 The President met with the Quadriad at the White House.

29 Representatives of the Boy Scouts of America met with the President to present their Silver Buffalo Award for distinguished service to boyhood and to discuss Operation Reach, the Boy Scouts new drug education program.

29 Marjorie Sharp, Miss Wool of America, called on the President at the White House. She was accompanied by Representative Sherman P. Lloyd of Utah.

November

2 The President today announced that Secretary of Commerce Maurice H. Stans will visit the Soviet Union in mid-November in response to an invitation from the Soviet Minister of Foreign Trade Nicolai Patolichev. The visit is for exploratory talks on the potential for expanded commercial relationships between the United States and the Soviet Union.

4 Dr. Kofi A. Busia, Prime Minister of Ghana, met with the President at the White House.

5 Congressman-elect John Heinz III of Pittsburgh, Pa., met with the President at the White House.

7 The President expressed sorrow in a statement issued on the death of former Senator Spessard Holland of Florida.

10 During his visit in Chicago, the President met with 5-year-old Katherine Donnelly in connection with the Illinois Lions Club campaign to help the blind.

15 George E. Allen, author of the book "Presidents Who Have Known Me," met with the President at the White House.

November

15 The chairmen and ranking Republicans on the Senate and House Appropriations Committees and representatives of the bipartisan leadership met with the President at the White House to discuss the status of continuing resolutions for the Office of Economic Opportunity, the District of Columbia, the Agency for International Development, and certain elements of the Defense budget.

16 Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, met with the President at the White House to discuss the problems of East Pakistan refugees and the administration of the international efforts to relieve their suffering.

24 The President met with Peter Wilson, mayor-elect of San Diego.

25 From the Western White House, the President spoke by telephone with Prime Minister Edward Heath of the United Kingdom. Their discussions included the India-Pakistan situation, negotiations taking place between Great Britain and Rhodesia, and the President's upcoming trips to Peking and Moscow.

26 The President today announced the transfer of additional Federal lands to local jurisdiction as part of his "Legacy of Parks" program. Included are lands in Puerto Rico, Maine, New Jersey, California, Michigan, Tennessee, Massachusetts, Iowa, and North Carolina.

30 Counsellor to the President Robert H. Finch met with the President at the White House to present a preliminary report on his recent trip to Latin America.

30 The President has sent a letter to the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives informing them as required by law that he has signed a determination that it is in the national interest for the Export-Import Bank of the United States to guarantee, insure, extend credit, and participate in the extension of credit in connection with the purchase or lease of any product or service by, for use in, or for sale or lease to the Socialist Republic of Romania.

December

1 During his visit to Chicago, the President met with a group of editors of farm publications.

2 Gordon Metcalf, chairman of Sears Roebuck and Company, and William Batten, chairman of J. C. Penney Company, met with the President at the White House.

2 Prime Minister Golda Meir of Israel met with the President at the White House.

2 The President telephoned former Speaker of the House John W. McCormack to express condolences on the death of Mrs. McCormack, and designated Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Elliot L. Richardson to represent him at the funeral services.

6 The President breakfasted with Senators Mike Mansfield and Hugh Scott and Representatives Carl Albert, Gerald Ford, and Hale Boggs to discuss legislative schedules prior to the expected adjournment of the Congress.

6 Ambassadors Sharif Thajeb of Indonesia, Badreddine Senoussi of Morocco, Nawabzada Agha Mohammad Raza of Pakistan, and João Hall Themido of Portugal presented their credentials to the President in ceremonies at the White House.

6 The President attended a meeting of the Domestic Council for a discussion of revenue sharing and the role of State and local governments in policy development and planning. Present for the meeting were representatives of the U.S. Conference of Mayors, the National League of Cities, the International City Management Association, the National Association of Counties, the National Governors' Conference, and the Council of State Governments.

6 The President met with the Quadriad at the White House. Donald Rumsfeld, Counsellor to the President and Director of the Cost of Living Council, attended the meeting to brief the Quadriad on the economic stabilization program.

December

6 The President met with the first five women generals in the military services, all of whom were appointed to the rank of brigadier general during this Administration.

6 The President presented the "Most Courageous Junior Olympian" Award to 17-year-old Gary Washington of Colorado. Deaf since birth, Gary has been active in track, football, and basketball, and was selected to receive the award at the National AAU Junior Olympic Championships in San Diego in August.

6 Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau of Canada met with the President at the White House for discussions of the general international situation, particularly East-West relations and the President's forthcoming trips to Peking and Moscow. In the evening, the Prime Minister was guest of honor at a dinner hosted by the President.

7 The President has received the 60-day report on the labor dispute involving the longshore industry on the Pacific Coast by the Board of Inquiry.

8 The President spoke by telephone with Ambassador George H. Bush, United States Representative to the United Nations, with regard to the U.N. General Assembly vote on the India-Pakistan matter.

9 President Hubert Maga of Dahomey met with the President at the White House. President Maga was in the United States for a 10-day private visit.

10 The report of the President's Commission on Federal Statistics was presented to the President by W. Allen Wallis, Chairman, and Frederick Mosteller, Vice Chairman, of the Commission.

16 The President met at his home in Key Biscayne, Fla., with the wife and children of Jose Villa, captain of the Panamanian

December

freighter *Johnny Express* which was seized by Cuba on December 15. The President expressed his very deep personal concern for the Captain and indicated that we would take every step we could to see that he is released.

18 Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister-designate of Pakistan, met with the President at the White House.

18 After signing the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act, the President taped a message of greetings to the Convention of the Alaska Federation of Natives meeting in Anchorage.

22 Members of the Commission on Financial Structure and Regulation met with the President at the White House to present their report and recommendations.

23 Archbishop Luigi Raimondi, Apostolic Delegate to the United States, met with the President at the White House to present an advance copy of the Pope's annual message for peace and his yearly report on efforts to achieve peace in the world.

23 The President has received a report by the Bureau of Product Safety on toy safety and child protection. In a letter to Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Elliot L. Richardson, the President commended the staff for progress made in that area.

30 The White House announced the report of Ambassador F. Haydn Williams, the President's Personal Representative for Micronesian Status Negotiations, on future political status for the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

30 The White House announced the transfer of 85 acres of Federal land in North Little Rock, Ark., to the city of North Little Rock for park and recreation use.

Appendix C—Presidential Documents Published in the Federal Register

[The texts of these documents are also printed in title 3 of the Code of Federal Regulations and in Volume 7 of the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents.]

PROCLAMATIONS

Proc. No.	*Date 1971*	*Subject*	*36 F.R. page*
4027	Jan. 22	American Heart Month, 1971	1187
4028	Jan. 28	National Safe Boating Week, 1971	1461
4029	Feb. 2	USO Day	2475
4030	Feb. 8	National Poison Prevention Week, 1971	2775
4031	Feb. 23	Suspending the Davis-Bacon Act of March 3, 1931	3457
4032	Mar. 2	Law Day, U.S.A., 1971	4111
4033	Mar. 4	Red Cross Month, 1971	4463
4034	Mar. 4	Save Your Vision Week, 1971	4465
4035	Mar. 8	Volunteers of America Week	4589
4036	Mar. 10	Loyalty Day, 1971	4749
4037	Mar. 11	Quantitative limitation on the importation of certain meats into the United States	4971
4038	Mar. 19	National Week of Concern for Americans Who Are Prisoners of War or Missing in Action	5409
4039	Mar. 29	Cancer Control Month, 1971	5899
4040	Mar. 29	Reinstating the Davis-Bacon Act of March 3, 1931	6335
4041	Mar. 31	National Defense Transportation Day and National Transportation Week, 1971	6337
4042	Apr. 2	Earth Week, 1971	6475
4043	Apr. 6	National Maritime Day, 1971	6709
4044	Apr. 7	National Farm Safety Week, 1971	6883
4045	Apr. 8	Small Business Week, 1971	6885
4046	Apr. 12	Pan American Day and Pan American Week, 1971	7047
4047	Apr. 15	World Trade Week, 1971	7299
4048	Apr. 20	Senior Citizens Month, 1971	7579

71-234—72——83

Proc. No.	*Date 1971*	*Subject*	*F.R. page*
4049	Apr. 30	Clean Waters for America Week, 1971	8289
4050	May 5	National Employ the Older Worker Week, 1971	8551
4051	May 7	Mother's Day, 1971	8553
4052	May 8	National Multiple Sclerosis Society Annual Hope Chest Appeal Weeks	8657
4053	May 11	Voluntary Overseas Aid Week and Human Development Month	8859
4054	May 19	Father's Day, 1971	9199
4055	May 24	Flag Day and National Flag Week, 1971	9615
4056	May 27	Prayer for Peace, Memorial Day, 1971	9761
4057	May 28	National Peace Corps Week	10769
4058	June 1	Medical Library Association Day	10839
4059	June 7	Fire Prevention Week, 1971	11077
4060	June 17	World Law Day, 1971	11791
4061	June 19	National Postal Service Day	11847
4062	July 1	White Cane Safety Day, 1971	12671
4063	July 1	National Star Route Mail Carriers Week	12673
4064	July 6	Display of flags at the Washington Monument	12967
4065	July 9	Captive Nations Week, 1971	13017
4066	July 9	United Nations Day, 1971	13019
4067	July 20	National Moon Walk Day	13365
4068	July 26	Fisheries Centennial Year	13885
4069	July 26	General Pulaski's Memorial Day, 1971	13887
4070	July 30	American Trial Lawyers Week	14251
4071	Aug. 2	National Clown Week	14297
4072	Aug. 12	National Highway Week, 1971	15421
4073	Aug. 13	National Employ the Handicapped Week, 1971	15513
4074	Aug. 15	Imposition of supplemental duty for balance of payments purposes	15724
4075	Aug. 17	Year of World Minority Language Groups	16039
4076	Aug. 21	Establishment of tariff-rate quota on certain stainless steel flatware	16561
4077	Aug. 30	Citizenship Day and Constitution Week, 1971	17557
4078	Aug. 31	Columbus Day, 1971	17559
4079	Sept. 13	National Hispanic Heritage Week, 1971	18453

Appendix C

Proc. No.	*Date 1971*	*Subject*	*36 F.R. page*
4080	Sept. 17	Drug Abuse Prevention Week, 1971 [1]	18711
4081	Sept. 21	Leif Erikson Day, 1971	18849
4082	Sept. 23	Child Health Day, 1971	19003
4083	Sept. 23	Veterans Day, 1971	19005
4084	Sept. 24	125th anniversary of the Smithsonian Institution	19061
4085	Sept. 30	National Newspaperboy Day, 1971	19299
4086	Oct. 9	National School Lunch Week, 1971	19899
4087	Oct. 12	National Day of Prayer, 1971	19961
4088	Oct. 13	National Forest Products Week, 1971	20025
4089	Oct. 14	Country Music Month, 1971	20137
4090	Oct. 15	American Education Week, 1971	20213
4091	Nov. 5	Youth Appreciation Week, 1971	21329
4092	Nov. 5	Modifying Proclamation 3279, relating to imports of petroleum and petroleum products	21397
4093	Nov. 5	Thanksgiving Day, 1971	21401
4094	Nov. 12	National Farm-City Week, 1971	21805
4095	Dec. 8	National Jaycee Week, 1972	23519
4096	Dec. 9	Human Rights Day, Bill of Rights Day	23521
4097	Dec. 10	Wright Brothers Day, 1971	23717
4098	Dec. 20	Terminating additional duty for balance of payments purposes	24201
4099	Dec. 20	Modifying Proclamation 3279, relating to imports of petroleum and petroleum products	24203

EXECUTIVE ORDERS

E.O. No.	*Date 1971*	*Subject*	*36 F.R. page*
11576	Jan. 8	Increasing rates of pay for Federal civilian employees	347
11577	Jan. 8	Increasing rates of pay for members of the uniformed services	349
11578	Jan. 13	Establishing the Ohio River Basin Commission	683
11579	Jan. 19	Describing the functions of the Overseas Private Investment Corporation	969

[1] Proclamation 4080 is printed in full on p. 959 of this volume as an example of the proclamations issued by President Nixon in 1971.

Appendix C

E.O. No.	*Date 1971*	*Subject*	*36 F.R. page*
11580	Jan. 20	Establishing a seal for the National Credit Union Administration. . .	971
11581	Jan. 20	Amending Executive Order 11248, placing certain positions in levels IV and V of the Federal Executive Salary Schedule	1027
11582	Feb. 11	Providing procedures in observing official holidays by Government agencies	2957
11583	Feb. 24	Establishing the Office of Consumer Affairs	3509
11584	Mar. 3	Providing for inspection of income, excess-profits, estate, and gift tax returns by the Senate Committee on Government Operations . . .	4365
11585	Mar. 4	Creating an emergency board to investigate disputes between certain carriers represented by the National Railway Labor Conference and the Eastern, Western, and Southeastern Carriers' Conference Committees and certain of their employees represented by the Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen	4467
11586	Mar. 10	Amending the Selective Service regulations	4751
11587	Mar. 15	Amending Executive Order 11248, placing certain positions in levels IV and V of the Federal Executive Salary Schedule	4973
11588	Mar. 29	Providing for the stabilization of wages and prices in the construction industry	6339
11589	Apr. 1	Delegating to the United States Civil Service Commission certain authorities of the President under the Intergovernmental Personnel Act of 1970 and the Federal Civil Defense Act of 1950	6343
11590	Apr. 23	Applicability of Executive Order 11222 and Executive Order 11478 to the United States Postal Service and of Executive Order 11478 to the Postal Rate Commission	7831
11591	Apr. 23	Amending Executive Order 11157 as it relates to basic allowances for quarters for military personnel with dependents	7833
11592	May 6	Delegating certain authority of the President to the Director of the Office of Management and Budget	8555
11593	May 13	Providing for Federal Government leadership in the protection and enhancement of the cultural environment	8921
11594	May 17	Providing for the use of transportation priorities and allocations during the current railroad strike	8995
11595	May 26	Amending Executive Order 11583, establishing the Office of Consumer Affairs	9763
11596	June 5	Designating the Customs Cooperation Council as a public international organization entitled to enjoy certain privileges, exemptions, and immunities	11079
11597	June 11	Increasing the membership of the President's Commission on School Finance	11501
11598	June 16	Providing for the listing of certain job vacancies by Federal agencies and Government contractors and subcontractors to aid veterans seeking employment	11711

Appendix C

E.O. No.	*Date 1971*	*Subject*	*36 F.R. page*
11599	June 17	Establishing a Special Action Office for Drug Abuse Prevention . . .	11793
11600	June 29	Establishing a seal for the Office of Management and Budget	12471
11601	June 29	Amending Executive Order 11390, providing for the delegation of certain functions of the President to the Secretary of Defense . . .	12473
11602	June 29	Providing for administration of the Clean Air Act with respect to Federal contracts, grants, or loans	12475
11603	June 30	Assigning additional functions to the Director of ACTION	12675
11604	July 2	Amending Executive Order 11248, placing certain positions in levels IV and V of the Federal Executive Salary Schedule	12727
11605	July 2	Amending Executive Order 10450, relating to security requirements for Government employment	12831
11606	July 10	Amending the Selective Service regulations	13087
11607	July 19	Establishing the Advisory Council on Intergovernmental Personnel Policy	13317
11608	July 19	Terminating the Federal Field Committee for Development Planning in Alaska	13367
11609	July 22	Delegating certain functions vested in the President to other officers of the Government	13747
11610	July 22	Amending Executive Order 10789 to authorize the indemnification of defense contractors against uninsurable risks	13755
11611	July 26	Providing for inspection of income, excess-profits, estate, and gift tax returns by the House Committee on Internal Security	13889
11612	July 26	Establishing occupational safety and health programs for Federal employees	13891
11613	Aug. 2	Adding the Environmental Protection Agency as a member of established River Basin Commissions	14299
11614	Aug. 5	Establishing the National Business Council for Consumer Affairs . .	14621
11615	Aug. 15	Providing for stabilization of prices, rents, wages, and salaries	15727
11616	Aug. 26	Amending Executive Order 11491, relating to labor-management relations in the Federal service	17319
11617	Sept. 2	Amending Executive Order 11615, providing for stabilization of prices, rents, wages, and salaries	17813
11618	Sept. 10	Amending Executive Order 10713, providing for administration of the Ryukyu Islands	18365
11619	Sept. 22	Exempting Rose A. Conway from mandatory retirement	18943
11620	Sept. 25	Ordering flag to be flown at half-staff on the death of the Honorable Hugo L. Black	19063

Appendix C

E.O. No.	*Date 1971*	*Subject*	*36 F.R. page*
11621	Oct. 4	Creating a board of inquiry to report on certain labor disputes affecting the maritime industry of the United States	19435
11622	Oct. 5	Amending Executive Order 11621, creating a board of inquiry	19491
11623	Oct. 12	Delegating to the Director of Selective Service authority to issue rules and regulations under the Military Selective Service Act	19963
11624	Oct. 12	Providing for the inspection of income, excess-profits, estate, gift, and excise tax returns by the Senate Committee on Commerce	19965
11625	Oct. 13	Prescribing additional arrangements for developing and coordinating a national program for minority business enterprise	19967
11626	Oct. 13	Ordering flag to be flown at half-staff on the death of the Honorable Dean Acheson	20027
11627	Oct. 15	Further providing for the stabilization of the economy	20139
11628	Oct. 18	Establishing a seal for the Environmental Protection Agency	20285
11629	Oct. 26	Delegating authority to the Secretary of State to perform the functions vested in the President by Article IV of the Convention between the United States of America and Mexico for the Protection of Migratory Birds and Game Mammals	20647
11630	Oct. 30	Amending Executive Order 11627, further providing for the stabilization of the economy	21023
11631	Nov. 9	Providing for the inspection of income, estate, and gift tax returns by the House Committee on Public Works	21575
11632	Nov. 22	Amending Executive Order 11627, further providing for the stabilization of the economy	22221
11633	Dec. 3	Establishing a security clearance program for United States citizens employed directly by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the South-East Asia Treaty Organization, and the Central Treaty Organization	23197
11634	Dec. 6	Amending Executive Order 11248, placing certain positions in levels IV and V of the Federal Executive Salary Schedule	23287
11635	Dec. 9	Providing for the continuation of Souris-Red-Rainy River Basins Commission	23615
11636	Dec. 17	Providing a policy for employee-management relations in the Foreign Service of the United States	24901
11637	Dec. 22	Increasing rates of pay for Federal civilian employees	24911
11638	Dec. 22	Increasing rates of pay for members of the uniformed services	24913

Appendix C

PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS OTHER THAN PROCLAMATIONS AND EXECUTIVE ORDERS

Date 1971	*Subject*	*36 F.R. page*
Mar. 11	Memorandum: Labor-management relations in the Federal service	4975
Apr. 30	Memorandum: Automatic data processing standards for use by Federal agencies	8721
June 10	Reorganization Plan No. 1 of 1971: Establishment of ACTION and reorganization of certain volunteer programs	11181
July 14	Memorandum: Labor-management relations in the Federal service	13895
Aug. 23	Memorandum and statement: Government patent policy	16887

Appendix D—Reports of Presidential Task Forces

On September 22, 1969, President Nixon announced the establishment of a series of Presidential task forces to assist the Administration with ideas and recommendations for 1970 and beyond. Seventeen such task forces were established by the end of 1969. The final reports by 15 of the 17 task forces were issued in 1970. During 1971, the White House announced the release of the remaining two reports.

Date of announcement	*Task Force*	*Title of Report*
Jan. 26	Highway Safety	Mobility Without Mayhem
Apr. 13	Air Pollution	Cleaner Air for the Nation

White House announcements concerning interagency or Cabinet committee task forces during 1971 may be located by consulting the heading "Task forces" in the Annual Index to the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents for that year.

Appendix E—Awards of Congressional Medals of Honor and of Presidential Unit Citations

CONGRESSIONAL MEDALS OF HONOR

(These medals were presented to the servicemen in private ceremonies at the White House.)

PRESENTED BY THE PRESIDENT ON MARCH 2, 1971

[The texts of these citations are printed in Volume 7 of the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents beginning on page 414.]

Captain Wesley L. Fox, USMC

Captain Harold A. Fritz, USA

First Lieutenant Robert L. Howard, USA

Platoon Sergeant Finnis D. McCleery, USA

Staff Sergeant Don J. Jenkins, USA

Sergeant Gordon R. Roberts, USA

Specialist Four George C. Lang, USA

PRESENTED BY THE PRESIDENT ON JUNE 15, 1971

[The texts of these citations are printed in Volume 7 of the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents beginning on page 925.]

Major Kern W. Dunagan, USA

Chief Warrant Officer Michael J. Novosel, USA

Staff Sergeant Franklin D. Miller, USA

Sergeant Peter C. Lemon, USA

Sergeant Richard A. Penry, USA

Specialist Four John P. Baca, USA

Private First Class Raymond M. Clausen, Jr., USMC

POSTHUMOUS CONGRESSIONAL MEDALS OF HONOR

(These medals were presented to the servicemen's families in private ceremonies.)

PRESENTED BY THE PRESIDENT ON FEBRUARY 16, 1971

[The texts of these citations are printed in Volume 7 of the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents beginning on page 229.]

First Lieutenant Stephen H. Doane, USA

First Lieutenant Robert L. Poxon, USA

Sergeant First Class William M. Bryant, USA

Staff Sergeant Karl G. Taylor, USMC

Sergeant Charles C. Fleek, USA

Sergeant John N. Holcomb, USA

Corporal Terry T. Kawamura, USA

Lance Corporal Thomas P. Noonan, Jr., USMC

Lance Corporal Lester W. Weber, USMC

Specialist Four Donald R. Johnston, USA

Private First Class Daniel D. Bruce, USMC

Private First Class Daniel J. Shea, USA

Appendix E

PRESENTED BY THE PRESIDENT ON APRIL 22, 1971

[The texts of these citations are printed in Volume 7 of the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents beginning on page 672.]

Staff Sergeant Robert J. Pruden, USA

Specialist Four Michael R. Blanchfield, USA

Sergeant Rodney J. Evans, USA

PRESENTED BY THE VICE PRESIDENT ON BEHALF OF THE PRESIDENT ON SEPTEMBER 9, 1971

Lance Corporal Richard A. Anderson, USMC

Lance Corporal James D. Howe, USMC

Lance Corporal Emilio A. De La Garza, Jr., USMC

Lance Corporal Miguel Keith, USMC

Private First Class Bruce W. Carter, USMC

PRESENTED BY THE VICE PRESIDENT ON BEHALF OF THE PRESIDENT ON DECEMBER 16, 1971

First Lieutenant Russell A. Steindam, USA

Sergeant Donald S. Skidgel, USA

Second Lieutenant Robert R. Leisy, USA

Corporal Michael F. Folland, USA

Sergeant Brian L. Buker, USA

Specialist Four Joseph G. LaPointe, Jr., USA

PRESIDENTIAL UNIT CITATIONS

[The texts of these citations appear in Volume 7 of the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents as noted below.]

Date	*Recipient*	*page*
1971		
Jan. 4	6th Special Operations Squadron, Pacific Air Forces	33
Jan. 25	Rung Sat Special Zone River Patrol Group	106
Mar. 18	SEAL Team One	502
Apr. 30	First Marine Division (Reinforced), Fleet Marine Force [1]	702

[1] See also p. 602 of this volume

Appendix F—Presidential Reports to the 92d Congress, First Session

Subject	*Published*	*Sent to the Congress*	*Date of White House release*
Government Employees Training Act of 1958 (fiscal year 1970)		Jan. 25	
Statement of the Director of the Census (19th Decennial)	H. Doc. 38	Jan. 27	
Economic Report	H. Doc. 28	Feb. 1	Feb. 1
Corporation for Public Broadcasting:			
Fiscal year 1969		Feb. 2	
Fiscal year 1970		Mar. 16	
Aeronautics and Space Report (1970)	H. Doc. 42	Feb. 2	Feb. 2
National Endowment for the Humanities (5th annual)		Feb. 5	Feb. 5
Railroad Labor Dispute	H. Doc. 48	Feb. 13	
Foreign Assistance Program (fiscal year 1970)	H. Doc. 3	Feb. 17	Feb. 17
Availability of Government Services to Rural Areas (1st annual)	H. Doc. 55	Mar. 1	Mar. 1
U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (10th annual)	H. Doc. 67	Mar. 15 (H) Mar. 16 (S)	Mar. 15
National Aeronautics and Space Administration (22d semi-annual)	H. Doc. 371	Mar. 16	
National Science Foundation (20th annual)	H. Doc. 69	Mar. 16	Mar. 16
Control of Hazardous Polluting Substances	H. Doc. 70	Mar. 16	Mar. 16
Federal Activities in Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development		Mar. 22 (H) Mar. 23 (S)	Mar. 22
U.S.-Japan Cooperative Medical Science Program under the International Health Research Act of 1960 (4th annual)	H. Doc. 77	Mar. 31 (H) Apr. 1 (S)	
Railroad Retirement Board (fiscal year 1970)	H. Doc. 27	Mar. 31 (H) Apr. 1 (S)	
Communications Satellite Act of 1962 (8th annual)	H. Doc. 78	Mar. 31 (H) Apr. 1 (S)	

Appendix F

Subject	*Published*	*Sent to the Congress*	*Date of White House release*
International Coffee Agreement of 1968 (1970), together with a report with respect to benefits of the Agreement to U.S. consumers, and the effect of such Agreement on international trade required by Public Law 91–694, Sec. 3		Apr. 2 (H) Apr. 5 (S)	Apr. 1
National Council on Marine Resources and Engineering Development (1970)	H. Doc. 85	Apr. 7	Apr. 7
Manpower Report	H. Doc. 86	Apr. 7	Apr. 7
National Endowment for the Arts and National Council on the Arts (fiscal year 1970)		Apr. 14	Apr. 14
National Credit Union Administration (1st annual)		Apr. 14	. . . .
World Weather Program (3d annual)		Apr. 15	Apr. 15
Surgeon General (14th annual)	H. Doc. 91	Apr. 20	. . . .
Department of Housing and Urban Development (5th annual)	H. Doc. 97	Apr. 22	. . . .
Four River Basin Commissions (fiscal year 1970) Pacific Northwest River Basins Commission Souris-Red-Rainy River Basins Commission Great Lakes Basin Commission New England River Basins Commission	H. Doc. 110	May 11	. . . .
Office of Economic Opportunity (fiscal years 1969 and 1970)	H. Doc. 111	May 12	. . . .
Civil Service Commission (fiscal year 1970)		May 18	. . . .
Administration of Radiation Control for Health and Safety Act of 1968 (3d annual)	H. Doc. 113	May 19	. . . .
Commodity Credit Corporation (fiscal year 1970)		June 28	. . . .
Food for Peace Program under P.L. 480, 83d Congress (1970)	H. Doc. 135	June 28	. . . .
National Science Board (3d annual)		June 29	. . . .
National Housing Goals (3d annual)	H. Doc. 136	June 29	June 29
Hazardous Materials Control (1st annual)		July 14	. . . .
National Capital Housing Authority (fiscal year 1970)		July 20	. . . .
Natural Gas Pipeline Safety Act of 1968 (3d annual)		July 20	. . . .
Financial Assistance to Rural Areas (1st annual)	H. Doc. 147	July 23	July 23
International Educational and Cultural Exchange Program (fiscal year 1970)		Aug. 5	Aug. 5

Appendix F

Subject	*Published*	*Sent to the Congress*	*Date of White House release*
National Wilderness Preservation System (7th annual)	H. Doc. 156	Aug. 5	Aug. 5
Council on Environmental Quality (2d annual)		Aug. 6	. . . .
National Corporation for Housing Partnerships (2d annual)		Aug. 10	. . . .
Location of new Federal facilities in rural areas (1st annual)		Sept. 13 (H) Sept. 14 (S)	Sept. 13
National Advisory Council on Extension and Continuing Education (5th annual)	H. Doc. 163	Sept. 15	. . . .
Progress Report on a Federal Interstate Compact for the Hudson River Basin		Sept. 15	. . . .
United Nations (25th annual)	H. Doc. 81	Sept. 20 (H) Sept. 21 (S)	. . . .
National Traffic and Motor Vehicle Safety Act of 1966 and the Highway Safety Act of 1966 (1970)	H. Doc. 165	Sept. 29	Sept. 29
Railroad-Highway Safety		Nov. 19	. . . .
Federal Coal Mine Health and Safety Act of 1969 (1st annual)		Nov. 23	Nov. 23
Trade Agreements Program (15th annual)	H. Doc. 178	Dec. 1	. . . .
St. Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation (1970)	H. Doc. 181	Dec. 7	. . . .
Cash Awards to Members of the Armed Forces and the Coast Guard (fiscal year 1971)		Dec. 9	Dec. 9
Alien Property (fiscal year 1970)		Dec. 15	. . . .
National Advisory Council on Economic Opportunity (4th annual)	H. Doc. 185	Dec. 15	. . . .

Appendix G—Rules Governing This Publication

[Reprinted from the Federal Register, vol. 34, p. 19118, dated December 2, 1969]

TITLE 1—GENERAL PROVISIONS

Chapter I—Administrative Committee of the Federal Register

PART 32—PRESIDENTIAL PAPERS

SUBPART A—ANNUAL VOLUMES

PUBLICATION AND FORMAT

Sec.

32.1 Publication required.
32.2 Coverage of prior years.
32.3 Format, indexes, ancillaries.

SCOPE

32.10 Basic criteria.
32.11 Sources.

OFFICIAL DISTRIBUTION

32.15 The Congress.
32.16 The Supreme Court.
32.17 Executive agencies.
32.18 Governmental requisitions.
32.19 Extra copies.

PUBLIC SALE

32.22 Sale of annual volumes.

AUTHORITY: The provisions of this Part 32 issued under 44 U.S.C. 1506. Sec. 6, E.O. 10530, 19 F.R. 2709; 3 CFR 1954–58 Comp.

SUBPART A—ANNUAL VOLUMES

PUBLICATION AND FORMAT

§ 32.1 *Publication required.* There shall be published forthwith at the end of each calendar year, a special edition of the FEDERAL REGISTER designated "Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States." Ordinarily each volume shall cover one calendar year and shall be identified further by the name of the President and the period covered.

NOTE: This program started with the year 1957.

§ 32.2 *Coverage of prior years.* After conferring with the National Historical Publications Commission with respect to the need therefor, the Administrative Committee may from time to time authorize the publication of similar volumes covering specified calendar years prior to 1957.

NOTE: The Committee has approved the publication of volumes starting with the year 1929.

§ 32.3 *Format, indexes, ancillaries.* Each annual volume, divided into books whenever appropriate, shall be separately published in the binding and style deemed by the Administrative Committee to be suitable to the dignity of the office of President of the United States. Each volume shall be appropriately indexed and shall contain appropriate ancillary information respecting significant Presidential documents not published in full text.

SCOPE

§ 32.10 *Basic criteria.* The basic text of the volumes shall consist of oral utterances by the President or of writings subscribed by him.

§ 32.11 *Sources.* (a) The basic text of the volumes shall be selected from: (1) Communications to the Congress, (2) public addresses, (3) transcripts of press conferences, (4) public letters, (5) messages to heads of state, (6) statements released on miscellaneous subjects, and (7) formal executive documents promulgated in accordance with law.

(b) In general, ancillary text, notes, and tables shall be derived from official sources.

OFFICIAL DISTRIBUTION

§ 32.15 *The Congress.* Each Member of the Congress, during his term of office, shall be entitled to one copy of each annual volume published during such term. Authorization for furnishing such copies shall be submitted in

writing to the Director and signed by the authorizing Member.

§ 32.16 *The Supreme Court.* The Supreme Court of the United States shall be entitled to 12 copies of the annual volumes.

§ 32.17 *Executive agencies.* The head of each department and the head of each independent agency in the executive branch of the Government shall be entitled to one copy of each annual volume upon application therefor in writing to the Director.

§ 32.18 *Governmental requisitions.* Legislative, judicial, and executive agencies of the Federal Government may obtain, at cost, copies of the annual volumes for official use upon the timely submission to the Government Printing Office of a printing and binding requisition (Standard Form 1).

§ 32.19 *Extra copies.* All requests for extra copies of the annual volumes must be addressed to the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402. Extra copies must be paid for by the agency or official requesting them.

Public Sale

§ 32.22 *Sale of annual volumes.* The annual volumes shall be placed on sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402, at prices determined by him under the general direction of the Administrative Committee.

INDEX

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

ABC (American Broadcasting Company), 6, 110, 244
ABM (antiballistic missile) systems, 75 (pp. 310, 311, 313, 314, 322–324), 175, 182, 189 [5], 250 [5], 352 ftn. (p. 1093)
Abortion policies, military base hospitals, 127
Abrams, Gen. Creighton W., Jr., 61 [4, 17], 88 [1, 11], 110 [5], 356 [7, 19]
Accelerated public works bill, veto, 214, 222
Accidents
  Air, 108
  Highways, 63, 108, 315
  Occupational, 63, 363, 364, 375
  Ship, 29
ACE (Active Corps of Executives), 112
Acheson, Dean, 168 n., 331
ACTION, 378
  Director (Joseph H. Blatchford), 112 n.
  Establishment, 112
  Peace Corps. *See* Peace Corps
  VISTA. *See* VISTA
Actors Guild, Screen, 183 ftn. (p. 677)
Adams, Abigail, 77
Adams, Mrs. Arthur, 77
Adams, John, 77, 93, 193, 221, 292 [6]
Adams, John Quincy, 77
Adams, John Quincy (President), 77, 105
Adams, Louisa Johnson, 77
Addresses and remarks
  AFL–CIO
    Convention, 363, 364
    Pay Board, participation, 329
  Agriculture, Department of, resignation of Clifford M. Hardin and nomination of Earl L. Butz as Secretary, 354
  Air Force Museum dedication, 282
  Ambassador at Large, swearing-in ceremony, 56
  American College of Cardiology, 42
Addresses and remarks—Continued
  American Committee on Italian Migration, 198
  American Legion, 59
  American Medical Association, 206
  American National Red Cross, 173
  American Revolution Bicentennial era, 220
  American Society of Newspaper Editors, panel interview, 144
  Associated Councils of the Arts, 183
  Associated Milk Producers, Inc., 284
  Atlantic City, N.J., arrival remarks, 205
  Atomic Energy Commission's Hanford works, 305
  Austin, Tex., arrival remarks, 178
  Bangor, Maine, arrival remarks, 261
  Birmingham, Ala., 181, 182
  Bombing in U.S. Capitol, 80
  Camp Pendleton, Calif., transfer of recreational lands, 121
  Cancer research center, Fort Detrick, Md., dedication, 334
  Canton, Ohio, arrival remarks, 242
  Chamber of Commerce, United States, 151
  Chiefs of Mission of the Americas, 131
  China, People's Republic of, announcement of President's visit, 231
  Congress, joint session
    Economic stabilization, 287
    State of the Union message, 26
  Constitution, U.S., 26th Amendment, certification ceremony, 221
  "Conversation with the President," television interviews, 6, 110
  Cost of Living Council, meeting, 357
  Council on International Economic Policy, Executive Director, appointment, 19
  Daughters of the American Revolution, 147

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

Addresses and remarks—Continued
Distinguished Service Medal, presentation ceremony, 388
Domestic policy briefings
Birmingham, Ala., 182
Des Moines, Iowa, 81
Kansas City, Mo., 222
Portland, Oreg., 303
Rochester, N.Y., 204
Drug abuse prevention and control, 202
Drug education seminar, telephone remarks, 321
Economic Club of Detroit, question-and-answer session, 297
Economic stabilization, addresses to the Nation, 264, 287, 325
Eisenhower, Dwight D., National Republican Center, dedication, 13
Eisenhower, Mrs. Dwight D., 75th birthday, 311
Eisenhower Memorial Hospital, dedication, 374
Energy resources, message to Congress, 194
Executive branch reorganization, 115
Farm media representatives, 81
FBI National Academy, graduation, 218
Foreign leaders, visits with
Australia, Prime Minister William McMahon, 345, 346
Brazil, President Emílio Garrastazú Médici, 382, 383
France, President Georges Pompidou, 394, 395, 397
Germany, Federal Republic of, Chancellor Willy Brandt, 416
India, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, 348, 349
Ireland, Prime Minister John M. Lynch, 101
Italy, Prime Minister Emilio Colombo, 62, 66
Japan
Emperor Hirohito, 309
Minister for Foreign Affairs Takeo Fukuda and Japanese Cabinet members, 289
Portugal, Prime Minister Marcello Caetano, 394
Saudi Arabia, King Faisal, 186
Addresses and remarks—Continued
Foreign leaders, visits with—Con.
Spain, Prince Juan Carlos, 28, 30
United Kingdom, Prime Minister Edward Heath, 403, 404
Yugoslavia, President Josip Broz Tito, 340, 342
Foreign policy report, radio address, 73
Freedoms Foundation, 52
Gateway National Recreation Area, 162
German correspondents, 417
Gifford, Frank, television interview, 244
Girls Nation, 255
Graham, Billy, ceremonies honoring, 333
Greenbriar Nursing Home, Nashua, N.H., 260
Hovde, Dr. Frederick L., retirement dinner, 209
Idaho Falls, Idaho, 272
Illinois State Fair, 270
Inauguration, second anniversary, White House staff, 21
International Monetary Fund and International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 316
International Telecommunications Satellite Consortium (INTELSAT), plenipotentiary conference, 177
Iowa State legislature, 79
Johnson, Lyndon Baines, Library, dedication, 179
Kalispell, Mont., arrival remarks, 299
Knights of Columbus, 268
Labor Day, address to the Nation, 285
Legislation. *See* Legislation, remarks or statements on approval
Loma Linda University, 275
Manchester, N.H., arrival remarks, 257
McClellan-Kerr Arkansas River Navigation System, 196
Monetary agreements following the Group of Ten meeting, 401
Mountain State Forest Festival, 326
NASA Distinguished Service Medal, presentation ceremony, 82
Nashua, N.H., 258
National Association of Manufacturers, 341

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

Addresses and remarks—Continued
National Cancer Program, 163
National Conference on Corrections, 381
National Conference on the Judiciary, 93
National Explorer Presidents' Congress, 193
National Federation of Republican Women, 338
National 4–H Congress, 378
National Governors' Conference, 71
National Industrial Pollution Control Council and subcouncils, 53
National League of Families of American Prisoners and Missing in Southeast Asia, 313
National Medal of Science, presentation ceremony, 176
National Prayer Breakfast, 38
National Retired Teachers Association and American Association of Retired Persons, 210
Naval Officer Candidate School, Newport, R.I., graduation exercises, 98
Nebraska, University of, convocation, 12
News conferences. *See* News conferences
Nixon, Hannah Milhous, birthplace, plaque dedication, 208
Opium poppies, Turkish ban, 215
Portland, Oreg., 301, 303
Portrait unveilings
Cannon, Repr. Clarence A., 240
Hébert, Repr. F. Edward, 330
Taber, Repr. John, 240
Portraits, John Quincy and Louisa Adams, presentation ceremony, 77
Presidential Medal of Freedom, presentation ceremonies, 118, 191, 314
Presidential Unit Citation, presentation ceremony, 155
President's annual physical examination, exchange with reporters, 412
President's Council and the Conference on Physical Fitness and Sports, 67
Professional Football Hall of Fame, annual banquet, 243
Quonset Point Naval Air Station, 96, 97
Addresses and remarks—Continued
Rathbun Dam, dedication, 245
Republican Governors Conference, 145
Rural community development, special revenue sharing, 91
Russell, Sen. Richard Brevard, death, 27
"Salute to Agriculture"
Farm leaders, 161
Radio address to the Nation, 157
"Salute to the President" dinners
Chicago, Ill., 352
New York City, 351
Seabed Arms Control Treaty, signing ceremony, 55
Special revenue sharing
Law enforcement, 83
Rural community development, 91
State of the Union message, 26
Strategic arms limitation talks, agreement, 175
Supersonic transport program, telephone call to Boeing Aircraft Company employees, 117
Supreme Court, nominations of Associate Justices, 337
Surcharge on imports, removal, 402
Swearing-in ceremonies. *See* Swearing-in ceremonies
Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway, dedication, 180
United States Coast Guard Station, Newport Beach, Calif., 279
United States Military Academy, 187, 188
Veterans Day, radio address to the Nation, 339
Veterans of Foreign Wars, 274
Vietnam conflict, address to the Nation, 135
Walla Walla, Wash., arrival remarks, 304
Washington Redskins football team, practice session, 370
Welfare reform, meeting, 126
White House Conference on Aging, 379
Wilson, Woodrow, International Center for Scholars, dedication, 65
Wyoming High School, Cincinnati, Ohio, welcoming remarks at the White House, 366

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

Addresses and remarks—Continued
Young, Whitney M., Jr., eulogy, 106
Adenauer, Konrad, 342, 349
Administration, achievements and disappointments, 6 [1, 2]
Administrative Conference of the United States, Chairman (Roger C. Cramp-ton), 72
Adoption incentives, handicapped children, 33 (p. 90)
Advertising Council, Inc., 206
Aeronautics. *See* Aircraft and aviation; Space program
Aerospace industry, 114, 117, 144 [16], 156 [1], 165, 227, 246
AFL–CIO, 328 [10], 329, 363, 364
Africa
Foreign policy report, 75 (pp. 281–283, 297)
Remarks about, 73 (p. 215)
Narcotics and drugs, 189 ftn. (p. 688)
African Development Bank, 75 (p. 298), 148
African Unity, Organization of, 236
Aging. *See* Older persons
Aging, Administration on, 359 n., 379
Commissioner, 210 ftn. (p. 780), 359 n., 379 n.
Aging, White House Conference on, 210, 259, 379, 384
Agnew, Spiro T. (Vice President), 32, 50 n., 75 (pp. 270, 341), 76, 79, 82, 110 [17], 134, 144 [14, 17, 18], 145, 153 n., 154 [3], 179, 287, 289, 352, 363, 374
Agnew, Mrs. Spiro T., 289 n., 374
Agricultural Act of 1970, 78, 235, 290, 354, 355 n.
Agricultural Research Service, 157
Agricultural Service, Foreign, 157
Agriculture, Department of, 79, 158, 161 n.
See also specific constituent agencies
Executive branch reorganization, effect, 116
Secretary
Butz, Earl L., 380, 399
Hardin, Clifford M., 18, 22 n., 26 n. (p. 58), 81, 91 n., 92, 161, 174, 208, 209, 216 ftn. (p. 790), 284, 322, 354, 355
Agriculture, House Committee on, 123
Agriculture and agricultural programs
See also Rural areas
Address to the Nation, 157
Associated Milk Producers, Inc., remarks, 284
Chemicals, use of, 176
Developing nations, 60, 148, 161
Economic stabilization program, 287, 341, 347, 355 n.
Exports, 75 (pp. 232, 240, 300, 301), 81, 92, 157, 161, 211, 271, 284, 354, 355 n.
Farm media representatives, domestic policy briefing, 81
Income, 81, 157, 161, 196, 284, 380
Inflation, 157, 271, 284
Legislation, 354, 355 n.
Loans, 157, 174, 235, 355 n.
Prices, 157, 284, 380
Productivity, 79, 91, 92, 133, 157, 161, 270, 271, 284, 355 n., 378, 380
Technology, 60
Transportation disputes, effect, 303 [1, 8], 398
Aichi, Kiichi, 296
AID. *See* International Development, Agency for
Aiken, Sen. George D., 110 [11], 380
Air Force members, kidnaping in Turkey, 88 [12]
Air Force Museum, dedication, 282, 283
Air Force One, 261 ftn. (p. 882)
Air quality, 33 (p. 92), 48, 108, 195, 220, 256, 297 [3]
Aircraft, Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Seizure of, 142
Aircraft and aviation
Accidents, 108
Aeronautics and space activities, report, 40
Air Force Museum, 282, 283
Airports, 108, 371
Commercial aviation, 117
Hijackings, 7, 29, 33 (p. 91), 75 (p. 336), 142, 295
Lockheed Aircraft Corporation, 237, 246
Pollution problems, 48, 53, 108
Statistics, 108

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

Aircraft and aviation—Continued
Supersonic transport program, 114, 117, 156 [8], 165, 308
Tax, 108
Airport and Airway Trust Fund, 108
Alabama
Gov. George C. Wallace, 180, 181
Visit to, 180–182
Alabama, University of, 180 ftn. (p. 658)
Alaska
Economic development, 48, 130
Energy resources development, 195
Environmental protection, 308
Nuclear weapons testing, 292 [5], 303 [4], 352 ftn. (p. 1093)
Oil resources, 48, 130
Trans-Alaskan pipeline, 308
Visit to, 309, 310
Wilderness areas, proposed, 153
Alaska, University of, 308
Alaska Federation of Natives, 130
Alaska Natives Claims Act, proposed, 29
Alaska Natives, 29, 33 (p. 90), 130, 308
Albert, Carl (Speaker of the House of Representatives), 26 (p. 50), 38, 42, 50, 153, 156 [4], 196, 220, 240, 247, 255, 257, 287, 330, 396 n.
Albertazzie, Col. Ralph, 326
Alcoholism, 33 (p. 90), 63, 361, 375
Aleutian Islands National Wildlife Refuge, Alaska, 153
Allen, George, 244, 297 [1], 370
Allen, Sen. James B., 180
Allende Gossens, Salvador (President of Chile), 6 ftn. (p. 12), 144 [13]
Alliance for Progress, 75 (pp. 244, 245, 299), 265
All-volunteer armed force, 7, 31, 33 (p. 88), 312, 378
Amchitka, Alaska, 303 [4], 352 ftn. (p. 1093)
Amendment, Constitutional, 26th, 219, 221
American Association of Retired Persons, 210, 259, 260
American Bar Association, 93, 337, 338, 367
American Bar Foundation, 37
American Broadcasting Company (ABC), 6, 110, 244
American Cancer Society, 408
American College of Cardiology, 42
American College of Trial Lawyers, 337
American Committee on Italian Migration, 198
American Common Market, Central, 75 (p. 245)
American Gas Association, 307
American Institute of Architects, 297 [7]
American Judicature Society, 93 n.
American Legion, 59, 261
American Legion Auxiliary, 255 n.
American Medical Association, 206
American National Red Cross, 85, 87, 167, 173, 230
American Prisoners and Missing in Southeast Asia, National League of Families of, 313
American Revolution, Daughters of the, 147, 151
American Revolution Bicentennial, 132, 166, 220, 222, 257, 261 ftn. (p. 882), 351, 352
American Revolution Bicentennial Commission, 220
American selling price system, 7
American Society of Newspaper Editors, 144, 204
American States, Organization of. *See* Organization of American States
American Women in Radio and Television, 311 n.
Amnesty for draft evaders, 356 [14]
Anchorage, Alaska, 308 n., 309, 310 n.
Anders, William A., 82
Anderson, Chuck, 304 ftn. (p. 997)
Anderson, Robert O., 183
Andrews Air Force Base, Md., 261 ftn. (p. 882), 397
Andrus, Gov. Cecil, 272
Antarctic Treaty, 234
Antiballistic missile (ABM) systems, 75 (pp. 310, 311, 313, 314, 322–324), 175, 182, 189 [5], 250 [5], 352 ftn. (p. 1093)
ANZUS treaty, 75 (p. 273), 345, 346
Apollo 14, 35, 36, 44, 51, 82
Apollo 15, 238, 242, 245, 262
Appalachian Regional Commission, 92, 214, 253
Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965, 214, 253

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

Appointments and nominations
See also Appendixes A and B, pp. 1219–1246 and 1247–1268
Agriculture, Secretary of, 354
Atomic Energy Commission, Chairman and members, 233 n.
Council on International Economic Policy, Executive Director, 19
Health, Education, and Welfare, Department of, Deputy Under Secretary for Welfare Reform, 291
Supreme Court, associate justices, 337, 391
Treasurer of the United States, 294
U.S. Delegation to the Paris peace talks, Head, 239 n.
Appropriations, House Committee on, 164, 183, 240
Appropriations, Senate Committee on, 24 n., 110 [11], 164, 183
Appropriations bills, 110 [11, 13], 250 [11]
Cancer program, 185
Emergency Employment Act of 1971, 263
Military, 360
Office of Education, 226
World War II documents, declassification, 247
Arab nations. *See* Middle East
Arches National Monument, Utah, 153
Architects, American Institute of, 297 [7]
Archives and Records Service, National, 220 n., 222, 247, 257, 333
Arends, Repr. Leslie C., 312, 330
Arizona, drug control programs, 206
Arkansas, Gov. Dale Bumpers, 196
Arkansas River Navigation System, McClellan-Kerr, 196
Arlington National Cemetery, 353
Armed Forces, U.S., 154 [14], 182, 268, 274
Abortion policy at base hospitals, 127
All-volunteer armed force, 7, 31, 33 (p. 88), 312, 378
Asia, 75 (pp. 270, 317)
Awards and citations. *See* Awards and citations
China, Republic of, 73 (p. 216), 75 (p. 277), 88 [8]
Christmas message, 411
Armed Forces, U.S.—Continued
Combined Federal Campaign, 230
Draft. *See* Selective Service System
Drug addiction, 189 [3], 203, 204, 321
Enlistments, increase, 31
Europe, 73 (p. 215), 75 (pp. 227, 231, 236, 316, 344), 168, 189 [1], 368, 415, 416
Incentive awards program, 386
Japan, 73 (p. 215), 75 (pp. 226, 270, 275)
Kidnaping of U.S. airmen in Turkey, 88 [12]
Korea, Republic of, 73 (p. 215), 75 (pp. 223, 226, 270, 271), 144 [3], 148, 154 [9], 182
MEDIHC, 63
Mediterranean area, 75 (p. 227)
Military appropriations authorization bill, 360
Military justice system, 154 [6], 156 [12]
Okinawa, 75 (pp. 226, 270, 275), 296
Pay increases, 7, 31, 312, 407
Philippines, 73 (p. 215), 75 (p. 226), 182
Project Volunteer, 31
Recruitment, 31
Reductions, 148, 156 [1], 168, 182, 222, 303 [12]
Unemployment, effect, 250 [8, 13], 264, 284, 287, 304
Thailand, 73 (p. 215), 75 (pp. 226, 270), 144 [9], 182
Thanksgiving Day message, 373
Tomb of the Unknowns, 353
Veterans. *See* Veterans
Vietnam. *See under* Vietnam conflict
War crimes, 135, 144 [5], 154 [6, 13], 156 [12]
Armed Services, House Committee on, 121, 330
Armed Services, Senate Committee on, 24 n., 110 [11], 121, 330, 368
Arms control and disarmament, 6 [13], 55, 59, 73 (pp. 214, 215, 217), 75 (pp. 304, 309, 314, 326), 100, 134, 176, 177, 180, 182, 187, 189 [2], 204, 222, 234, 328 [4], 330, 339, 343, 351, 352, 356, [15], 378

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, United States, annual report, 100
Arms control treaty, seabed, 55, 73 (p. 217), 75 (pp. 307, 320), 100, 134, 234, 328 [5] 339
Armstrong, Louis, death, 223
Armstrong, Neil A., 82
Army, Department of the, 158
  Secretary (Robert F. Froehlke), 20, 144 [5]
  Surveillance activities at Democratic National Convention, 144 [19], 156 [6]
Army Corps of Engineers, 116, 196, 245
Art, National Gallery of, 179 n.
Arts, Associated Councils of the, 183
Arts, Business Committee for the, 183 n.
Arts, John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing, 366
Arts, National Council on the, 140, 183
Arts, National Endowment for the, 140, 183, 184
Arts and the Humanities, National Foundation on the, 33 (p. 93), 45
ARVN. *See under* Vietnam, Republic of
Ash, Roy L. (Chairman, President's Advisory Council on Executive Organization), 54 ftn. (p. 148)
Ash Council. *See* Executive Organization, President's Advisory Council on
Asia
  See also specific country
  Communism, 75 (p. 269)
  Conference on Vietnam conflict, proposed, 250 [3]
  Defense, 75 (pp. 270, 271, 273, 316, 317), 148, 264, 296
  Djakarta Conference of Foreign Ministers, 75 (p. 273)
  Economic growth, 75 (p. 269), 284, 401
  Illicit drug traffic, control, 203
  Multilateral aid, 29
  Nixon Doctrine, 75 (pp. 268, 270, 271, 280)
  President's visit, possibility, 189 [11]
  Trips
    Secretary of the Treasury, 357
    Vice President, 75 (p. 270)
Asia—Continued
  U.S. assistance, 75 (pp. 280, 297), 148, 264
  U.S. policy, 61, 73 (p. 215), 75 (pp. 268, 272, 279), 144 [7, 10], 378, 404
Asian Development Bank, 75 (pp. 273, 280, 298, 299), 148
  U.S. contributions, 29
Asian and Pacific Council (ASPAC), 75 (p. 274)
Asian Relief Assistance, Advisory Panel on South, 318 n.
Askew, Gov. Reubin, 180, 181
Associated Milk Producers, Inc., 284
Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), 75 (p. 274)
Astronauts. *See* Space program
Athletic Association, National Collegiate, 136
Atlanta, Ga., 27
Atlantic Alliance. *See* North Atlantic Treaty Organization
Atlantic City, N.J., 205, 206
Atmospheric Administration, National Oceanic and, 116, 134
Atmospheric Research Program, Global, 143
Atomic Energy, Joint Committee on, 75 (p. 340)
Atomic Energy Agency, International, 75 (p. 340)
Atomic Energy Commission
  Appointments to, 233 n.
  Chairman
    Glenn T. Seaborg, 194, 233
    James R. Schlesinger, 233 n., 303 [6], 305
  Executive branch reorganization, proposed, 116
  Hanford works, 305, 307 n.
  Liquid metal fast breeder reactor, 195, 305–307
  Nuclear powerplant, license fees, 29
  Uranium stock, 195
Attica State Correctional Facility, 292 [7]
Attorney General. *See* Justice, Department of
Auchincloss, James C., 13
Austin, Tex., 178, 179

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

Australia
Asian policy, 75 (p. 273), 346 n.
Assistance to
Khmer Republic, 75 (p. 266)
Republic of Vietnam, 75 (p. 256)
Prime Minister William McMahon, 345, 346
U.S. relations, 346
Automobiles. *See* Motor vehicles
Aviation. *See* Aircraft and aviation
Aviation, Convention on International Civil, protocol 317
Aviation Organization, International Civil, 75 (p. 336), 142, 295, 317
Awards and citations
See also Appendix E, pp. 1277, 1278
American Legion Distinguished Service Medal for 1969, 59
Distinguished Service Medal, 388
Federal Civilian Service Awards, 158
NASA Distinguished Service Medal, 82
National Medal of Science, 176
Presidential Medal of Freedom, 118, 191, 314
Presidential Unit Citation, 155
Aymond, A. H., 297 [2]
Azores, visit to, 394–397

Bacteriological weapons. *See* Weapons
Bailey, Charles W., 2d, 88 [6], 154 [17], 250 [3], 292 [2], 356 [5]
Bal Harbour, Fla., 363
Balance of payments, 10, 75 (pp. 294, 295), 81, 211, 250 [9], 264, 284, 287, 297 [6], 377, 396, 401 ftn. (p. 1196)
Ball, Deborah, 378 n.
Ball, George W., 168 n.
Ballard, John S., 242 ftn. (p. 833)
Baltimore Orioles (baseball team), 334
Bangor, Maine, 261, 262 n.
Banking and Currency, House Committee on, 347
Banks. *See specific institutions*
Banuelos, Romana A., 294
Bar Association, American, 93, 337, 337 n., 338, 367
Barber, Anthony (Chancellor of the Exchequer of the United Kingdom), 402 n.
Barry, John, 101
Bartlett, Dewey F., 196
Baseball, 330, 333, 334, 370
1971 season opening, 128
Baunsgaard, Hilmar (Prime Minister of Denmark), 75 (p. 230)
Beall, Sen. J. Glenn, Jr., 334
Belcher, Repr. Page, 196
Belgium, Group of Ten monetary agreement, 401 n.
Bellmon, Sen. Henry L., 174 n., 196
Benedict, Brigade Adj. Calvert P., Jr., 188
Bennett, Sen. Wallace F., 292 [10]
Benson, Ezra Taft, 354
Bergsten, C. Fred, 148 n.
Bergstrom Air Force Base, 178 n.
Berlin
Negotiations, 75 (pp. 237, 239, 305, 306), 189 [2], 204, 222, 250 [4], 328 [5], 368
Quadripartite agreement, 339, 415
Berlin, Seymour S., 39 n.
Bermuda, visit to, 402–405
Bethesda Naval Medical Center, Md., 412 n.
Beveridge, Albert J., 179
Beverly Hills, Calif., 118 n.
Bicentennial of American independence, 132, 166, 220, 222, 257, 261 ftn. (p. 882), 351, 352
Bicentennial Commission, American Revolution, 220
Bicentennial Development Corporation, Federal City, 7, 29, 132
Big Cypress Swamp, Fla., 371
Bill of Rights, 220
Bill signings. *See* Legislation, approval
Binh, Madame Nguyen Thi. *See* Nguyen Thi Binh, Madame
Biological and chemical weapons. *See* Weapons
Biomedical research, 164
Birmingham, Ala., 181, 182, 189 [12]
Mayor George Seibels, 181
Biscayne National Monument, Fla., 371
Black, George, 379
Black, Justice Hugo L., 297 ftn. (p. 976), 298, 337, 391
Black Jack, Mo., 61 [9]
Blackmun, Justice Harry A., 56, 57, 297 [14], 303 [9], 337, 338, 380

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

Blacks
See also Desegregation *and* Discrimination
Administration, relations with, 156 [13], 172
Business enterprise, 29, 156 [13], 297 [9], 332
Colleges, 69
Congressmen, 61 [6], 113, 172, 204
Equal opportunity, 26 (p. 57), 156 [13], 172, 199
Narcotics and drugs, 204
Sickle cell anemia, 33 (p. 90), 63
Vice presidential candidate, possibility, 292 [12]
Blatchford, Joseph H.
ACTION, Director, 112 n.
Peace Corps, Director, 12
Bledsoe, Stewart, 304
Blount, Winton M. (Postmaster General), 180, 181
Boeing Aircraft Company, 117 n.
Boggs, Repr. Hale, 396 n.
Boldt, George H. (Chairman, Pay Board), 325 n., 357
Bolger, Ray, 311
Bombings and bomb threats, U.S. Capitol, 80
Borlaug, Dr. Norman E., 161, 176
Borman, Frank, 82
Bornemeier, Dr. Walter C., 206
Boston, Mass., 288 n.
Boundary treaty between U.S. and Mexico, 75 (p. 243), 149
Boundary and Water Commission, United States and Mexico, International, 149
Bow, Repr. Frank T., 240, 242, 243
Boy Scouts of America, 193 n.
Boyd, Virgil E., 297 [3]
Boys' Clubs of America, 257
Brandeis, Justice Louis D., 297 [14]
Brandt, Willy (Chancellor of Federal Republic of Germany), 75 (pp. 230, 237, 239), 415–417
Brauer, Fred G., 176 n.
Brauer, Richard D., 176 n.
Brazil
Child nutrition programs, 60
Consultations concerning President's trips to Moscow and Peking, 382
Brazil—Continued
Economy, 75 (p. 242), 382, 383 n.
President Emílio Garrastazú Médici, 382, 383, 394
Trade with U.S., 124
U.S. relations, 382, 383
Breton National Wildlife Refuge, La., 153
Bretton Woods Conference (1944), 401
Brezhnev, Leonid I. (General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), 189 [1], 303 [3], 328 [7, 13]
Bridges, Harry, 303 [1, 5, 8]
Broadcasting, Corporation for Public, 72, 159
Brooke, Sen. Edward W., 61, 292 [12]
Brooker, Robert E. (Chairman, National Business Council for Consumer Affairs), 252
Brookhaven National Laboratory, N.Y., 335
Brooks, Mary T. (Director, Bureau of the Mint), 13 ftn. (p. 35)
Brosio, Manlio (Secretary General of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization), 75 (pp. 230, 234), 168 n., 314, 368
Brotherhood of Railway Signalmen, 169
Brown, Repr. Clarence F., 282
Brown, Edmund G., 15
Brown, Jim, 243, 244
Brown, John, 220
Brown, Larry, 370
Brown, Winthrop G., 139 n.
Brownlow, Louis, 116 ftn. (p. 475)
Broyhill, Repr. Joel T., 362 n.
Broz, Josip. *See* Tito, Josip Broz
Broz, Madam Josip, 340, 342, 343
Bruce, David K. E. (Head, U.S. Delegation to Paris peace talks), 75 (p. 262), 154 [5], 189 [9], 250 [6]
Resignation, 239
Bryan, William Jennings, 284
Bryant, Anita, 196
Bryant, Paul (Bear), 180
Buchanan, Repr. John, 181
Buckley, Sen. James L., 351

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

Budget
Balance, 10, 26 (p. 52), 287, 297 [8]
Deficit, 6 [3, 6], 33 (pp. 81, 82), 37 (p. 99), 297 [8]
District of Columbia, 132, 146
Economic Report to Congress, 37
Full employment policy, 6 [3, 6], 10, 26 (p. 52), 33 (pp. 80, 81), 37 (pp. 99, 100), 297 [8]
Message to Congress, fiscal 1972, 33
Reform of process, 33 (p. 87)
Budget, Office of Management and, 39, 89, 90, 115, 116, 126, 132 n., 148 n., 158 n., 172, 174, 199, 250 [9], 290 n., 291, 325 n., 361 n., 387 n.
Director (George P. Shultz), 18, 19 n., 46 n., 81 ftn. (p. 362), 156 [1, 7], 172, 172 n., 222 ftn. (p. 804), 247, 260, 264 n., 286, 329
Bumpers, Gov. Dale, 196
Bunche, Dr. Ralph J., 319
Death, 385
Bunker, Ellsworth P. (U.S. Ambassador to the Republic of Vietnam), 56, 250 [7], 292 [6]
Burbank, Calif., 231 n.
Burden sharing, defense, 73 (p. 215), 75 (pp. 223, 226, 234, 236, 241, 315), 148, 264, 292 [11], 297 [16], 316, 352, 368, 415
Bureaus. *See other part of title*
Burgener, Clair, 358 n.
Burger, Warren E. (Chief Justice of the United States), 93, 220, 297 [14], 303 [9], 337, 338
Burns, Dr. Arthur F. (Chairman, Federal Reserve System Board of Governors and Chairman, Committee on Interest and Dividends), 6 [3, 5], 250 [9, 11–13], 325, 357
Burrell, Berkeley G., 332 n.
Burros and wild horses, protection, 399
Bush, George H. (U.S. Representative to the United Nations), 76, 178, 197 n., 286, 292 [2]
Bush, Mrs. George H., 76
Business
See also Industry
Agriculture, 79
Chamber of Commerce, United States, remarks, 151
Business—Continued
Consumer interests. *See* Consumer interests
Economic stabilization program. *See* Economic stabilization program
Emergency Loan Guarantee Act, 237, 246
Employment. *See* Employment and unemployment
Foreign assistance reform, consultations with Administration, 148
Legislation, 29, 72, 237, 246
Minority enterprise, 29, 156 [13], 297 [9], 332
Profits, 297 [4, 5], 325, 379
Small, 29, 112, 332
Taxation, 10, 156 [3], 264, 287, 297 [19]
West coast dock strike, effect, 303 [1]
White House conference on future of, 138
Business Committee for the Arts, Inc., 183 n.
Business Council for Consumer Affairs, National, 72, 252
Business Enterprise, Inter-Agency Committee on Minority, 332
Business Taxation, Task Force on, 10
Businessmen, National Alliance of, 190, 200
Busing, school, 154 [7], 249, 297 [9]
Butler, Lewis H., 63 n.
Butz, Earl L. (Secretary of Agriculture), 354, 380
Butz, Mrs. Earl L., 354, 380
"Buyer's Bill of Rights," 72
Byrd, Sen. Harry Flood, Jr., 93
Byrd, Sen. Robert C., 326, 328 [12]
Byrnes, Repr. John W., 94, 123 n., 170
Byron, Repr. Goodloe E., 334

Cabinet Committee on International Narcotics Control, 286
Caetano, Marcello (Prime Minister of Portugal), 394
Cahill, Gov. William T., 162 n., 205, 351
Cahn, Robert, 256 n.
California
Defense industry, 156 [8, 11], 246
Earthquake, 173, 275, 276
Gov. Ronald Reagan, 126, 145, 275, 352, 374

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

California—Continued
Unemployment, 6 [3, 8], 144, 156, 182, 227
Visits to, 155, 275, 279, 374, 375
Welfare system, 126, 145
Western White House. *See* San Clemente
Wilderness areas, 153
California, University of, at Berkeley, 233 n.
Calio, Anthony J., 82
Callaway, Howard H., 52
Calley, 1st Lt. William L., Jr., 144 [5], 154 [6, 13], 156 [12]
Cambodia. *See* Khmer Republic
Camp David, Md., 285 n., 339 n.
Camp Pendleton, Calif., 121, 122, 155
Campaign. *See* Elections
Campus unrest, 6 [2], 378
Canada
Consultations concerning President's trips to Moscow and Peking, 382
Environmental protection, 48, 256
Exchange rate, 75 (p. 295)
Group of Ten monetary agreement, 401 n.
Immigration policy, U.S., 29
Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau, 292 [7], 394
Trade with U.S., 75 (p. 300), 195
U.S. relations, 48, 131
Wage-price guidelines, effectiveness, 250 [12]
Wheat trade, 192
Cancer
Federal spending, 26 (p. 53), 33 (p. 90), 63, 163, 164, 224, 335, 408, 409
International cooperation, 334
Legislation, 164, 185, 224, 408, 409, 412
National Cancer Act of 1971, 224, 408, 409
Research, 26 (p. 53), 33 (p. 90), 42, 63, 163, 164, 185, 224, 334, 335, 375, 408, 409
Statistics, 164
Cancer, Advisory Committee on the Conquest of, 63
Cancer Advisory Board, National, 409
Cancer Institute, National, 335, 409
Cancer Panel, President's, 408 n., 409
Cancer Society, American, 408
Caneel Bay, St. John, Virgin Islands, 35 n., 36 n.
Cannon, Repr. Clarence A., 240
Canton, Ohio, 242–244
Cao Van Vien, General, 356 [19]
Capitol, U.S., bombing, 80
Capitol Reef National Monument, Utah, 153
Cardiology, American College of, 42
Caribbean Free Trade Association, 75 (p. 245)
Carlucci, Frank C. (Director, Office of Economic Opportunity), 137 n., 159 n., 325, 387 n.
Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, 63
Cascade Improvement Program, 195
Case, Sen. Clifford P., 205
Castro Ruz, Fidel (Prime Minister of Cuba), 144 [13]
CBS (Columbia Broadcasting System), 6, 156 [5]
Ceausescu, Nicolae (President of Romania), 75 (p. 240)
Cedar Breaks National Monument, Utah, 153
Celler, Repr. Emanuel, 156 [6]
Census, Bureau of the, 284, 358
Centerville, Iowa, 245
Central American Common Market, 75 (p. 245)
Central Intelligence Agency, Director (Richard Helms), 286
Cernan, Capt. Eugene A., 82
Chaco Canyon National Monument, N. Mex., 153
Chafee, John H. (Secretary of the Navy), 388
Challenges of Modern Society, Committee on the, 48, 75 (pp. 233, 332), 256
Chamber of Commerce, United States, 151
Chamie, Alfred P., 59
Chamisso National Wildlife Refuge, Alaska, 153
Chancellor, John, 6 [1, 4, 6, 10, 12, 16, 20, 24]
Chandler, Otis, 144 [8, 15, 18]

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

Chapman, Gen. Leonard F., Jr. (Commandant, United States Marine Corps), 155, 388
Chapman, Mrs. Leonard F., Jr., 388
Charles III, King, 30 n.
Charlotte, N.C., 333
Chemical weapons. *See* Weapons
Chiang Kai-shek, Madame, 255
Chicago, Ill., 210, 284, 352, 378
  Dock strike, 372
  Mayor Richard J. Daley, 284
Chicago Bears (football team), 412 ftn. (p. 1210)
Chief Justice of the United States (Warren E. Burger), 38, 297 [14]
Children
  Adoption incentives for handicapped, 33 (p. 90)
  Day care centers, 170, 387, 414
  Development programs, 387
  Education. *See* Education
  Federal spending, 414
  Foster Grandparent program, 112, 210, 379
  Handicapped, 33 (p. 90), 129
  Head Start, 387
  Health and medical care, 33 (p. 90), 387
  Mental retardation, 358
  Nutrition programs, 22, 387
  Poisoning, 29
  School lunch program, 23 n.
  Welfare system, effect, 129
Chile
  Ambassador to U.S., 6 [11]
  Cuba, relations with, 75 (p. 246)
  Government, 144 [13]
  President Salvador Allende Gossens, 6 ftn. (p. 12), 144 [13]
  U.S. relations, 6 [11], 75 (p. 246), 144 [13]
China, People's Republic of
  American prisoners, release, 376 n.
  Asian conference on Vietnam conflict, proposed, 250 [3]
  Asian policy, 75 (pp. 268, 272, 281)
  Chairman Mao Tse-tung, 154 [15], 297 ftn. (p. 977), 303 [3], 328 [13]
  Economy, 222, 284, 351, 352
  Internal conflict, 303 [2]
China, People's Republic of—Continued
  Minister of National Defense Lin Piao, 297 ftn. (p. 977)
  Nuclear arms capability, 75 (pp. 310, 314–316), 297 [15], 363
  Premier Chou En-lai, 231, 250 [2], 292 [9], 297 [15], 303 [3], 328 [13], 376 n.
  President's proposed visit, 154 [15], 242, 243, 245, 250 [2–4], 257, 261, 268, 272, 284, 292 [9], 297 [15], 299, 301, 303 [2, 3]–305, 326, 328 [2, 5, 6, 8, 13], 330, 333, 338, 339, 346 n., 351, 352, 356 [18], 363, 366, 368, 378, 382, 403, 404, 417
    Announcements, 231, 376
    Consultations with allies concerning trip, 328 [11, 15], 382, 383 n., 403, 404
    Purpose, 242, 245
    Relation to trip to Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, 328 [2]
  Relations with
    China, Republic of, 75 (pp. 276, 281), 154 [14]
    Pakistan, 75 (p. 280)
    Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, 75 (pp. 220, 276)
  Table tennis team, U.S., 154 [2], 182, 204
  Trade with U.S., 75 (p. 278), 139, 144 [11], 154 [2, 17], 182, 189 [15], 204, 222
  Travel restrictions, U.S., 73 (p. 215), 75 (p. 278), 139, 144 [11], 154 [2, 17], 182, 189 [15], 204, 222
  United Nations, membership question, 75 (p. 277), 88 [14], 144 [11], 154 [2, 17], 189 [15], 292 [2, 9]
  U.S. relations, 73 (p. 215), 75 (pp. 276, 277), 88 [8, 14], 139, 144 [2, 7, 11, 13, 15], 154 [2, 3, 14, 17], 182, 187, 189 [15], 204, 222, 231, 242, 243, 245, 250 [2], 292 [2, 9], 297 [15], 299, 301, 304, 305, 328 [2], 330, 338, 376
  Vietnam conflict, 61 [3], 110 [7], 292 [9], 356 [10]
  Warsaw talks, 144 [12]

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

China, Republic of
Developing nations, assistance, 75 (p. 271)
Khmer Republic, assistance to, 75 (p. 266)
Relations with People's Republic of China, 75 (pp. 276, 281), 154 [14]
United Nations membership, 88 [8], 292 [2, 9]
U.S. assistance, 75 (p. 277)
U.S. forces, 73 (p. 216), 75 (p. 277), 88 [8, 14], 154 [14], 189 [15], 292 [2]
Chou En-lai (Premier of the People's Republic of China), 231, 250 [2], 292 [9], 297 [15], 303 [3], 328 [13], 376 n.
Church, Sen. Frank, 272
Churchill, Winston, 43, 71, 77, 208, 342, 349, 380, 403, 404 n.
Cincinnati Bengals (football team), 282
Cities. *See* Urban areas
Citizens Conference on State Legislatures, 79
Civil Aviation, Convention on International, protocol, 317
Civil Aviation Organization, International, 75 (p. 336), 142, 295, 317
Civil rights, 33 (p. 91), 93, 110 [18], 154 [7], 156 [5, 6, 13], 172, 189 [10, 13], 337
See also Desegregation; Discrimination
Civil Rights, Commission on, 189 [12]
Civil Rights Act of 1964, 43, 84, 86, 89, 92, 108, 129, 199
Civil Service Commission, U.S., 191
Chairman (Robert E. Hampton), 39 n., 68, 85, 120, 281
Equal employment opportunities, 33 (p. 91)
Manpower management programs, analysis, 39
Retirement laws, 4
Training programs, 90
Civilian Service Awards, Federal, 158
Clark, Ramsey, 154 [16]
Clark, Justice Tom C., 15, 93
Classification for Industrial Designs, Locarno Agreement Establishing an International, 248
Clay, Henry, 240
Clean Air Act, 297 [3]
Clean Air Amendments of 1970, 48, 195
Cleveland, Repr. James C., 257, 260
Cleveland Browns (football team), 243
Clifford, Clark, 6 [12]
Cmich, Stanley A., 242 ftn. (p. 833)
Coal, 195
Coal gasification technology, 307
Coal mine health program, 369
Coast Guard, incentive awards program, 386
Coffee Agreement, International, 124
Coffey, Lt. Col. Vernon, 197 n.
Cogo, Rev. Joseph A., 198
Cohn, Samuel M., 158
Colbert, Vice Adm. Richard G., 98
Colleges and universities
Black colleges, 69
District of Columbia, 8, 132, 146
Federal aid, 26 (p. 53), 63, 226
Law enforcement personnel, continuing education programs, 84
Medical schools, 26 (p. 53), 63, 276, 361
Message to Congress, 69
Relationship with Federal Government, 69
Science education, 103
Students, 6 [2], 69, 144 [15]
Violence, 6 [2]
Voluntary service programs, 112
Collegiate Athletic Association, National, 136
Colombia, Pan American Highway, 160
Colombo, Emilio (Prime Minister of Italy), 62, 66
Colorado, McClellan-Kerr Arkansas River Navigation Project, 196
Columbia Broadcasting System, 6, 156 [5]
Combined Federal Campaign, 85, 230
Commerce, Department of, 116
See also specific constituent agencies
Economic development programs, 33 (p. 93)
Executive branch reorganization, effect, 116
Secretary (Maurice H. Stans), 18, 26 n. (p. 58), 53, 72, 81, 91 n., 94, 138 n., 292 [8], 332, 332 n.
Commerce, Senate Committee on, 232
Commerce Commission, Interstate, 54
Commissions. *See other part of title*
Committees. *See other part of title*

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

Common Market. *See* European Economic Community
Common Market, Central American, 75 (p. 245)
Communications Commission, Federal, 54
Community development. *See* Rural areas; Urban areas
Community Development, Department of, proposed, 26 (p. 56), 33 (p. 86), 92, 116, 235, 354
Community development program, Extension Service, 245
Community Relations Service, 33 (p. 91)
Comprehensive Drug Abuse Prevention and Control Act of 1970, 203
Comsat, 177
Concorde, 394
Conference of the Committee on Disarmament (CCD), 75 (p. 320), 234
  U.S. Delegation, Head, 55 n.
Conference on the Human Environment (United Nations), 48, 75 (p. 332), 256
Conference on the Judiciary, National, 93
Conference on Physical Fitness and Sports, President's, 67, 136 n.
Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), 75 (pp. 238, 239), 328 [15], 397 n., 415
Conference on State Legislatures, Citizens, 79
Conference on Trade and Development, United Nations, 75 (p. 245)
Congo, Democratic Republic of the, 385
  President Joseph Désiré Mobutu, 75 (p. 284)
  U.S. relations, 75 (p. 284)
Congress
  See also House of Representatives; Senate
  Action on
    Federal employees pay increase, 324
    METRO, 362
    Revenue Act of 1971, 61 [15], 323
    Revenue sharing, 204
    Supersonic transport program, 117
  Bipartisan leadership, meeting with the President, 135 n., 396, n.
  Black members, 61 [6], 113, 172
Congress—Continued
  District of Columbia delegate, 113, 132, 172 ftn. (p. 641)
  Messages and letters to. *See* Congress, communications to
  Newsmen's notes and films, subpoenaing, 156 [5]
  91st, legislative record, 7
  Relations with Administration, 6 [19], 110 [11, 13]
  Republican leadership, meeting with the President, 26 n. (p. 58), 114 n.
  Surveillance of Members by the FBI, 144 [19]
  Vietnam conflict, views on, 154 [1, 11], 156 [2], 360
Congress, communications to
  See also Appendix F, pp. 1279–1281
  Aeronautics and space activities, report transmittal, 40
  Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, U.S., report transmittal, 100
  Boundary Treaty, U.S.-Mexico, transmittal to Senate, 149
  Budget message, fiscal 1972, 33
  Coal mine health program, report transmittal, 369
  Congressional Black Caucus recommendations, letter to Repr. Charles C. Diggs, 172
  Consumer protection, message, 72
  Convention on International Civil Aviation, protocol, transmittal to Senate, 317
  Convention on Psychotropic Substances, transmittal to Senate, 212
  Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Seizure of Aircraft, transmittal to Senate, 142
  Council on Environmental Quality, report transmittal, 256
  District of Columbia, messages, 132, 146
  Draft reform, message, 31
  Drug abuse prevention and control, message, 203
  Economic Report, 37
  Energy resources, message, 195
  Environmental program, message, 48

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

Congress, communications to—Con.
Executive branch reorganization, message, 116
Federal Executive Service, proposed, message, 39
Federal wage increases, message, 280
Food for Peace program, report transmittal, 211
Foreign assistance program, message, 60, 148
Foreign policy report, 74, 75
Higher education, message, 69
Highway, traffic, and motor vehicle safety programs, reports transmittal, 315
International Coffee Agreement, report transmittal, 124
International educational and cultural exchange program, report transmittal, 251
International Wheat Agreement, transmittal to Senate, 192
Juvenile delinquency, Federal activities, report transmittal, 109
Legal Services Corporation, message, 159
Legislative proposals, resubmission, message, 29
Locarno Agreement Establishing an International Classification for Industrial Designs, transmittal to Senate, 248
Manpower Report of the President, transmittal, 133
Marine resources and engineering development, report transmittal, 134
Military incentive awards program, reports transmittal, 386
Minority business enterprise, message, 332
National Endowment for the Arts and National Council on the Arts, report transmittal, 140
National Endowment for the Humanities, report transmittal, 45
National health strategy, message, 63
National housing goals, report transmittal, 213
National Science Foundation, report transmittal, 103
Congress, communications to—Con.
National wilderness areas, 14 proposals
Letter to President of the Senate and Speaker of the House of Representatives transmitting, 153
Statement on transmittal, 152
National Wilderness Preservation System, report transmittal, 254
Pension reform program, message, 384
Product safety legislation, letter to Chairman, Senate Committee on Commerce, 232
Railway-highway safety study, report transmittal, 365
Railway labor dispute, message, 169
Reorganization Plan 1 of 1971, message, 112
Revenue sharing, general
Letter to President of the Senate and Speaker of the House, 50
Message, 43
Revenue sharing, special
Education, message, 129
Law enforcement, message, 84
Manpower, message, 86
Rural community development, message, 92
Transportation, message, 108
Urban community development, message, 89
Rural areas
Government services, report transmittal, 78
Federal facilities location, report transmittal, 290
Financial assistance, report transmittal, 235
Ryukyu and Daito Islands, agreement with Japan, transmittal to Senate, 296
Seabed Arms Control Treaty, transmittal to Senate, 234
State of the Union message, 26
Trade Agreements Program, report transmittal, 377
Transportation labor disputes, message, 41
United Nations, U.S. participation, report transmittal, 295

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

Congress, communications to—Con.
U.S. forces in Europe, letter to chairman, Senate Armed Services Committee, 368
Vetoes. *See* Veto messages and memorandums of disapproval
Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties, transmittal to Senate, 367
Water pollutants control, report transmittal, 102
Welfare legislation, letter to chairman and ranking minority member, House Ways and Means Committee, 123
World War II documents, funds for declassification, letter to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, 247
World Weather Program, message, 143
Congressional Black Caucus, 172
Congressional Medal of Honor. *See* Appendix E, pp. 1277, 1278
Connally, John B. (Secretary of the Treasury), 6 [17, 19, 20], 57, 115, 156 [8], 178, 204, 237, 250 [9, 12], 264, 286, 292 [4], 316 n., 325, 328 [10], 329, 357, 379, 396 n., 397, 401, 402
Connally, Mrs. John B., 57, 178
Connecticut, Gov. Thomas J. Meskill, 351
Conquest of Cancer, Advisory Committee on the, 63
Conservation, 256
See also Wildlife; Wilderness areas
Endangered species, 75 (p. 338)
Energy, 195
International cooperation, 256
Rural areas, 92
Soil, 157
Water, 157, 371
Conservation Corps, Youth, 190
Conservation Fund, Land and Water, 33 (p. 92), 48, 122, 273
Constitution, United States, 220, 337
26th Amendment, 221, 378
Construction
Airports, 108
Costs, 37 (p. 101), 70, 119, 213
District of Columbia, 132
Federal spending, 61, 70
Health education facilities, 361
Construction—Continued
Highway, 29, 108
Housing, 6 [8], 37 (p. 99), 119, 156 [1], 199, 250 [8], 297 [1], 364
Inflation, 132, 213, 214, 364
Labor unions, 61 [11, 14]
Public-private cooperation, 70
Unemployment, 37 (p. 101), 61, 70, 119
Wage and price stabilization, 61 [11], 70, 119, 214, 250 [9]
Waste treatment facilities, 48
Workers, income, 364
Construction Industry Stabilization Committee, 119 n.
Consumer Affairs, National Business Council for, 72, 252
Consumer Affairs, Office of, 72, 252
Director, 72
Consumer Fraud Clearinghouse, 72
Consumer Fraud Prevention Act, proposed, 72
Consumer interests
Legislation, 7, 72, 232
Message to Congress, 72
Consumer Interests, President's Committee on, 72
Consumer Price Index, 6 [3], 37 (p. 98), 250 [13], 363, 406
Consumer Product Information Coordinating Center, 72
Consumer Products Test Methods Act, proposed, 72
Consumer Protection Coordinating Committees, 72
Consumer Safety Act, proposed, 232
Convention on International Civil Aviation, protocol, 317
Convention for the Prevention of Pollution of the Sea by Oil (1954), International, 48
Convention on the Prohibition of Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on Their Destruction, 328 [5], 339
Convention on Psychotropic Substances, 203, 212
Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Seizure of Aircraft, 142

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

"Conversations With the President", 6, 110
Cooke, Terence Cardinal, 268
Coolidge, Calvin, 191
Copper, 37 (p. 101)
Cormier, Frank, 88 [1, 16], 144 [5, 6, 7, 14, 17], 154 [2], 156 [1], 189 [2], 292 [12]
Cornell, Douglas, 356 ftn. (p. 1105)
Corona, Queens, N.Y., 223 n.
Corporation for Public Broadcasting, 72, 159
Corps of Engineers (Army), 116, 196, 245
Correctional institutions. *See* Prisons
Corrections, National Conference on, 381
Cost Accounting Standards Board, 29
Cost of living, 37 (p. 98), 107, 157, 170, 210, 264, 268, 271, 272, 274, 284, 285, 287, 297 [2], 304, 325, 329, 363, 379, 389, 406
Cost of Living Council, 264, 287, 325, 328 [10], 329, 341, 406
  Chairman (John B. Connally), 357
  Director (Donald Rumsfeld), 347 n., 357 n.
Cotton, Sen. Norris, 232 n., 257, 260
Councils. *See other part of title*
Counts, J. Curtis (Director, Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service), 300, 303 [1]
Courts, State, 93
Courts, United States
  Consumer protection, 72
  District of Columbia, 132, 362
  Nondiscrimination laws, 199
  Reform, 2, 16, 93, 116
  School desegregation, 249
  Supreme Court. *See* Supreme Court of the United States
Cox, Edward Finch, 144 [11], 261
Cox, Tricia Nixon, 144 [11], 257, 261, 366
Credibility gap, 110 [2, 10], 189 [17]
Credit System, Farm, 235
Crime
  See also Law enforcement
  District of Columbia, 2, 47, 84, 132, 218, 222, 338
  Drug-related, 132, 218, 293
  Organized, 29, 33 (p. 90), 47, 84
  Rate, 2, 33 (p. 89), 47, 83, 84, 93, 144 [19], 218, 222, 381
Crime—Continued
  Subpoenaing of newsmen's notes and films as evidence, 156 [5]
  Urban areas, 132, 218, 222
Crime, National Council on Organized, 47
Criminal Laws, National Commission on Reform of Federal, 15, 16
Croft, William C., 352 ftn. (p. 1091)
Cross Florida Barge Canal, 20, 256
Cuba
  Prime Minister Fidel Castro Ruz, 144 [13]
  Relations with
    Chile, 75 (p. 246)
    Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, 6 [16], 61, 75 (p. 247), 328 [4]
  U.S. relations, 144 [13]
  U.S.S.R. submarine bases, 6 [16], 61
Cultural exchange program, international educational and, 251
Cunningham, H. B., 297 n.
Curtis, Andrew, 366 n.
Curtis, Sen. Carl T., 12
Curtis, Gov. Kenneth M., 261
Customs, Bureau of, 72
Cyclemates, 299
Cyprus, United Nations peacekeeping role, 295
Czechoslovakia, 378

Dairy industry, 284
Daito and Ryukyu Islands. *See* Okinawa
Daley, Richard J., 284
Dallas, Tex., 274
Daniel, Capt. Aubrey M., 144 [5]
Daughters of the American Revolution, 147, 151
David, Edward E., Jr. (Director, Office of Science and Technology, and Science Adviser to President), 163 n., 176, 194
Davis-Bacon Act (1931), 70, 119
Davis and Elkins College, 326
Day care services, 170, 387, 414
Dayton, Ohio, 282, 283 n.
Dean, John W., III, 247 n.
Debt, public, 33 (p. 82)
Declaration of Independence, 220
Declassification of World War II documents, funds for, 247

71-234—72——85

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

Dedmon, Emmett, 144 [3, 4, 11, 17]
Defense
See also National security
Burden sharing, 73 (p. 215), 75 (pp. 223, 226, 234, 236, 241, 315), 148, 264, 292 [11], 297 [16], 316, 352, 368, 415
Contractors, 246
Facilities, conversion to domestic research, 334, 335, 409
Industry, unemployment, 6 [22], 37 (p. 98), 144 [16], 156 [1, 8], 182, 222, 227, 246, 250 [8, 13], 264, 284, 287, 304, 339, 363
Offset agreement with Federal Republic of Germany, 368
Spending, 33 (p. 80), 37 (p. 98), 73 (p. 212), 75 (pp. 223, 308), 148, 156 [1, 11], 363
Defense, Department of
See also specific constituent agencies
Deputy Secretary, 392
Secretary (Melvin R. Laird), 31, 74 (p. 219), 75 (pp. 236, 314, 316–319, 341), 88 [4], 110 [11], 121, 122, 127, 128 n., 144 [3, 6], 189 [1, 3], 200, 247, 274, 286, 313, 330, 356 [1, 5, 19], 386, 392 n.
Defense Production Act of 1950, 29
De Gasperi, Alcide, 349
De Gaulle, Charles, 71, 182, 196, 210, 255, 274, 287, 342, 349
De Gaulle, Madame Charles, 255
Delinquency Prevention Administration, Youth Development and, 109
Dellenback, Repr. John R., 301
Democratic Governors' Conference, 145
Democratic National Convention, 144 [19], 156 [6]
Democratic Party, 6 [23], 110 [14]
Demonstrations, antiwar, 154 [1, 11, 16], 156 [2], 189 [4, 10, 13]
Denmark
European Economic Community, membership question, 75 (p. 231)
Prime Minister Hilmar Baunsgaard, 75 (p. 230)
Desegregation
See also Discrimination
Desegregation—Continued
Schools, 7, 29, 33 (p. 91), 129, 154 [7], 156 [13], 182, 199, 204, 226, 249, 332
Suburbs, 6 [10], 110 [18], 297 [9]
DeSimone, Herbert F., 98
Des Moines, Iowa, 79, 80 n., 81
Detention camps, abolishment, 301, 302
De Tocqueville, Alexis, 112
Detroit, Mich., 297 n.
Devaney, Bob, 12
Developing nations
Agriculture, 148, 161
Environmental programs, 75 (p. 333), 256
Expropriations, 148, 173
Family planning services, 60, 75 (p. 334)
Food assistance, 192
Foreign assistance program reform, message to Congress, 148
International cooperation, 73 (p. 214), 148, 192, 295, 343, 403 n.
Nixon Doctrine, 75 (p. 297)
Private foreign investments, 60, 75 (pp. 247, 298), 148
Tariff preferences, 75 (pp. 232, 245, 248, 299), 148
Trade, 75 (pp. 299, 301), 148
United Nations assistance, 75 (pp. 299, 328)
U.S. assistance, 29, 60, 73 (p. 214), 75 (pp. 227, 243, 297, 298, 303, 340), 148, 211, 349 n., 351
U.S. relations, 75 (p. 219)
Development banks
African, 75 (p. 298), 148
Asian, 29, 75 (pp. 273, 280, 298, 299), 148
Inter-American, 29, 75 (pp. 245, 246, 298, 299), 148
Dewey, Thomas E., 105
Diaz Ordaz, Gustavo, 75 (p. 243)
Dick McCann Memorial Award, 243 ftn. (p. 834)
Dicke, Robert H., 176 n.
Dickens, Charles, 132
Dickerson, Nancy H., 6 [3, 8, 13, 14, 17, 18, 22]
Dickinson, William B., 144 [1, 2, 10, 15, 16, 19]

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

Diem, Ngo Dinh. *See* Ngo Dinh Diem
Diggs, Repr. Charles C., Jr., 61 [6], 172
Dillon, C. Douglas, 10
Disability Insurance, Old-Age, Survivors, and, 170
Disarmament. *See* Arms control and disarmament
Disasters and disaster assistance
  American National Red Cross, 85, 87, 173, 230
  California earthquakes, 173, 275, 276
  India, 348
  International cooperation, 75 (p. 337), 148
  Pakistan, 5, 250 [1], 318
  Peru earthquake, 75 (p. 247), 131, 151, 161, 173, 211, 221
  Romania, 151, 161, 221
  Southwest, U.S., 174
Discrimination
  See also Desegregation
  Employment, 33 (p. 91), 199, 210, 297 [9]
  Housing, 6 [10], 33 (p. 91), 61 [9, 13], 110 [18], 154 [7], 189 [12], 199, 297 [9], 332
  Minority groups, 6 [10], 84, 110 [18]
  Women, 150
Disraeli, Benjamin, 110 [19], 206
Distinguished Service Medal, Gen. Leonard F. Chapman, Jr., 388
District of Columbia
  Bicentennial celebration of American independence, 29, 132
  Budget, 132, 146
  Colleges, 8, 132, 146
  Congressional Delegate, 113, 132, 172 ftn. (p. 641)
  Court of Appeals, 362
  Crime, 2, 47, 84, 132, 218, 222, 338
  Demonstrations, antiwar, 154 [1, 11, 16], 156 [2], 189 [10, 13]
  Development Bank, proposed, 132, 332
  Government, 8, 29, 132
  Judicial reform, 93, 132, 146
  Mayor Walter E. Washington, 146, 147
  Message to Congress, 132
  METRO and highways, 132, 362
  Metropolitan Police Department, 132, 189 [10], 267
District of Columbia—Continued
  Police and firemen, totally disabled, veto of increased benefits bill, 267
District of Columbia, Commission on the Organization of the Government of the, 8, 132
District of Columbia Court Reform and Criminal Procedure Act of 1970, 15
District of Columbia Revenue Act of 1970, 8
Dividends, 264, 268
Dividends, Committee on Interest and, 325, 363, 406
  Chairman, 357
Djakarta Conference of Foreign Ministers, 75 (p. 273)
Dobrovolsky, Lt. Col. Georgiy T., 217
Dobrynin, Anatoly F. (Ambassador from U.S.S.R.), 6 [14]
Dock strikes, 300, 303 [1, 5], 372, 398
Dole, Sen. Robert, 110 [12], 352
Dollar, U.S., 75 (p. 294), 139, 264, 268, 274, 285, 287
  Devaluation, 396, 397 n., 401 ftn. (p. 1196), 406
  Stabilization. *See* Economic stabilization program
Domestic Council, 116, 195, 297 [19], 305, 379
  Executive Director, 18
Domestic International Sales Corporation, 297 [6]
Domestic policy. *See specific subject*
Dominick, Sen. Peter H., 224
Doub, William O., 233 n.
Douglas-Home, Sir Alec (Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs for the United Kingdom), 402 n.
Douglass, Joseph H., 358 n.
Dowdy, Repr. John, 144 ftn. (p. 549)
Dowler, Boyd, 370
Draft. *See* Selective Service System
Droughts, 174
Drug Abuse, Commission on Marihuana and, 156 ftn. (p. 611)
Drug Abuse Prevention, Special Action Office for, 203
Drug Abuse Prevention Week, 1971, 293
Drug Administration, Food and. *See* Food and Drug Administration

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

Drug Education Seminar, 321
Drug Identification Act, proposed, 72
Drug industry, 29, 297 [5]
Drugs. *See* Narcotics and dangerous drugs
Drugs, Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous, 203
Drummond, Geoffrey, 42
Dubcek, Alexander, 378
Dulles, John Foster, 163, 346 n.
Dumping policy, 48, 256
Dunant, Henri, 173
Dunn, Gov. Winfield, 180
Duran Quintero, Argelino, 160
DuVal, Dr. Merlin K., Jr., 361 n.

Earth Week, 125
Earthquakes
  California, 173, 275, 276
  Peru, 75 (p. 247), 131, 151, 161, 173, 211, 221
East-West relations, 48, 75 (pp. 220, 231, 233, 237, 238, 240, 241, 325, 332), 168 n., 182, 204, 340 n., 378, 403 n., 415, 416 n.
East-West Trade, Office of, Director, 139 n.
Eckstein, Otto, 144 [16]
Ecology. *See* Conservation; Environment; Pollution
Economic Advisers, Council of, Chairman (Paul W. McCracken), 18, 37 n. (p. 102), 264 n., 297 [1], 297 ftn. (p. 966), 308
Economic Affairs, Department of, proposed, 26 (p. 56), 33 (p. 86), 116, 235
Economic Affairs, Joint U.S.-Japan Committee on Trade and, 289 n.
Economic Club of Detroit, 297
Economic Commission for Europe (United Nations), 48, 75 (p. 332), 256
Economic Community, European. *See* European Economic Community
Economic Cooperation and Development, Organization for, 48, 75 (pp. 233, 245, 298, 332), 148, 256
Economic Development Administration, 92, 214, 253
Economic Opportunity, Office of, 33 (p. 91), 89, 112, 116, 137 n., 159 n., 387
  Director, 137 n., 159 n.
  Regional offices, 25
Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, 86, 387
Economic opportunity act amendments of 1971, veto, 387
Economic Policy, Council on International. *See* International Economic Policy, Council on
Economic report of the President, 37
Economic and Social Council, Inter-American, 75 (pp. 244, 246)
Economic Stabilization Act of 1970, 325, 347, 406
Economic Stabilization Act Amendments of 1971, 406, 407
Economic stabilization program
  See also International economic policy
  Addresses to the Nation, 264, 325
  Cost of living, 264, 268, 271, 272, 274, 280, 284, 285, 287, 379
  Dollar stabilization, 264, 268, 274, 280, 285, 287, 297 [16], 325, 364, 396
  Employment, 264, 268, 271, 272, 274, 280, 281, 285, 287, 320, 323, 325, 329, 338, 347, 351, 364, 389, 390, 406
  Excise tax, 264, 297 [1], 363, 389, 390
  Federal civilian pay increase. *See* Government employees
  Federal spending, reduction, 264, 268, 280, 287
  Inflation. *See* Inflation
  Interest and dividends, 268, 297 [5, 10], 379
  Job development credit, 264, 266, 287, 297, 363, 389, 390, 401 ftn. (p. 1196)
  Military pay increase. *See* Armed Forces
  News conference remarks, 292 [3, 8, 10], 356 [16]
  Phase I. *See* Wage-price freeze *below*
  Phase II. *See* Post-freeze program *below*
  Post-freeze program (Phase II), 287, 292 [8], 292 ftn. (p. 955), 297 [2, 10, 12], 329, 341, 356 [16], 357, 363, 364, 379, 389, 396, 407

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

Economic stabilization program—Con.
Public cooperation, 264, 266, 268, 274, 280, 284, 285, 287, 292 [8], 297 [2, 12], 303 [10], 320, 325, 329, 338, 341, 347, 356 [16], 357, 379, 406
Revenue Act of 1971, 323
Surcharge on imports, 264, 269, 274, 287, 292 [11], 297 [6, 16], 377, 401 ftn. (p. 1196), 402, 406
Taxation, 264, 280, 287, 292 [3, 4, 10], 320, 323, 325, 329, 363, 389, 390, 406
Wage-price freeze (Phase I), 264, 266, 268, 274, 280, 281, 284, 285, 287, 292 [8], 297 [2, 4, 5, 7, 10, 12], 303 [10], 320, 324, 325, 341, 347, 357, 363, 364, 379, 389, 406
Economy, national
"A Conversation With the President," 6 [3, 5]
Budget, Federal, 33 (p. 94), 37 (p. 97), 297 [8]
Expansion, 10, 33 (p. 80), 151, 156 [1, 7], 182, 250 [8, 9], 297 [5, 13], 323
Gross national product, 250 [8, 13], 406
Inflation. *See* Inflation
Productivity, 116, 156 [1], 264, 270, 271, 274, 282, 284, 285, 352, 355 n., 364, 378, 380
Stabilization program. *See* Economic stabilization program
Wages and prices, prefreeze, 6 [5], 37 (pp. 97, 101), 61 [11], 75 (p. 300), 119, 250 [9, 12]
Edison Electric Institute, 307
Editors, American Society of Newspaper, 144, 204
Education
See also Colleges and universities; Schools
Consumer, 72
Environmental programs, 125
Equal opportunity, 129, 378
Exchange program, international, 251
Federal funds, 33 (p. 91), 129, 226
Health, 63, 78, 361
Legislation, 29, 69, 129, 226
Mentally retarded, 358
Narcotics and drugs, dangers, 189 [3], 202–204, 206, 293
Education—Continued
Reform, 129, 352
Revenue sharing, 129, 226
Rural areas, 92
Science, 103
Veterans, 29, 137, 339
Vocational, 129, 378
Education, Carnegie Commission on Higher, 63
Education, National Foundation for Higher, proposed, 69
Education, National Institute of, proposed, 7, 29, 33 (p. 91), 129, 226
Education, Office of, 69, 129, 136, 226
Commissioner, 69 n., 129 n.
Education, Office of, and Related Agencies Appropriation Act, 1972, 226
Education Foundation, National Health, 63
Education and Training Action Committee, Veterans, 137 n.
Educational and cultural exchange program, international, 251
Edwards, Repr. Jack, 180
Egeberg, Dr. Roger O., 63 n.
Egypt, Arab Republic of, 6 [15], 61 [16], 75 (pp. 287–290), 88 [13], 189 [7], 303 [13]
Ehrlichman, John D. (Assistant to the President for Domestic Affairs and Executive Director, Domestic Council), 21, 26 n. (p. 58), 43 n., 46 n., 121, 123 n., 144 [6], 182, 202 n., 247 n., 305, 379
Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee. *See* Conference of the Committee on Disarmament (CCD)
18-year-old vote, 6 [23], 12, 219, 221, 366, 378
Eisenhower, Dwight D., 6 [19], 13, 27, 42, 67, 82, 97, 98, 105, 110 [7] 135, 144 [2], 147, 154 [12], 173, 179, 182, 187, 191, 198, 206, 229 n., 267, 311, 338, 342 n., 349, 352–354, 363, 374, 375, 380, 403, 404 n.
Eisenhower, Mrs. Dwight D., 13, 311, 359, 374
Eisenhower, Dwight David, II, 97, 98 n., 144 [11], 257, 261, 366, 412
Eisenhower, Edgar N., death, 229
Eisenhower, John S. D., 98

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

Eisenhower, Julie Nixon, 144 [11], 147, 257, 261, 270, 272, 311, 366
Eisenhower College, 311
Eisenhower Medical Center, 374, 375
Eisenhower Memorial Hospital, 374
Eisenhower National Republican Center, Dwight D., 13
Elderly. *See* Older persons
Elections
  Campaign financing, 110 [6, 16], 379
  18-year-old vote, 6 [23], 12, 219, 221, 366, 378
  1970, comments, 6 [21]
  1972
    President's candidacy, possibility, 110 [15]
    Vice Presidential candidate, 6 [20], 110 [15], 292 [12]
Electric power, 29, 195, 255, 307
Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, 129
Elizabeth II, Queen (United Kingdom), 255
Elkins, W. Va., 326
Ellington, Duke, 221
Elson, Dr. Edward L. R., 147
Emergency Detention Act of 1950, 302
Emergency Employment Act of 1971, 214, 227, 228, 253, 263, 350, 364, 406
Emergency Health Personnel Act, proposed, 63
Emergency Loan Guarantee Act, 237, 246
Emergency Preparedness, Office of, 174, 357
  Director (George A. Lincoln) 75 (p. 341), 195
Emergency Public Interest Protection Act, proposed, 41
Emergency school aid act, proposed, 29, 129, 249
Emissions control, automotive, 48, 256, 297 [3]
Employee Benefits Protection Act, proposed, 384
Employment Service, United States Training and, 200
Employment and unemployment
  Aerospace industry, 114, 144 [16], 165 246
  Automobile industry, 297 [3]
Employment and unemployment—Con.
  California, 6 [3, 8], 144 [16], 156 [1], 227
  Construction industry, 37 (p. 101), 61, 70, 119
  Defense industry 6 [22], 37 (p. 98), 144 [16], 156 [1, 8], 182, 222, 227, 246, 250 [8, 13], 264, 284, 287, 304, 339, 363
  Discrimination, 33 (p. 91), 199, 210, 297 [9]
  Economic controls, effect, 182, 222
  Economic stabilization program, 264, 268, 271, 272, 274, 281, 285, 287, 297 [4, 6], 320, 323, 325, 329, 338, 347, 351, 356 [21], 364, 390, 406
  Emergency Employment Act of 1971, 214, 227, 228, 253, 263, 350, 364, 406
  Federal summer intern program, 68
  Hard-core unemployed, 297 [19]
  Insurance, 33 (p. 89), 363, 364, 419
  Job development credit, 10, 363
  Job training, 33 (pp. 89, 92), 78, 86, 123, 129, 133, 137, 145, 170, 182, 200, 214, 227, 228, 339, 414
  Legislation, 86, 214, 227, 228, 263, 364, 419
  Manpower Report of the President, 133
  Minority groups, 199, 297 [9]
  Older persons, 210
  Pension plans, 379, 384
  Philadelphia Plan, 297 [9]
  Public service jobs, 86, 123, 170, 214, 222, 227, 228, 263, 350
  Rate, 6 [3, 6], 26 (p. 52), 37 (p. 98), 156 [4], 214, 228, 250 [8, 13], 264, 356 [22]
  Rural areas, 78, 86, 92, 196, 245, 290
  Tax credit for job development, 263, 287, 389, 390
  Urban areas, 133, 297 [9]
  Veterans, 137, 200, 214, 228, 263, 339, 350
  Women, 150, 189 [6], 214, 25
  Youth, 10, 68, 120, 136, 190, 214, 228, 378
Endowment for the Arts, National, 140, 183, 184
Endowment for the Humanities, National, 45

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

Energy resources
Coal, 195, 196, 307
Environmental considerations, 48, 194–196, 305, 307
Liquid metal fast breeder reactor, 195, 306, 307
Message to Congress, 194, 195
Natural gas, 29, 195, 196
Nuclear, 75 (p. 339), 195, 305
Oil, 195, 196
Engineering Development, National Council on Marine Resources and, 134
Engineers, Corps of (Army), 116, 196, 245
Engman, Lewis A., 72 n.
Environment
See also Conservation; Pollution; Wilderness areas
Cultural, 166
Earth Week, letter to Governors, 125
Federal-State-local cooperation, 33 (p. 92), 48, 256
Impact of
Cross Florida Barge Canal, 20, 256
Energy resources, 48, 194–196, 305, 307
Nuclear weapons testing, 292 [5], 352
Trans-Alaskan pipeline, 308
Transportation, 108
International cooperation, 48, 73 (p. 217), 75 (pp. 331, 332), 256, 343
Marine, 134
Message to Congress, 48, 49
Protection, 7, 12, 20, 26 (p. 52), 32, 75 (pp. 331, 332), 92, 103, 108, 110 [17], 116, 122, 152, 166, 222, 234, 287, 297 [3], 301, 355 n.
Public-private cooperation, 33 (p. 92), 48, 53, 256
Rural areas, 92, 157
Scientific research, 143
Youth involvement, 136, 344
Environment, United Nations Conference on the Human, 48, 75 (p. 332), 256
Environmental Financing Authority, proposed, 33 (p. 92), 48
Environmental Institute, proposed, 48, 256
Environmental Merit Awards Program, President's, 344
Environmental Protection Agency, 33 (p. 92), 116, 132, 134, 136, 195, 256, 297 [3]
Administrator (William D. Ruckelshaus), 48, 344 n.
Environmental Quality, Council on, 33 (p. 92), 48, 195
Annual report, 256
Chairman (Russell E. Train), 48 ftn. (p. 139), 166 n., 256 n.
Cross Florida Barge Canal, construction halt, 20, 256
Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, reorganization, 33 (p. 91)
Ervin, Sen. Sam J., Jr., 110 [13]
Esenbel, Melih (Ambassador from Turkey), 215 n.
Etherington, Edwin D., 111
Ethiopia
Emperor Haile Selassie I, 75 (p. 285)
U.S. relations, 75 (p. 285)
Europe
Consultations concerning President's trips to Moscow and Peking, 382
Defense burden sharing, 73 (p. 215), 75 (pp. 223, 226, 234, 241), 264, 297 [16], 368
East-West relations, 75 (pp. 237, 238), 182, 204, 314 n., 340 n., 368, 378, 415, 416 n.
Economic stabilization program, effect, 292 [11]
Economy, 75 (pp. 219, 231), 284, 351, 378, 401
Foreign policy report, 75 (pp. 219, 223, 226, 229–241, 300, 306, 307, 316, 325, 326, 342, 343)
Mutual and balanced force reductions, 73 (p. 215), 75 (pp. 238, 306, 325, 326, 342, 343), 168 n., 182, 189 [1, 2], 204, 222, 292 [1], 328 [15], 368, 397 n., 415
Narcotics and drugs, 189 ftn. (p. 688), 202, 204
Security, 75 (pp. 229, 232, 234, 236, 237, 240, 307), 342 n., 343
Strategic arms limitation talks, 292 [1]
Trade with U.S., 75 (p. 300), 297 [6]
U.S. forces, 73 (p. 215), 75 (pp. 227, 231, 236, 316, 344), 168, 189 [1], 368, 415, 416

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

Europe—Continued
U.S. policy, 73 (p. 215), 75 (pp. 229–231, 240, 343), 189 [2], 243, 245, 415, 416
Europe, Conference on Security and Cooperation in, 75 (pp. 238, 239), 328 [15], 397 n., 415
Europe, United Nations Economic Commission for, 256
European Economic Community, 394 n.
Foreign policy report, 75 (pp. 231, 232, 245, 302)
Remarks about, 73 (pp. 212, 215)
International Wheat Agreement, 1971, 192
Tariff preferences, 75 (p. 245), 148
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, entry, 19, 182, 222, 378, 403–405
U.S. relations, 396, 415, 416 n.
European Free Trade Association, 75 (p. 231)
Evans, Gov. Daniel J., 304, 305
Evans, Mrs. Daniel J., 304, 305
Evans, Gov. Melvin, 34
Everglades National Park, Fla., 371
Exchange Commission, Securities and, 54
Exchange rates, realignment, 75 (p. 295), 264, 292 [11], 297 [6, 16], 396, 401, 405
Executive branch
Executive privilege, 88 [10]
Reorganization, 6 [3], 26 (p. 56), 33 (p. 86), 39, 46, 57, 78, 79, 110 [17], 112, 115, 144 [15], 17, 182, 204, 235, 256, 287, 351, 352, 354
Message to Congress, 116
Executive orders
See also Appendix C, pp. 1269–1275
Cultural environment, protection and enhancement, 161
Federal civilian and military pay increases, 407
Minority business enterprise, national program coordination, 332
National Business Council for Consumer Affairs, establishment, 252
Executive Organization, President's Advisory Council on (Ash Council), 46, 54 ftn. (p. 148), 72, 115, 116, 250 [9]
Executive Protective Service, 132, 267
Executive Service, Federal, 33 (p. 86), 39
Exploration and Use of Outer Space, Including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies, Treaty on Principles Governing the, 234
Explorer Presidents' Congress, National, 193
Export-Import Bank of the United States, 75 (p. 240)
Exports
Agriculture, 75 (pp. 232, 240, 300, 301), 81, 92, 157, 161, 211, 271, 284, 354, 355 n.
Capital controls, 297 [16]
Grain shipments to
East Pakistan, 250 [1]
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, 354
Incentive programs, 7
Nonstrategic items to People's Republic of China, 139
Statistics, 37 (p. 99), 377
Extension Service Community Development program, 245

Faasen, Fred, 210
Fabrega Velarde, Edwin Elias, 160
Fair Warranty Disclosure Act, proposed, 72
Faisal ibn Abd al-Aziz Al Saud (King of Saudi Arabia), 186
Family assistance program, 6 [9], 7, 78, 297 [11], 123, 170, 204, 235, 375
Family Health Insurance Plan, proposed, 63
Family planning services, 60, 75 (p. 334)
Farallon National Wildlife Refuge, Calif., 153
Farm Credit System, 235
Farmers of America, Future, 270
Farmers Home Administration, 235
Equal housing programs, 199
Loans, 29, 157, 174, 322, 355 n.
Farrell, Capt. Eugene H., 98

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

Fauntroy, Walter E. (District of Columbia Delegate to Congress), 113, 132
FBI. *See* Federal Bureau of Investigation
Federal aid
  Colleges and universities, 69, 226, 361
  Credit programs, 33 (p. 87)
  Drought-stricken areas, 174
  Education, 7, 29, 33 (pp. 89, 90, 91), 69, 129, 226, 361, 378
  Grant programs, 25, 33 (pp. 82–84), 43, 48
  Housing programs, 33 (p. 93), 199
  Joint funding, 29
  Medical schools, 26 (p. 53), 63
  METRO system, 132
  Pollution control enforcement agencies, State, 48
  Reform of programs, 29, 33 (p. 84)
  Revenue sharing. *See* Revenue sharing
  Rural areas, 235
  State and local governments, 2, 26 (p. 54), 43, 48
  Waste treatment and disposal, 199
Federal Aid Highway Act of 1968, 362
Federal Aid Highway Act of 1970, 362
Federal Bureau of Investigation
  Director, 144 [14, 19], 218
  National Academy, graduation, 218
  Prison study, 2
  Wire tapping, 144 [19], 156 [6]
Federal City Bicentennial Development Corporation, 7, 29, 132
Federal City College, 8, 132, 146
Federal Civilian Service Award
  Cohn, Samuel M., 158
  Johnson, U. Alexis, 158
  Knipling, Dr. Edward F., 158
  Leonard, Dr. Fred, 158
  Willis, George H., 158
Federal Coal Mine Health and Safety Act of 1969, 195, 364, 369
Federal Communications Commission, 54
Federal Council for Science and Technology, 278
Federal Criminal Laws, National Commission on Reform of, 15, 16
Federal employees. *See* Government employees
Federal Executive Service, proposed, 33 (p. 86), 39
Federal Home Loan Bank Board, 199
Federal Housing Administration, 195, 199, 259
Federal Insecticide, Fungicide, and Rodenticide Act (1947), 48
Federal land and property
  Big Cypress Swamp, Fla., proposed acquisition, 371
  Cultural environment, preservation, 166
  Energy resources, availability, 195
  Land use policy, 3, 26 (p. 52), 48, 166, 256
  Parks. *See* Recreation
  Policing authority, GSA, 29
  Transfers to local jurisdiction for recreational use, 26 (p. 53), 48, 121, 122, 273, 275, 276
  Wilderness areas. *See* Wilderness areas
Federal Maritime Commission, Chairman, 189 [6]
Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, 303 [1]
Federal Pay Comparability Act of 1970, 320
Federal Power Commission
  Chairman, President's designation authority, 29
  Natural gas, 29, 195
Federal Railroad Safety Act of 1970, 365
Federal Regional Councils, 25, 116
Federal Reserve System, 26 (p. 52)
  Chairman of the Board of Governors, 250 [9], 325
  Monetary policy, 33 (pp. 80, 81), 37 (p. 97)
Federal-State-local cooperation
  Arts, support of, 183
  Child development program, 387
  Consumer programs, 72
  Crime prevention, 47
  Cultural environment, preservation, 166
  Disadvantaged youth, summer programs, 136
  Discrimination, elimination, 199
  Drug abuse prevention, 203, 293
  Earth Week, 125
  Education, 129
  Employment opportunities, 214, 255, 263
  Energy sources, 195

71-234—72——86

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

Federal-State-local cooperation—Con.
Environmental protection, 33 (p. 92), 48, 256
Federal Regional Councils, 25, 116
Historic sites preservation, 48
Housing developments, 199
Land use policy, 48
Law enforcement, 2, 33 (p. 91), 83
Manpower programs, 86
Mass transit systems, 108
Mental health institutions, 358
Noise pollution, control, 48
Nursing homes, 210, 259
Oceans, protection, 134
Parks and recreation areas, 33 (p. 92), 48, 162
Planning-management assistance plan, 33 (p. 84), 92
Revenue sharing. *See* Revenue sharing
Rural community development, 92, 253
School desegregation, 29
Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway, 180
Veterans employment, 137
Voluntary service programs, 112
Waste treatment facilities, 48
Welfare system, 170
Federal Trade Commission, 54
Consumer interests, 22, 72, 252
Guarantees and warranties, 72
Federal Trade Commission Act (1914), 72
Federal Trade Practices Agency, proposed, 72
Fermi, Enrico, 66
Fetridge, William H., 352
Finance
Capital export controls, 297 [16]
Interest rates. *See* Interest rates
MESBICs sponsorship, 29
Profits, 297 [4, 5], 325
Rural telephone companies, 29
Finance, President's Commission on School, 379
Finance, Senate Committee on, 6 [7, 19], 292 [10], 323, 325, 389
Finch, Robert H. (Counsellor to the President), 109 n., 111 n., 189 [3], 236 n., 288 n.
Findley, Repr. Paul, 269
Fish inspection, 29
Fisheries and Wildlife, Bureau of Sport, 152 n.
Flanigan, Peter M. (Assistant to the President), 94 n., 183 ftn. (p. 677), 384 n.
Flemming, Dr. Arthur S. (Chairman, White House Conference on Aging), 359 n., 379
Florida
Big Cypress Swamp, 371
Cross Florida Barge Canal, 20, 256
Gov. Reubin Askew, 180, 181
Key Biscayne residence. *See* Key Biscayne
Oklawaha River, 20
Visits to, 363, 364, 415
Wilderness areas, proposed, 153
Florida Keys National Wildlife Refuge, 153
Flynn, Edmund J., 303 [1, 5, 8]
Food
Consumer safety, 72, 232
Export, 161
Foreign assistance programs, 5, 161, 192, 318
Nutritional guidelines, 72
Production, 60, 380
Quality control, Federal, 33 (p. 90), 72
Stamp program, 22, 23 n., 33 (p. 89), 123, 151, 156 [13], 161, 170, 354, 387
Food, Nutrition, and Health, White House Conference on, 22, 23
Food Aid Convention. *See* International Wheat Agreement, 1971
Food and Drug Administration, 22, 23 n., 72, 232
Food for Peace Program, 75 (p. 246), 211
Food Stamp Act of 1964, 23 n.
Football, 245, 257, 268, 304, 366
Cincinnati Bengals, 282
Chicago Bears, 412
Cleveland Browns, 243
Green Bay Packers, 370 ftn. (p. 1134)
Houston Oilers, 244 n.
Los Angeles Rams, 244 n.
Nebraska, University of, award presentation, 12
T.V. interview with Frank Gifford, 244
Washington Redskins, 243, 244, 297 ftn. (p. 966), 370

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

Football Hall of Fame, Professional, 242–244, 268
Football League, National, 257
Ford, Repr. Gerald R. (House Minority Leader), 26 n. (p. 58), 114 n., 145, 169 n., 240, 297 [1], 396 n.
Ford, Henry, II, 111
Foreign Affairs, Senate Committee on, 110 [11]
Foreign Agricultural Service, 157
Foreign Aid, Advisory Committee on Voluntary, 148
Foreign Aid, House Select Committee on, 279 ftn. (p. 921)
Foreign assistance, 284, 287, 292 [6], 316
See also specific countries
Africa, 75 (pp. 282, 297), 148
Appropriations, table, 75 (p. 299)
Asia, 75 (pp. 280, 297), 264, 318
Developing nations, 29, 60, 73 (p. 214), 75 (pp. 29, 227, 243, 297, 303, 340), 148, 211, 349 n., 351
Economic stabilization program, 264
Europe, 222, 264
Food, 5, 161, 192, 318
Humanitarian, 75 (p. 296), 148
Latin America, 75 (pp. 243, 245, 297)
Legislation, 9, 29, 33 (p. 88), 75 (pp. 297, 298), 148, 351, 356 [21]
Message to Congress, 148
Multilateral development institutions, 33 (p. 89), 75 (p. 227)
Table, 75 (p. 299)
Nixon Doctrine, 9, 75 (pp. 222–228, 231, 236, 241, 251, 266, 268, 270, 271, 280, 282, 297, 315, 317, 319)
Post World War II, 75 (p. 296)
Reform, 33 (p. 88), 60, 148, 287
Report, 60
Foreign investment, private, 75 (pp. 241, 247, 282, 298), 148
Foreign leaders, meetings with. *See* Meetings with foreign leaders
Foreign policy, 144 [2], 182, 193
See also specific countries
Africa, 73 (p. 215), 75 (pp. 281, 283)
Asia, 61 [1], 73 (p. 215), 75 (pp. 268, 272, 279), 144 [7, 10], 378, 404
Communist Bloc nations, 75 (pp. 220, 222)
Foreign policy—Continued
Europe, 73 (p. 215), 75 (pp. 229, 230, 231, 240, 343), 189 [2], 243, 245, 415, 416
Immigration, 29
Indochina, 75 (p. 249), 144 [10], 154 [1]
Mediterranean area, 75 (pp. 227, 230, 292)
Middle East, 6 [15], 61 [16], 73 (p. 216), 75 (pp. 237, 285–292, 305, 306, 344), 88 [13], 144 [15], 182, 186, 189 [7], 250 [4], 378
Nixon Doctrine, 73 (p. 214), 75 (pp. 222–228, 231, 236, 241, 251, 266, 268, 270, 271, 280, 282, 297, 315, 317, 319), 110 [9], 144 [7], 148, 356 [20]
Report to the Congress, 74, 75
Radio address to the Nation, 73
Vietnam. *See* Vietnam conflict
Western Hemisphere, 73 (p. 215), 75 (pp. 241–249, 305–307), 131, 265
Forest Festival, Mountain State, 326
Fort Detrick, Md., 334, 335, 409
Foster Grandparent program, 112, 210, 379
4–H, 161, 270, 378
Fowler, Henry H., 10
France
Berlin negotiations, 75 (pp. 237, 239)
Drug traffic control, 203
Group of Ten monetary agreement, 401 n.
International economic policy, discussions with U.S., 395–397
Joint statement, 396
Middle East role, 75 (p. 237)
Minister of Economy and Finance Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, 396 n.
Minister of Foreign Affairs Maurice Schumann, 396 n.
President Georges Pompidou, 75 (p. 230), 394–397.
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, relations with, 75 (p. 238)
U.S. Ambassador, 203, 394
U.S. relations, 394, 395
Franco, Generalissimo Francisco (Chief of State, Spain), 28 n., 30

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

Frankfurter, Justice Felix, 297 [14], 303 [11]
Franklin, Barbara Hackman, 150 n., 189 [6]
Franklin, Benjamin, 147, 305, 378
Freedom of the press, 156 [5]
Freedoms Foundation, 52
Freeman, Orville L., 354
Frink, Cynthia, 220, 257
Frishman, Lt. Robert F., 99 ftn. (p. 431)
Frost, Robert, 349
Fuel. *See* Energy resources
Fukuda, Takeo (Minister for Foreign Affairs of Japan), 289
Fulbright, Sen. J. W., 88 [4], 110 [11]
Fulbright-Hays Act. *See* Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act of 1961
Future Farmers of America, 270

Galbraith, J. Kenneth, 250 ftn. (p. 856)
Gallatin, Albert, 180
Gallup poll, 110 [2], 346 n.
Gandhi, Indira (Prime Minister of India), 255, 348, 349, 366
Gandhi, Mahatma, 63
Garfield, James, 240
Garfield, Theodore G., 79 n.
Garment, Leonard, 183, 223 n.
Gas, natural, 29, 195, 196
Gas Association, American, 307
Gasification technology, coal, 307
Gasoline, 48, 108, 256
Gateway National Recreation Area, 162, 273
GATT. *See* General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
Gemignani, Robert J. (Commissioner, Youth Development and Delinquency Prevention Administration), 109 n.
General Accounting Office, revenue sharing procedures, 61 [15]
General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), 75 (p. 302), 346 n.
General revenue sharing. *See* Revenue sharing
General Services Administration, Administrator (Robert L. Kunzig), 48, 132, 221
Geneva accords
  Cambodia (1954), 75 (pp. 261, 263, 267)
  Laos (1962), 75 (pp. 261, 263, 264, 266, 267)
Geneva Convention Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War (1949), 141
Geneva Protocol (1925), 75 (p. 320)
Geological Survey, 290
Georgetown, District of Columbia, 132, 189 [10]
Georgia
  Visit to, 27
  Wilderness areas, proposed, 153
German Democratic Republic
  Agreement with Federal Republic of Germany, 415
  Premier Willi Stoph, 75 (p. 238)
Germany, Federal Republic of
  Agreement with German Democratic Republic, 415
  Berlin negotiations and agreements, 415
  Chancellor Willy Brandt, 75 (pp. 230, 237, 239), 415–417
  Czechoslovakia, relations with, 75 (p. 237)
  Economy, 182, 222
  Group of Ten monetary agreement, 401 n.
  International economic policy, discussions, 415, 416
  Minister of Foreign Affairs Walter Scheel, 415 n., 416
  Offset agreement with U.S., 368
  Steel industry, 297 [5]
  Trade, 297 [6], 417
  Treaties with U.S.S.R. and Poland, 75 (pp. 237, 239)
  U.S. relations, 75 (pp. 230, 239), 415, 416
Gerstacker, Carl A., 297 [6, 13]
Ghana, 14, 60
GI Bill, 137, 200, 339
Gibson, Kenneth, 162 n.
Gifford, Frank, 243, 244
Gilligan, Gov. John J., 242, 282
Girls Nation, 255

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

Global Atmospheric Research Program, 143
Gold, value of, 264, 287, 401 ftn. (p. 1196), 406
Goldwater, Sen. Barry, 154 [11]
Goldwyn, Samuel, 118
Gompers, Samuel, 363
Government Cooperation, Committee on State and Local, 357 n.
Government departments and agencies
See also specific titles
Arts, assistance and involvement, 183, 184
Combined Federal Campaign, 85, 230
Discrimination, prevention, 199
Drug traffic control, international, 286
Environmental protection, 256
Historical property preservation, 166, 256
Patent policy, 278
Personnel reduction, 1, 264, 268, 287
Recycled paper, use, 256
Red Cross, 87
Reorganization. *See* Executive branch
Rural areas, Federal facilities, 290
Structural development, 116
Summer employment, 68, 120, 190
Government of the District of Columbia, Commission on the Organization of the, 132
Government employees
Blacks, 156 [13]
Blood donor programs, Red Cross, 87
Blue-collar workers, 1, 250 [9, 11]
Career executive program, 33 (p. 86), 39, 90
Disruptive activities, protection against, 29, 156 [2]
Federal Civilian Service Awards, 158
Firefighters, retirement benefits, 4
Personnel reduction, 1, 264, 268, 287
Qualifications boards for executives, proposed, 39
Summer employment for youth, 68, 120, 190
Training programs, 90
Vietnam-era veterans, employment opportunities, 200
Government employees—Continued
Wage and salary increases, 250 [9, 11], 264, 280, 281, 287, 320, 324, 406, 407
Women, 150, 189 [6], 255
Youth, 120, 136, 190, 378
Government reform, 222
Executive branch reorganization. *See* Executive branch
Governors' Conference, Democratic, 145
Governors' Conference, National, 7, 145
Governors Conference, Republican, 145, 151
Graham, Rev. William F. (Billy), 178, 333
Graham, Mrs. William F., 178, 333
Grand Teton National Park, Wyo., 273 n.
Grant-in-aid system, consolidation, 7
Grants, Federal. *See* Federal aid; Spending, Federal
Grants to States, 25, 33 (pp. 83, 84), 43, 48
See also Revenue sharing
Grayson, C. Jackson, Jr. (Chairman, Price Commission), 325 n., 357
Great Britain. *See* United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland
Great Lakes, pollution control, 48
Green, Theodore Francis, 210
Green Bay Packers (football team), 370 ftn. (p. 1134)
"Green Revolution," 60, 75 (p. 273)
Greenbriar Nursing Home, Nashua, N.H., 260
Gridiron Club, 99
Griffin, Sen. Robert P., 169 n., 297 [1]
Gromyko, Andrei A. (Foreign Minister of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), 6 [14], 250 [4], 303 [12, 14], 316, 328 [2, 5, 13, 15], 356 [15]
Gross, Nelson G., 286 n.
Gross national product (GNP), 43, 63, 75 (pp. 308, 328), 116, 144 [16], 156 [1], 250 [8, 13], 406
Group of Ten, 395 n., 397 n.
Monetary agreement, 401, 402, 405, 406
Guam doctrine. *See* Nixon Doctrine
Gude, Repr. Gilbert, 399 ftn. (p. 1193)
Gude, Gregory, 399 ftn. (p. 1193)
Gullander, W. P., 341

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

Hagerty, James C., 295 ftn. (p. 961)
Haig, Brig. Gen. Alexander Meigs, Jr., 161
Haile Selassie I, Emperor (Ethiopia), 75 (p. 285)
Hall, Gov. David, 196
Hall, Repr. Durward G., 205
Hall, Dr. Wesley W., 206
Hall of Fame, Professional Football, 242–244, 268
Hamilton, Alexander, 116, 378
Hampton, Robert E. (Chairman, Civil Service Commission), 39 n., 85
Hand, Learned, 93
Handicapped persons, 33 (p. 90), 129
Handley, William J. (U.S. Ambassador to Turkey), 215
Hanford, Wash., 303 [6]
Hanford works, 305–307
Hanks, Nancy (Chairman, National Endowment for the Arts), 183, 184
Hannan, Archbishop Philip M., 330
Hansen, Repr. Orval, 272
Harbor, William H., 79 n.
Hardin, Clifford M. (Secretary of Agriculture), 12, 22 n., 26 n. (p. 58), 81, 91 n., 161, 174 n., 208, 209, 284, 354, 355
Hardin, Mrs. Clifford, 355
Harlan, Justice John M., 297 ftn. (p. 976), 337, 391
  Death, 418
Harper, Edwin L., 43 n., 81, 84 n., 86 n., 89 n., 92 n., 108 n., 129 n.
Harper, John D., 200
Harraway, Charley, 370
Harriman, E. Roland (Chairman, American National Red Cross), 167, 173
Harriman, W. Averell, 6 [12]
Harrison, Benjamin, 147
Harrisonburg, Va., 147 n.
Hartzog, George B., Jr. (Director, National Park Service), 152 n., 162 n.
Harvard University, 144 ftn. (p. 547), 250 ftn. (p. 856)
  Kissinger, Dr. Henry A., resignation from faculty, 17
Hastings, Robert F., 297 [7, 17]
Hatfield, Sen. Mark O., 301
Hathaway, Repr. William D., 261
Hatten, Bert, 321
Havens, Dwight, 297 n.
Hayden, Martin S., 222
Hayes, Helen, 210
Head Start, 387
Health and medical programs
  Accidents. *See* Accidents
  Alcoholism, 33 (p. 90), 63, 361, 375
  Allied health personnel training program, 63
  American Medical Association, 206
  Cancer. *See* Cancer
  Care, 26 (p. 53), 33 (pp. 80, 89, 90), 42, 63, 64, 78, 92, 206, 220, 222, 224, 287, 361
  Children, 33 (p. 90), 387
  Combined Federal Campaign, 230
  Costs, 26 (p. 53), 33 (p. 90), 63, 206, 361
  Delivery of services, 26 (p. 53), 33 (pp. 89, 90), 63, 78, 206, 222, 358, 361
  Drug abuse prevention programs. *See* Narcotics and dangerous drugs
  Education, 63, 78, 92
  Eisenhower Memorial Hospital and Medical Center, 374, 375
  Federal spending, 63, 206
  Heart disease, 42
  Hospitals, 29, 203, 275, 276
  Insurance, 29, 33 (p. 90), 63, 78, 170, 206
  Legislation, 29, 63, 107, 361, 364, 375
  Medicaid. *See* Medicaid
  Medical schools, 26 (p. 53), 33 (p. 90)
  Medical students, 63
  Medicare. *See* Medicare
  Mental health institutions, 358, 375
  Message to Congress, 63
  Military base hospitals, abortion policy, 127
  Miners, 195, 364, 369
  Narcotics and drugs. *See* Narcotics and dangerous drugs
  Neighborhood centers, 63
  Nursing homes, 210, 259, 260, 375, 379
  Nutrition. *See* Nutrition
  Occupational safety, 6 [24], 63, 363, 364, 369, 375
  Personnel, 26 (p. 53), 33 (p. 90), 42, 63, 78, 206, 260, 361, 375

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

Health and medical programs—Con.
Physical fitness, 67
Preventive medicine, 26 (p. 53), 63, 170
Public-private cooperation, 63, 276, 375
Reform, 63, 206, 352
Research, 63, 164, 275
Rural areas, 63, 78, 92
Sickle cell anemia, 33 (p. 90), 63
Toxic substances, protection, 29, 48
Urban areas, 63
Veterans. *See* Veterans
Virus-caused diseases, 164
Health, Education, and Welfare, Department of, 116, 132, 225 n., 361 n., 408
See also specific constituent agencies
Deputy Under Secretary for Welfare Reform, 291
Executive reorganization, 112, 116
Regional offices, 25
Secretary (Elliot L. Richardson), 22 n., 63, 72, 126, 129 n., 163, 164, 232, 241 n., 249, 259, 358, 387
State and local governments, relations, 25
Health, National Institute for Occupational Safety and, 364, 369
Health, National Institutes of, 63, 69, 163, 164, 408
Health, White House Conference on Food, Nutrition, and, 22, 23
Health Agencies, National, 230
Health Centers, Neighborhood, 63
Health Education Foundation, National, 63
Health Insurance Partnership, National, 63, 206, 375
Health Insurance Plan, Family, proposed, 63
Health Maintenance Organizations, 63
Health Organization, World, 148, 203
Health Service, Public, 369
Health Services Industry, Committee on the, 357 n.
Healy, Paul F., 88 [12], 154 [3]
Hearnes, Gov. Warren E., 71, 81 n.
Heart disease, 42
Heath, Edward (Prime Minister of the United Kingdom), 75 (p. 230), 402–405
Heatwole, Mrs. Paul W., 147 n.
Hébert, Repr. F. Edward, 312, 330
Hein, Mel, 268
Helms, Richard (Director, Central Intelligence Agency), 286
Herbicides, 208
Heroin. *See* Narcotics and dangerous drugs
Herter, Christian A., 279 ftn. (p. 921)
Heston, Charlton, 183 ftn. (p. 677)
Hewitt, Bill, 243 n., 244
Hickel, Walter J., 110 [12], 308
Higher education. *See* Colleges and universities
Higher Education, Carnegie Commission on, 63
Higher Education, National Foundation for, proposed, 69, 226
Higher Education Opportunity Act of 1971, proposed, 7, 69
Highway Safety Act of 1966, 315
Highway Safety Act of 1970, 365
Highway Trust Fund, 108, 297 [7]
Highways
Construction, 29
District of Columbia metropolitan area, 362
Financing, truck companies, 29
Message to Congress, 108
Pan American Highway, 160
Safety, 108, 315, 365
Tax, 29
Hijacking, airplane, 29, 33 (p. 91), 73 (p. 217), 75 (p. 336), 142, 295
Hill-Burton Act, 259
Hirohito, Emperor (Japan), 277, 289, 299, 301, 303 [1], 304, 305, 309, 310, 316
Hirt, Al, 196
Hiss, Alger, 110 [19]
Historic American Building Survey, 48
Historic buildings, preservation, 48, 132, 166, 256
Hitt, Patricia Reilly, 72 n., 225 n.
H.M.S. *Glamorgan*, 403 n.
Ho Chi Minh Trail, 59, 61 [2, 4], 73 (p. 212), 75 (p. 266), 110 [4], 154 [4]
Hodgson, James D. (Secretary of Labor), 26 n. (p. 58), 41 n., 61 [11, 14], 70 n., 86 n., 106 n., 119 n., 136 n., 138 n., 171 n., 182, 190 n., 200, 227 n., 300, 339, 363

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

Hog prices, 157
Holifield, Repr. Chet, 204
Hollingsberry, Babe, 304
Holmes, Justice Oliver Wendell, 93, 297 [14]
Holton, Gov. A. Linwood, 93, 145
Home Loan Bank Board, Federal, 199
Hong Kong, textile agreements between U.S., Japan, Hong Kong, and the Republic of Korea, 328 ftn. (p. 1036)
Hoover, Herbert, 116 ftn. (p. 475)
Hoover, J. Edgar (Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation), 144 [16, 19], 218
Hope, Bob, 351, 352, 374, 412
Hope, Mrs. Bob, 374 ftn. (p. 1140)
Hopkins, William J., 191
Hopkins, Mrs. William J., 191
Horner, Garnett D., 88 [4], 154 [16], 189 [9], 328 [7]
Horses, wild, preservation, 399
Hospital Survey and Construction Act, 259
Hospitals. *See* Health and medical care
House of Representatives
  See also Congress
  Cancer appropriations, action, 335
  Committees. *See other parts of title*
  Federal blue-collar employees pay bill, action, 1 n.
  South Asia, humanitarian assistance, 318
  Speaker (Repr. Carl Albert), 26 (p. 50), 38, 42, 50, 153, 156 [4], 196, 220, 240, 247, 255, 257, 287, 330, 396 n.
  Supersonic transport program, funding, 165
  Welfare reform and social security, action, 170
Housing
  Administration policy, 61 [9, 13], 189 [12], 297 [9]
  Construction, 6 [8], 119, 156 [1], 199, 213, 250 [8], 297 [1], 364
  Costs, 213
  Discrimination, 6 [10], 33 (p. 91), 61 [9, 13], 110 [18], 154 [7], 189 [12], 199, 204, 297 [9], 332
  Federal assistance 33 (p. 93), 199, 213, 235
Housing—Continued
  Insulation standards, 195
  Legislation, 33 (p. 93)
  Loans, 78, 245
  Low- and moderate-income, 199, 213
  Older persons, 379
  Public, 61
  Public-private cooperation, 213
  Relocation payments, 3
  Report to Congress, 213
  Rural areas, 78, 81, 235, 245
  Starts, 144 [16], 199
  Urban areas, 89, 199, 297 [9]
Housing Act of 1949, 199
Housing and Urban Development, Department of
  See also specific constituent agencies
  Executive reorganization, 112, 116
  Regional offices, 25
  Secretary (George W. Romney), 3, 81, 89, 91 n., 92, 119, 161, 182, 189 [12], 195, 199, 210, 241 n., 297 [1, 9], 379
  State and local governments, relations, 25
Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968, 213
Houston Oilers (football team), 244 n.
Houthakker, Hendrik S., 37 n. (p. 102)
Hovde, Dr. Frederick L., 209
Howard, W. L., 321
Hruska, Sen. Roman L., 12, 93
Hughes, Charles E., 65
Hughes, Brig. Gen. James D., 188
Human Environment, United Nations Conference on the, 48, 75 (p. 332), 256
Human Resources, Department of, proposed, 26 (p. 56), 33 (p. 86), 116
Humanities, National Endowment for the, 45, 184
Humanities, National Foundation on the Arts and the, 33 (p. 93), 45
Humphrey, Sen. Hubert H., 65, 156 [8]
Hunger. *See* Nutrition
Hurley, Charles, 208
Hyde, Floyd H., 241 n.

Idaho
  Gov. Cecil Andrus, 272
  Visit to, 272

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

Idaho Falls, Idaho, Mayor S. Eddie Pedersen, 272
Illinois
Environmental programs, 256
Gov. Richard B. Ogilvie, 81 n., 269, 270, 284, 352
Visits to, 210, 264, 270, 284, 352
Illinois State Fair, 270, 271
Immigration policy, U.S., 29
Imports
See also Trade
China, People's Republic of, 139
Coffee, 124
Developing nations, 148
Economic stabilization program, 297 [6, 16]
Fishery products, 29
Natural gas, 195
Oil, 37 (p. 101), 308
Restrictions, 75 (pp. 300, 303)
Shoes, 19
Statistics, 377
Sugar, 131
Surcharge, 264, 269, 274, 287, 292 [11], 297 [6, 16], 377, 401 ftn. (p. 1196), 402, 406
Textile, 75 (p. 275), 94
Inauguration, second anniversary, 21
Income
Construction workers, 70, 364
Family income standard, 33 (pp. 89, 90), 170, 207
Farm, 81, 157, 161, 196, 284, 380
Guaranteed annual, 145, 151, 204
Increase, 37 (p. 99), 406
Inflation, effect, 264
Labor, 419
Maintenance programs, 33 (pp. 89, 90)
Minority groups, 199
Older persons, 107, 210, 264, 379
Property tax, 204
Rural areas, 92
Urban areas, 92
Veterans, 400
Welfare recipients, 123
India
Ambassador to U.S., 349
Cease-fire proposal, U.N., 250 ftn. (p. 850)
Natural disasters, 348
India—Continued
Prime Minister Indira Nehru Gandhi, 255, 348, 349, 366
Refugees, 250 [1], 348 n., 349 n.
Relations with Pakistan, 75 (p. 281), 250 [1] ftn., 378, 394 n.
U.S. assistance, 75 (p. 280), 349 n.
U.S. relations, 75 (p. 280), 348, 349, 378
Indian Affairs, Bureau of, 116, 303 [7]
Indian Business Development Program Act, proposed, 332
Indian Financing Act, proposed, 332
Indiana
Gov. Edgar D. Whitcomb, 208, 209
Visit to, 208, 209
Indianapolis, Ind., Mayor Richard G. Lugar, 209
Indians, American, 116, 199, 303 [7], 399
Business enterprise, 332
Health care, 33 (p. 90)
Legislation, 7, 29
Loans, 322
Navajo, 303 [7]
Indochina
See also Vietnam conflict
Cease-fire proposal, 75 (pp. 249, 253, 343), 135, 144 [3], 154 [5], 356 [1], 360
Geneva Convention Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War (1949), 141
Peace proposal, U.S., 73 (pp. 213, 268), 154 [5]
Prisoners of war, 75 (pp. 260, 263), 128, 141
U.S. policy, 75 (p. 249), 144 [10], 154 [1]
Indonesia, 75 (p. 272)
Industrial Designs, Locarno Agreement Establishing an International Classification for, 248
Industrial Pollution Control Council, National, 53
Industrial World Ahead, White House Conference on the, 138
Industry
Adjustment assistance, 75 (p. 302), 94
Arkansas River basin, 196
Capital export controls, 297 [16]

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

Industry—Continued
Designs, international classification, 248
Economic stabilization program. *See* Economic stabilization program
Energy resource development, 194, 195, 305–307
Environmental protection, 48, 53, 134, 195, 222, 256, 297 [3], 301
Import restrictions, 75 (p. 303)
Investment incentives, 287, 389
Productivity, 250 [10], 406
Profits, corporation, 297 [4, 5]
Rural areas, 92, 235, 245
Subsidies, Federal, 297 [6]
Inflation, 285, 338, 363
Agricultural, 157, 271, 284
Construction industry, 70, 132, 213, 214, 364
Control, 6 [3], 26 (p. 52), 33 (p. 81), 37 (pp. 97, 100, 101), 144 [16], 151, 156 [1], 182, 222, 250 [11, 13], 284, 320, 325, 328 [10], 352, 356 [21], 357, 389, 406
Economic stabilization program, 264, 266, 274, 280, 281, 284, 297 [2], 320, 323, 341, 343, 351, 355 n., 356 [16], 357
Health care costs, 33 (p. 90), 63, 361
Older persons, effects, 7, 170, 207, 210, 264, 379
Rate, 37 (pp. 98, 99), 75 (p. 294), 107, 151, 156 [1], 157, 250 [13], 325, 356 [16], 377
Statistics, 151
Wage-price, 119, 156 [1], 182, 222, 325
Information Coordinating Center, Consumer Product, 72
Institutes of Health, National, 69
Insurance
Health, 33 (p. 90), 29, 63, 78, 170
Malpractice, medical, 63
Nationalized compulsory health, proposed, 206
Unemployment, 33 (p. 89), 363, 364, 419
Insurance, Old-Age, Survivors, and Disability, 170
Insurance Partnership, National Health, 63, 206, 375
Insurance Plan, Family Health, proposed, 63
Integration. *See* Desegregation
INTELSAT (International Telecommunications Satellite Consortium), 176, 177
Inter-Agency Committee on Minority Business Enterprise, 332
Inter-American Committee on the Alliance for Progress (CIAP), 75 (pp. 244, 245)
Inter-American Development Bank, 29, 75 (pp. 245, 246, 298, 299), 148
Inter-American Economic and Social Council (IA–ECOSOC), 75 (pp. 244, 246)
Inter-American Foundation. *See* Inter-American Social Development Institute
Inter American Press Association, 131
Inter-American Social Development Institute (ISDI), 75 (p. 248), 148
Intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBM), 75 (pp. 309–314, 321, 323)
Interest and Dividends, Committee on, 325, 363, 406
Chairman (Arthur F. Burns), 357
Interest rates, 37 (p. 99), 75 (p. 294), 332
Economic stabilization program, 297 [5, 10], 325, 364, 379, 406
Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization (IMCO), 48, 75 (p. 332), 256
Intergovernmental Relations, Advisory Commission on, 43
Interior, Department of the, 116
See also specific constituent agencies
Executive branch reorganization, effect, 116
Secretary (Rogers C. B. Morton), 32, 48, 130, 152 n., 153, 162, 166 n., 194, 195, 230, 272, 303 [7, 11], 304, 305, 308, 371, 399
Intermediate Care Facilities, 414
Intern program, Federal summer, 68
Internal Revenue Code, 10, 48
Internal Revenue Service, 10, 203, 290
Internal Security Act of 1950, 302

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

International agreements. *See* Treaties and other international agreements
International Atomic Energy Agency, 75 (p. 340)
International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), 75 (pp. 246, 280, 283, 297, 299), 148, 316
International Boundary and Water Commission, United States and Mexico, 149
International Center, Washington, D.C., 132
International Center for Scholars, Woodrow Wilson, 65
International Civil Aviation, Convention on, protocol, 317
International Civil Aviation Organization, 75 (p. 336), 142, 295, 317
International Coffee Agreement, 124
International Compensation Fund, proposed, 48
International Convention for the Prevention of Pollution of the Sea by Oil (1954), 48
International cooperation, 75 (p. 220), 342 n.
- Arms control. *See* Arms control and disarmament
- Biological and chemical weapons, control, 75 (p. 320)
- Cancer research, 334
- Coffee trade, 124
- Developing nations, assistance, 60, 73 (p. 214), 148, 192, 343, 403 n.
- Economic. *See* International economic policy
- Educational and cultural exchange program, 251
- Environmental protection, 48, 73 (p. 217), 75 (pp. 331, 332), 134, 256, 265, 343
- Hijackings, airplane, prevention, 73 (p. 217), 75 (p. 336), 142, 295
- Industrial designs, international classification, 248
- INTELSAT, 176, 177
- Kidnaping, prevention, 75 (p. 336)
- Law, development and codification of international, 367
- Monetary policy. *See* International economic policy
- Narcotics and dangerous drugs, 73 (p. 217) 75 (p. 334), 189 [3], 203, 204, 212, 295, 321, 343
- Natural disasters, relief assistance, 5, 75 (p. 337)
- Nuclear energy sources, 75 (p. 339)
- Pollution control, 48, 73 (p. 217), 75 (pp. 233, 331, 332), 134, 265
- Population, 60, 75 (p. 334), 265
- Science and technology, 75 (p. 338), 177
- Space program, 40, 75 (p. 339)
- Urban problems, 75 (p. 233)
- Voluntary service programs, 112
- Weather forecasting and research, 143
- Wheat trade, 192
- Wildlife preservation, 75 (p. 338)

International Court of Justice, 367
International Decade of Ocean Exploration, 134
International Development, Agency for (AID), 5, 60, 75 (p. 246), 148
International Development, Presidential Task Force on, 75 (pp. 296, 318), 148
International Development Association, 75 (p. 298), 148
International Development Corporation, U.S., proposed, 75 (p. 298), 148
International Development and Humanitarian Assistance Act of 1971, proposed, 148, 203
International Development Institute, U.S., proposed, 75 (p. 298), 148
International economic policy
- Developing nations, assistance, 75 (p. 303)
- Discussions with
  - France, 395–397
  - Germany, Federal Republic of, 415, 416
  - United Kingdom, 403
- Dollar, U.S., 264, 268, 274
  - Devaluation, 396, 397 n., 401 ftn. (p. 1196), 406
  - Stabilization, 325
- Economic stabilization program, effect, 396

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

International economic policy—Con.
Exchange rates, realignment, 75 (p. 295), 264, 292 [11], 297 [6, 16], 396, 401, 405
Foreign policy message, 75 (pp. 292–295, 300–303)
Gold, value of, 287, 406
Group of Ten monetary agreement, 401, 402, 405, 406
Monetary reform, 189 [2], 264, 269, 284, 287, 292 [11], 297 [6], 314 n., 325, 343, 377, 383 n., 394, 395, 396, 397 n. 402, 405, 406, 415
Trade, 73 (p. 214), 75 (pp. 227, 293, 300–303), 264, 284, 292 [11], 297 [6, 16], 314 n., 325, 383 n., 394, 397 n., 402, 405, 415
International Economic Policy, Council on, 75 (pp. 301, 303), 148, 316
Establishment, 18
Executive Director (Peter G. Peterson), 18, 19, 75 (p. 293), 148 n.
International Labor Organization, 189 [18]
International Law Commission, 367
International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, 303 ftn. (p. 986)
International Monetary Fund (IMF), 264, 297 [16], 316, 401 n.
Special Drawing Rights, 75 (pp. 294, 295)
International Narcotics Control, Cabinet Committee on, 286
International Narcotics Control Board, 75 (p. 335), 203
International Red Cross, 154 [5]
International Sales Corporation, Domestic, 297 [6]
International security assistance program, proposed, 75 (p. 319), 148, 203
International Service Agencies, 230
International Telecommunications Satellite Consortium (INTELSAT), 176, 177
International Trade and Investment Policy, Commission on, 75 (p. 301)
International Wheat Agreement, 1971, 192
International Wheat Council, 192
Interstate Commerce Commission, 54
Interstate and Foreign Commerce, House Committee on, 195, 303 [5]
Investment Companies, Minority Enterprise Small Business, 29
Investment Corporation, Overseas Private (OPIC), 75 (p. 298), 148
Investment Policy, Commission on International Trade and, 75 (p. 301)
Investments, 325, 406
Arkansas River basin, 196
Business, 406
Developing nations, 60
District of Columbia development, 29
Industry, 287, 389
Japan, 75 (p. 275)
Pension programs, 384
Private foreign, 60, 75 (pp. 241, 243, 247, 282, 298), 148
Stock market, 144 [16], 356 [22]
Tax incentives, 292 [4]
Iowa
Gov. Robert D. Ray, 25, 79, 81 n., 245
Visits to, 79–81, 245
Ireland, Northern. *See* United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland
Ireland, Republic of
European Economic Community, membership question, 75 (p. 231)
Prime Minister John M. Lynch, 101
Irwin, Lt. Col. James B., 262
Isabella, Queen, 30 n.
Isle Royale National Park, Mich., 153
Isolationism, 110 [10], 264
Israel
See also Middle East
Prime Minister Golda Meir, 255
U.S. assistance, 6 [15], 75 (pp. 287, 289), 148, 303 [13]
U.S. relations, 6 [15], 61, 88 [13], 303 [13]
Italian Migration, American Committee on, 198
Italy
Foreign Minister Aldo Moro, 62 n., 66
Group of Ten monetary agreement, 401 n.
Prime Minister Emilio Colombo, 62, 66
U.S. relations, 62, 66
Izembek National Wildlife Range, Alaska, 153

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

Jackson, Andrew, 71, 77, 179 n.
Jackson, Sen. Henry M., 274, 292 [6], 303 [13]
Jackson, Justice Robert, 337
Jackson State College, deaths, 6 [2]
Jaffe, Dr. Jerome H. (Director, Special Action Office for Drug Abuse Prevention), 202, 204, 206
James, William, 274
James v. *Valtierra*, 189 ftn. (p. 694)
Japan
American investments, 75 (p. 275)
Asian policy, 75 (pp. 268, 272), 310
Consultations concerning President's trips to Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and People's Republic of China, 328 [11, 15], 382
Defense burden sharing, 297 [16]
Economic stabilization program, effect, 292 [11]
Economy, 75 (pp. 219, 271, 274), 182, 284, 289 n., 296, 310, 351, 352, 378, 401
Emperor Hirohito, 277, 289, 299, 301, 303 [1], 304, 305, 309, 310, 316
Empress Nagako, 277, 289, 310
Environmental programs, 256
Exporters, aid to, 297 [6]
Former Minister for Foreign Affairs Kiichi Aichi, 296
Group of Ten monetary agreement, 401 n.
Investment restrictions, 75 (p. 302)
Joint U.S.-Japan Committee on Trade and Economic Affairs, 289 n.
Khmer Republic, assistance to, 75 (p. 266)
Minister for Foreign Affairs Takeo Fukuda, 289
Okinawa, reversion, 75 (p. 275), 201, 296
Prime Minister Eisaku Sato, 75 (p. 275), 201, 296
Steel industry, 156 [9], 161, 182, 222, 297 [5]
Tariff preferences for developing nations, 148
Textiles, 75 (pp. 275, 302), 94, 328 ftn. (p. 1036)
Trade, 75 (pp. 275, 300), 94, 292 [10], 417
Japan—Continued
Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, United States, war damage compensation, 29
U.S. forces, reduction, 73 (p. 215), 75 (pp. 226, 270, 275)
U.S. relations, 48, 73 (p. 215), 75 (p. 275), 144 [7], 243, 245, 289, 296, 301, 304, 309, 310, 404
Japan Textile Federation, 94
Jarriel, Tom, 6 [21], 154 [6], 292 [6]
Jarring, Gunnar (Special Representative of the Secretary General of the United Nations to the Middle East), 6 [15], 61 [16], 75 (p. 287)
Javits, Sen. Jacob K., 61 [5], 110 [12], 351
Jaworski, Leon, 337 n.
Jefferson, Thomas, 77, 116, 135, 147, 151, 220, 221, 275, 292 [6], 349 n., 378
Jenkins, John L. (Director, Office of Minority Business Enterprise), 332 n.
Jepsen, Roger W., 79 n.
Jewish leaders, American, message about violence against Soviet facilities, 11
Jha, Lakshmi Kant (Ambassador from India), 349
Jha, Madam Lakshmi Kant, 349
Job Development Act of 1971, proposed, 263
Job development credit, 263, 264, 266, 287, 297 [17], 363, 389, 390, 401 ftn. (p. 1196)
Job Opportunities in the Business Sector (JOBS) program, 200
Jobs and job training. *See* Employment
Jobs for Veterans Program, Chairman, 137, 200
John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts, 366
Johnson, Donald E. (Administrator of Veterans Affairs), 137 n., 275
Johnson, Joshua, 77
Johnson, President Lyndon B., 6 [12, 19], 27, 42, 110 [1, 10], 144 [2], 154 [4, 5], 168 n., 178, 179, 182, 189 [9], 191, 292 [6], 356 [21]
Johnson, Mrs. Lyndon B., 179
Johnson, U. Alexis, 158
Johnson, Willie, 378 n.
Johnson Library, Lyndon Baines, 178, 179
Johnston, Ernest B., Jr., 139 n.

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

Joint Economic Committee, 250 [13]
Joint statements
China, People's Republic of, 376
France, President Georges Pompidou, 396
Germany, Federal Republic of, Chancellor Willy Brandt, 415
United Kingdom, Prime Minister Edward Heath, 405
Yugoslavia, President Josip Broz Tito, 343
Joint U.S.-Japan Committee on Trade and Economic Affairs, 289 n.
Jonas, Repr. Charles Raper, 333
Jones, Julianne, 221
Jordan
See also Middle East
Internal conflict, 75 (p. 288)
Peace efforts and response, 75 (p. 287), 88 [13]
U.S. assistance, 148
U.S. relations, 73 (p. 216), 75 (pp. 227, 344)
Jordan, Sen. B. Everett, 38
Jordan, Mrs. B. Everett, 38
Jordan, Henry, 370
Jordan, Leland D., Jr., 378 n.
Jordan, Sen. Len B., 272
Juan Carlos, Prince (Spain), 28, 30
Judd, Dr. Walter H., 292 [2]
Judicial system
See also Courts, United States
Paraprofessionals, 93
Reform, 2, 16, 93, 116
States, 93
Judiciary, House Committee on the, 297 [14]
Judiciary, National Conference on the, 93
Judiciary, Senate Committee on the, 297 [14], 303 [9], 391
Justice, Department of, 347 ftn. (p. 847), 381 n.
See also specific constituent agencies
Attorney General, 15, 16, 43, 61, 80, 83, 93, 116, 132, 156 [6], 161, 189 [10, 12], 199, 218, 249, 268, 286, 292 [7], 297 [14], 303 [9], 311, 337 n., 338, 352, 362
Dock strikes, injunction, 372
Executive branch reorganization, 26 (p. 56), 116
Juvenile delinquency, Federal activities, 109
Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Act of 1968, 109

Kabis, Dorothy Andrews, death, 225, 294
Kalispell, Mont., 298 n., 299, 300 n.
Kansas
McClellan-Kerr Arkansas River Navigation Project, 196
Kansas City, Mo., 222
Kaplow, Herbert, 6 [21], 88 [16], 156 [9], 189 [10], 250 [11], 292 [8]
Karras, Alex, 297 [1]
Kashmir, United Nations peacekeeping role, 295
Kawabata, Yasunari, 310
Kekman, Edward J., 22 n.
Kelley, Roger T., 31 n., 200 n.
Kempster, Norman, 328 [1, 16]
Kennedy, David M., (U.S. Ambassador at Large and U.S. Permanent Representative to North Atlantic Treaty Organization), 56, 416
Kennedy, Mrs. David M., 56
Kennedy, John F., 6 [16, 19], 27, 67, 110 [1], 144 [2], 154 [4], 182, 187, 198, 267, 278, 342 n., 356 [21], 403, 404 n.
Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts, 366
Kennedy Park Homes Association v. *City of Lackawanna, N.Y.*, 189 ftn. (p. 694)
Kenney, W. John, 173
Kent State University, deaths, 6 [2]
Kentucky
Gov. Louie B. Nunn, 106 n., 145, 180, 181, 214, 253 n.
Visit to, 106
Kerr, Robert S., 196
Kettering, Eugene W., 283
Kettering, Mrs. Eugene W., 282
Key Biscayne, Fla.
Statements or remarks made or released in, 100, 167, 168, 318–321, 350, 364, 365, 376, 399, 400, 413–419
Visit of Chancellor Brandt of the Federal Republic of Germany, 415–417

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

Khmer Republic (Cambodia)
Asian countries, assistance, 75 (p. 266)
Military situation, 59, 61 [2, 4, 5], 73 (p. 212), 75 (pp. 227, 249, 253, 256–259, 264, 265), 88 [1, 2, 7, 9, 11], 110 [3, 11], 135, 144 [10], 154 [8,] 250 [14], 356 [2, 10, 11, 19, 20], 363
Norodom Sihanouk, 75 (pp. 257, 258, 264, 265)
U.S. assistance, 75 (pp. 263, 265), 148, 356 [2, 20]
Khoman, Thanat (Foreign Minister of Thailand), 286 n.
Khosrovi, Carol (Director, VISTA), 112 n.
Kidnaping
Government officials, 75 (p. 336)
U.S. airmen in Turkey, 88 [12]
Kilpatrick, Carroll, 292 [5]
Kinard, Frank (Bruiser), 243, 244
King, Joseph P., 243
King, Martin Luther, 14, 132
Kishi, Nobusuke, 349
Kissinger, Dr. Henry A. (Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs), 17, 75 n., 88 [4], 110 [11], 131, 231, 250 [2], 292 [9], 297 [15], 305, 326, 328 [2, 5, 13], 376 n.
Klein, Herbert G. (Director of Communications for the Executive Branch), 81
Knauer, Virginia H. (Director, Office of Consumer Affairs), 21, 72 n., 225 n.
Knights of Columbus, 268
Knipling, Dr. Edward F., 158
Knowlton, Maj. Gen. William A., 187, 188
Koontz, Rachel, 378 n.
Korea, Republic of
Armed forces, 75 (p. 271)
Assistance to Republic of Vietnam, 75 (p. 256)
Defense, 148
Economy, 75 (p. 270)
Textile agreements between U.S., Japan, Hong Kong, and the Republic of Korea, 328 ftn. (p. 1036)
U.S. assistance, 75 (p. 271), 148
U.S. forces, 73 (p. 215), 75 (pp. 223, 226, 270, 271), 144 [3], 148, 154 [9], 182
Korean conflict, 173
Kornegay, Francis A., 297 [9, 19]
Kostelka, Robert, 321
Kosygin, Aleksei N. (Premier of Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), 6 [13], 75 (p. 290), 303 [3, 14], 328 [7, 13]
Krogh, Egil, Jr. (Executive Director, Cabinet Committee on International Narcotics Control), 202 n., 286
Kunzig, Robert L. (Administrator of General Services), 132
Kurzman, Stephen, 387 n.
Kyl, Repr. John, 245

Labor
Construction industry, 61 [11, 14], 70, 119
Disputes
Airline, 41
Coal mining industry, 327
Dock strikes, 300, 303 [1, 5], 372, 398
Legislation, 41, 169, 171, 173, 303 [1, 5], 398
Railway, 41, 169, 171, 173, 250 [9]
Steel industry, 156 [9], 222 ftn. (p. 804), 250 [9, 10]
Economic stabilization program, 264, 280, 287, 292 [8], 303 [10], 325, 328 [10], 329, 341, 347, 364, 379, 406
International Labor Organization, 189 [18]
Legislation, 171, 364
Occupational safety. *See* Occupational safety
Organizations, 169, 297 [5], 328 [10], 329, 363, 364
Pension programs, 364
Wages and pay, 33 (p. 80), 61, 70, 151, 250 [9, 12, 13], 268, 297 [12]
Labor, Department of, 116, 132, 227, 398 n.
See also specific constituent agencies
Regional offices, 25
Reorganization, 364
Secretary (James D. Hodgson), 18, 26 n. (p. 58), 41 n., 61 [11, 14], 70 n., 86, 106 n., 119, 136 n., 138 n., 169, 171 n., 182, 190 n., 200, 227 n., 250 [9], 263, 300, 303 [1], 327, 339, 350, 363, 364, 419

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

Labor Conference, National Railway, 169
Labor Day, address to the Nation, 285
Labor-Management Relations Act, 1947, 372
Labor Organization, International, 189 [18]
Labor Statistics, Bureau of, 250 [13], 280
Lagos, Nigeria, 95 n.
Laguna Atascosa, Tex., 153
Laird, Melvin R. (Secretary of Defense), 31, 74 (p. 219), 75 (pp. 236, 314, 316–319, 341), 88 [4], 110 [11], 121, 122, 127, 128, n., 144 [3, 6], 189 [1, 3], 200, 247, 274, 286, 313, 330, 356 [1, 5, 19], 386, 392 n.
Lajes Field, Azores, 393 n.
Lamb, Charles, 65
Land Law Review Commission, Public, 48
Land use policy, 3, 26 (p. 52), 48, 166, 256
Land and Water Conservation Fund, 33 (p. 92), 48, 122, 273
Lands, Federal. *See* Federal lands and property
Landry, Greg, 257, 258
Laos
  Ho Chi Minh Trail, 59, 61 [2, 4], 73 (p. 212), 75 (p. 266), 110 [4], 154 [4]
  Military situation, 6 [12], 61 [1–5, 10, 17], 73 (p. 212), 75 (pp. 263, 266, 267), 88 [1, 2, 7, 9, 11, 16], 110 [3, 5, 11], 135, 144 [10], 250, [14], 356 [10]
  Peace proposals, 75 (p. 251), 356 [2]
  Prime Minister Souvanna Phouma, 75 (p. 264)
  U.S. assistance, 75 (pp. 263, 266), 148, 356 [2]
  U.S. relations, 75 (pp. 266, 267)
Larimer, Paul S., 221
Lasker, Bernard, 351
LaSpada, Carmella, 359 n.
Latin America
  Alliance for Progress, 75 (pp. 244, 245, 299), 265
  Economic and social development, 148, 265
  Inter-American Social Development Institute, 148
  Pan American Highway, 75 (p. 246), 131
Latin America—Continued
  Private foreign investment, 75 (p. 243)
  Tariff preferences, 75 (p. 248)
  Trade, 75 (pp. 245, 248), 131
  U.S. assistance, 75 (pp. 243, 245, 297)
  U.S. policy, 73 (p. 215), 75 (p. 241), 131, 265
Lavoisier, Antoine Laurent, 176
Law Commission, International, 367
Law enforcement
  Demonstrations, antiwar, 154 [16], 156 [2], 189 [10, 13]
  District of Columbia, 132, 189 [10], 267
  Federal aid, 2
  Federal laws, reform, 15, 16
  Federal-State-local cooperation, 2, 33 (p. 91), 83
  Narcotics and dangerous drugs, 75 (p. 335), 144 [19], 156 [10], 203, 204, 206, 222, 286, 321
  Neighborhood law offices, 159
  Non-testimonial evidence, 29
  Personnel, 2, 29, 47, 84, 93, 189 [10, 13], 218
  Revenue sharing, 33 (p. 91), 83, 84, 93
  Subpoenaing of newsmen's notes and films as evidence, 156 [5]
  Surveillance, electronic, 144 [14, 19]
Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, 2, 84, 93, 132, 218, 381 n.
Law of Treaties, Vienna Convention on the, 367
Laws, National Commission on Reform of Federal Criminal, 15, 16
Lawyers, American College of Trial, 337
Leavenworth Prison, 144 [5], 154 [6]
Legacy of Parks program, 26 (p. 53), 48, 121, 122, 273, 275, 276
Legal Services Corporation, National, proposed, 387
  Message to Congress, 159
Legislation, remarks or statements on approval
  District of Columbia Revenue Act of 1970, 8
  Draft extension and military pay increase, 312
  Economic Stabilization Act Amendments of 1971, 406
  Emergency Detention Act of 1950, repeal, 302

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

Legislation, remarks or statements on approval—Continued
Emergency Employment Act of 1971, 227, 228
Emergency Employment Act of 1971, appropriations bill, 263
Farmers Home Administration, insured loan authority, extension, 322
Health manpower and nurse training acts, 361
Lincoln Home National Historic Site, remarks, 269
Military appropriation authorization bill, 360
National Cancer Act of 1971, 408, 409
Office of Education and Related Agencies Appropriation Act, 1972, 226
Omnibus Crime Control Act of 1970, 2
Railway labor dispute, negotiation extension, 171
Revenue Act of 1971, 389, 390
Rural areas, extension of Federal aid, 253
Social security benefits, 107, 414
Uniform Relocation Assistance and Real Property Acquisition Policies Act of 1970, 3
Veterans pension and compensation bill, 400
Wild horses and burros protection, 399
Legislation, vetoes. *See* Veto messages and memorandums of disapproval
Legislative program
See also Congress; Congress, communications to *and specific subjects*
Congressional action, 7
Message to Congress resubmitting legislation, 29
Legislatures, Citizens Conference on State, 79
L'Enfant, Pierre, 29, 132
Leonard, Dr. Fred, 158
Leonard, James F. (Head, U.S. Delegation to the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament), 55 n.
Leslie, Charles Robert, 77
Letters and telegrams
See also Memorandums to Federal agencies or officials; Messages
Letters and telegrams—Continued
American National Red Cross, letter on reappointment of Chairman, 167
District of Columbia Congressional delegate, telegram to Rev. Walter E. Fauntroy on election, 113
Dock strikes, injunctions, letter to Attorney General, 372
Earth Week, letter to Governors, 125
Emergency Employment Act of 1971, letter to State, county, and local officials, 350
Federal Regional Councils, letter to Governors, 25
Kissinger, Dr. Henry A., letter, 17
Members of Congress. *See* Congress, communications to
Resignations, letters accepting
Agriculture, Secretary of, 355
Atomic Energy Commission, Chairman, 233
Defense, Deputy Secretary of, 392
U.S. Delegation to the Paris Peace talks, head, 239
Vietnam-era veterans, employment opportunities, letter to Secretary of Labor, 200
White House Conference on Food, Nutrition, and Health, exchange of letters with Dr. Jean Mayer, 23
Letton, Dr. A. Hamblin, 408
Lexington, Ky., 106
Libby Dam, Mont., 299 n.
Liberia, President William V. S. Tubman, death, 236
Libraries, Presidential, 178, 179
Library of Congress, 132
Licht, Gov. Frank, 98
Limited test ban treaty, 234
Lin Piao (Minister of National Defense of the People's Republic of China), 297 ftn. (p. 977)
Lincoln, Abraham, 26 (p. 56), 58, 71, 77, 93, 110 [15], 147, 240, 269, 289, 342 n., 349 n.
Lincoln, Nebr., 12 n.
Lincoln Home National Historic Site, 269
Lindsay, John V., 162 n.
Linkletter, Art, 352
Lippmann, Walter, 337

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

Liquid metal fast breeder reactor, 195, 305–307
Lisagor, Peter, 61 [1, 17], 88 [9], 154 [10], 189 [5], 250 [9], 292 [6], 356 [2]
Loan Association, National Student, proposed, 69
Loan Bank Board, Federal Home, 199
Loans
  Agriculture, 157, 174, 235, 355 n.
  Business, 156 [8, 11], 237, 246
  Developing nations, 148
  Health education facilities, construction, 361
  Historic buildings, preservation and restoration, 48
  Indians, American, 322
  Interest rates, 297 [5, 10], 332
  Minority groups, 199
  Rural areas, 29, 78, 235, 245, 322, 355 n.
  Students, 63, 69
  Veterans Administration, direct sale, 29
Local Government Cooperation, Committee on State and, 357 n.
Local governments
  See also Federal-State-local cooperation
  Education, 129
  Employment, 133, 263, 350
  Federal aid, 26 (p. 54), 33 (p. 83), 43
  Law enforcement, 2, 84
  Neighborhood law offices, 159
  Planning and management assistance, 89
  Property taxes, 204
  Revenue sharing, Federal. *See* Revenue sharing
  Tax system, 43
  Transportation systems, 108
  Voluntary service programs, 112
  Welfare system, 33 (p. 85), 145
Locarno Agreement Establishing an International Classification for Industrial Designs, 248
Lockheed Aircraft Corporation, 156 [8, 11], 237, 246
Lodge, Henry Cabot (Chairman, President's Commission for the Observance of the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations), 76, 154 ftn. (p. 593), 295 ftn. (p. 961)
Loma Linda, Calif., 275, 276 n.
  Mayor Douglas F. Welebir, 275
Loma Linda University, 275
Lombardi, Vincent T., 66, 242–244, 268
Lombardi, Mrs. Vincent T., 244
Long, Sen. Russell B., 292 [10], 325
Longshoremen, dispute, 300, 303 [1, 5], 372, 398
Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers' Compensation Act, proposed, 29, 364
Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, International, 303 ftn. (p. 986)
Los Angeles Rams (football team), 244 n.
Loudoun County, Va., 370 n.
Louisiana
  Gov. John J. McKeithen, 321
  Wilderness areas, proposed, 153
Lovell, Capt. James A., Jr. (Chairman, President's Council on Physical Fitness and Sports), 67, 136 n.
Lovell, Malcolm R., Jr., 86 n., 136 n., 190 n., 200 n., 227 n.
Loyd, Joseph W., Jr., 221
Lucey, Gov. Patrick J., 81 n.
Lugar, Richard G., 137 n., 209
Lumber, 37 (p. 101)
Lungren, Dr. John C., 42
Luxembourg
  Drug traffic control, 203
  U.S. Ambassador, 203
Lynch, John M. (Prime Minister of Ireland), 101
Lynch, Mrs. John M., 101

MacArthur, Douglas, 187
MacDonald, Dr. Gordon J. F., 256 n.
MacDonald, Peter, 303 [7]
MacGregor, Clark (Counsel to the President for Congressional Relations), 222, 389 n., 390 n., 396 n.
Macmillan, Harold, 403, 404 n.
Madison, James, 77, 220
Magnetohydrodynamic power cycles (MHD), 195
Magnuson, Sen. Warren G., 232
Magruder, William M., 114 n.
Mahon, Repr. George H., 240

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

Maine
Gov. Kenneth M. Curtis, 261
Visit to, 261
Malek, Frederic V., 150
Malpractice, Commission on Medical, 63
Management and Budget, Office of, 39, 89, 90, 115, 116, 126, 132 n., 148 n., 158 n., 172, 174, 199, 250 [9], 290 n., 291, 325 n., 361 n., 387 n.
Director (George P. Shultz), 18, 19 n., 46 n., 81 ftn. (p. 362), 156 [1, 7], 172, 172 n., 222 ftn. (p. 804), 247, 260, 264 n., 286, 329
Manchester, N.H., arrival remarks, 257
Mangone, Gerard J., 295 ftn. (p. 961)
Manpower Administration, 25, 364
Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962, 86, 200
Manpower Report of the President, 133
Manpower Revenue Sharing Act of 1971, proposed, 86, 133
Manpower training. *See under* Employment
Mansfield, Sen. Mike, 110 [11], 154 [11], 168 n., 299, 301, 303 [6, 8], 396 n.
Mansfield amendment, 360
Manson, Charles, 154 [13]
Manufacturers, National Association of, 341
Mao Tse-tung (Chairman, People's Republic of China), 154 [15], 297 ftn. (p. 977), 303 [3], 328 [13]
Mara, Wellington, 243
Marcos, Ferdinand (President of the Philippines), 255
Marcos, Mrs. Ferdinand, 255
Marihuana, 156 [10], 189 [3], 203
Marihuana and Drug Abuse, Commission on, 156 ftn. (p. 611)
Marine Corps, U.S.
Camp Pendleton, Calif., 121, 122
Commandant, 155, 388
First Marine Division, 155
Marine Resources and Engineering Development, National Council on, 134
Marine Resources and Engineering Development Act of 1966, 134
Maritime Association, Pacific, 303 ftn. (p. 986)
Maritime Commission, Federal, Chairman, 189 [6]
Maritime Consultative Organization, Intergovernmental (U.N.), 48, 75 (p. 332), 256
Maritime industry
Bridge-to-bridge communications, 29, 48
Dock strikes, 300, 303 [1, 5], 372, 398
Longshoremen, disability compensation benefits, 29, 364
Oil pollution, 256
Safety standards, 29
Marland, Dr. Sidney P., Jr. (Commissioner of Education), 69 n., 129 n.
Marshall, Justice John, 93, 337
Marshall Plan, 75 (pp. 231, 296), 316
Marshall University, 326
Marston, Robert Q. (Director, National Institutes of Health), 163 n.
Martin, John B. (Commissioner, Administration on Aging), 210, 359 n., 379
Maryland, visit to, 334
Mass transit systems. *See* Transportation
Mathias, Sen. Charles McC., Jr., 334
Mayer, Dr. Jean, 23
Mayo, Charles, 206
Mayo, William James, 206
McCall, Gov. Tom, 301
McClellan, Sen. John L., 196, 204
McClellan-Kerr Arkansas River Navigation System, 196
McClendon, Sarah, 328 [12]
McClintock, Barbara, 176 n.
McCloskey, Repr. Paul N., Jr., 189 [8]
McCormack, John W., 240, 330
McCracken, Paul W. (Chairman, Council of Economic Advisers), 37 n. (p. 102), 264 n., 297 [1], 308, 357
McDevitt, John, 268
McIntyre, Sen. Thomas J., 257, 260
McKeithen, Gov. John J., 321
McKinley, William, 76
McKnight, C. A. (Pete), 144 [1]
McLean, Va., 413n.
McMahon, William (Prime Minister of Australia), 345, 346
McMahon, Mrs. William, 346
McNeil, Clifton, 370
Meade, Gen. George G., 269
Means, Marianne, 189 [6]
Meany, George, 189 [18], 329, 363

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

Medal of Freedom, Presidential. *See* Presidential Medal of Freedom
Medal of Science, National. *See* National Medal of Science
Media. *See* News media
Mediation and Conciliation Service, Federal, 303 [1]
Medicaid, 63, 170, 210, 259, 387, 414
Medical Association, American, 206
Medical care. *See* Health and medical programs
Medical Malpractice, Commission on, 63
Medicare, 63, 107, 170, 210, 259, 375, 379
Médici, Emílio Garrastazú (President of Brazil), 382, 383, 394
Médici, Mrs. Emílio Garrastazú, 382, 383
Medicine. *See* Health and medical programs
MEDIHC (Military Experience Directed Into Health Careers), 63
Mediterranean area, 75 (pp. 227, 230, 292)
Meetings with foreign leaders
  Australia, Prime Minister William McMahon, 345, 346
  Brazil, President Emílio Garrastazú Médici, 382, 383
  France, President Georges Pompidou, 394–396
  Germany, Federal Republic of, Chancellor Willy Brandt, 415, 416
  India, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, 348, 349
  Ireland, Prime Minister John M. Lynch, 101
  Italy, Prime Minister Emilio Colombo, 62, 66
  Japan
    Emperor Hirohito, 277, 309, 310
    Minister for Foreign Affairs Takeo Fukuda and Japanese Cabinet members, 289
  Portugal, Prime Minister Marcello Caetano, 394
  Saudi Arabia, King Faisal, 186
  Spain, Prince Juan Carlos, 28, 30
  United Kingdom, Prime Minister Edward Heath, 403–405
  Yugoslavia, President Josip Broz Tito, 340, 342, 343
Meir, Golda (Prime Minister of Israel), 255
Melcher, Repr. John, 299
Memorandums of disapproval. *See* Veto messages and memorandums of disapproval
Memorandums to Federal agencies or officials
  Arts, Federal Government and the, 184
  Cabinet Committee on International Narcotics Control, 286
  Combined Federal Campaign, 85, 230
  Council on International Economic Policy, establishment, 18
  Federal Civilian Service Awards, 158
  Federal criminal laws, reform, 16
  Federal employees training programs, 90
  Federal summer employment program for youth, 120
  Federal summer intern program (1971), 68
  Federal wage increase deferment, 281
  Government patent policy, 278
  Red Cross, 87
  Women in Government, 150
Mendenhall, Ferdinand, 303 [12]
Mental retardation, 358, 375
Mental Retardation, President's Committee on, 358
Merman, Ethel, 311
MESBIC's, 29
Meskill, Gov. Thomas J., 351
Messages
  American Jewish leaders, 11
  Apollo 14 astronauts, 35
  Baseball season opening, 1971, 128
  Christmas message, 410
  Christmas message to the Armed Forces, 411
  Congressional. *See* Congress, communications to
  Kabis, Dorothy Elston, death, 225
  Thanksgiving Day message to the Armed Forces, 373
  U.S.S.R. cosmonauts, death, message to Nikolai V. Podgorny, 217
  Veterans Day message to the Armed Forces, 336
  Virgin Islanders, 34

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

Methadone maintenance program, 203
METRO system, 132, 362
Metropolitan Statistical Areas, Standard, 89, 92, 108
Mexican-Americans and Spanish-speaking persons, 33 (p. 91), 132, 145, 151, 156 [13], 199, 332
Mexico
  Ambassador to U.S., 131
  Boundary treaty with U.S., 75 (p. 243), 149
  Drug traffic, control, 203
  Economy, 75 (p. 242)
  Environmental programs, 256
  Former President Gustavo Diaz Ordaz, 75 (p. 243)
  Immigration policy, U.S., 29
  International Boundary and Water Commission, United States and Mexico, 149
  U.S. Ambassador, 203
Meyer, Charles A., 131
Meyer, Sylvan, 144 [7, 13]
MHD (magnetohydrodynamic) power cycles, 195
Michigan
  Gov. William G. Milliken, 297 [7]
  Visit to, 297
  Wilderness areas, 153
Micronesia. *See* Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands
Middle East
  See also specific country
  Arab-Israeli conflict, 75 (pp. 285, 286), 186 n.
    Cease-fire 6 [15], 75 (pp. 288, 290, 344), 88 [13], 187, 189 [7], 295, 303 [13]
    Four Power talks, 6 [15], 75, (pp. 237, 287)
    Peace efforts, 9, 61 [16], 73 (p. 216), 75 (p. 287–292), 88 [13], 182, 292 [1], 343, 385
  Balance of power, 6 [15], 73 (p. 216), 75 (pp. 289, 290, 306), 88 [13], 189 [7], 303 [13]
  Hijackings, aircraft, 75 (p. 336)
  Role of
    United Nations, 6 [15], 75 (pp. 237, 287, 288), 295
Middle East—Continued
  Role of—Continued
    U.S. *See* U.S policy *below*
    U.S.S.R., 6 [13, 15], 73 (p. 216), 75 (pp. 237, 286, 290, 304, 306, 307), 88 [13], 189 [7], 250 [4], 328 [4]
  U.S. policy, 6 [15], 61 [16], 73 (p. 216), 75 (pp. 237, 285, 287–292, 305, 344), 88 [13], 144 [15], 182, 186, 189 [7], 250 [4], 378
Migration, American Committee on Italian, 198
Military. *See* Armed Forces, U.S.
Military Academy, U.S. *See* United States Military Academy
Military Selective Service Act of 1967, 168 n., 407
Military Wife of the Century Award, 311 ftn. (p. 1007)
Milk inspection standards, 8
Milk Producers, Inc., Associated, 284
Miller, Sen. Jack, 79, 81 n., 245
Miller, Linda, 378 n.
Milliken, Gov. William G., 297 [7]
Mills, Repr. Wilbur D., 76, 94, 123 n., 170
Mined Area Protection Act, proposed, 48
Mines, Bureau of, 195
Mines and mining
  Energy resources, 195
  Environmental protection, 48, 195, 256
  Federal requirements and guidelines, 48
  Health and safety requirements, 195, 364, 369
  Labor dispute, 327
Minority Business Enterprise, Inter-Agency Committee on, 332
Minority Business Enterprise, Office of, 332
Minority Enterprise, Advisory Council for, 332
Minority Enterprise Small Business Investment Companies (MESBIC's), 29
Minority groups
  See also Desegregation; Discrimination; *and specific groups*

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

Minority groups—Continued
"Benign neglect," 6 [9]
Business enterprise, 29, 156 [13], 297 [9], 332
Equal opportunity, 26 (p. 57), 156 [13], 172, 199
Law enforcement personnel, 132
Philadelphia Plan, 297 [9]
Mint, Bureau of the, Director, 13 ftn. (p. 35)
Minuteman missiles, 75 (pp. 313, 314)
MIRV (multiple independently targeted reentry vehicles), 75 (pp. 312, 313, 321, 322, 324)
Missiles, 303 [12]
Antiballistic missile (ABM) systems, 75 (pp. 310, 311, 313, 314, 322–324), 175, 182, 189 [5], 250 [5], 352 ftn. (p. 1093)
Intercontinental ballistic, 75 (pp. 309–314, 321, 323)
Minuteman, 75 (pp. 313, 314)
Multiple independently targeted reentry vehicles (MIRV), 75 (pp. 312, 313, 321, 322, 324)
SAFEGUARD, 75 (pp. 313, 314), 175 n.
Statistics, 75 (p. 309)
Submarine-launched ballistic missiles (SLBM), 75 (p. 309)
Testing, 352 ftn. (p. 1093)
Missing in action, servicemen. *See* Prisoners of war
Mississippi
Disaster assistance, 173
Gov. John Bell Williams, 180, 181
Missouri
Gov. Warren E. Hearnes, 71, 81 n.
Visit to, 222
Mitchell, Capt. Edgar D., 35, 51, 82
Mitchell, John N. (Attorney General), 83 n., 161, 268, 286, 292 [7], 337 n., 372
Mitchell, Martha, 297 [14]
Mobile, Ala., 180
Mobutu, Joseph Désiré (President, Democratic Republic of the Congo), 75 (p. 284)
Model Cities program, 89, 241
Modern Society, Committee on the Challenges of, 48, 75 (pp. 233, 332), 256
U.S. Representative, 48 ftn. (p. 139)
Monetary Fund, International, 264, 297 [16], 316, 401 n.
Monetary policy. *See* International economic policy
Money
Dollar, U.S., 75 (p. 294), 139, 264, 268, 274, 285, 287, 297 [16], 364, 396, 406
Exchange rates, realignment, 75 (p. 295), 264, 292 [11], 297 [6, 16], 396, 401, 405
Gold, value of, 264, 287, 401 ftn. (p. 1196) 406
Monnet, Jean, 314 n.
Monroe, James, 77
Monroe, La., Mayor Jack Howard, 321
Montana
Gov. Forrest H. Anderson, 299
Visit to, 299
Moon and Other Celestial Bodies, Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, Including the, 234
Moore, Gov. Arch A., Jr., 253 n., 292 ftn., (p. 955), 326
Morgan, Edward P., 189 [12]
Morgenthau, Hans J., 61
Moro, Aldo (Foreign Minister of Italy), 62 n., 66 n.
Morton, Rogers C. B.
Chairman, Republican National Committee, 13
Secretary of the Interior, 32, 48 n., 130, 152 n., 162, 166 n., 194 n., 230, 272, 303 [7, 11], 304, 305, 308, 371 n.
Motion Picture Association of America, Inc., 183 ftn. (p. 677)
Motion picture industry, 118, 183 ftn. (p. 677)
Motley, Marion, 243
Motor vehicles
Emission control standards, 48, 256, 297 [3]
Excise tax on automobiles, 264, 287, 297 [1], 363, 389, 390
Gasoline, non- or low-leaded, 48
Pollution, 48, 108, 256, 297 [3]
Price increase rescission, 266

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

Motor vehicles—Continued
Safety, 63, 75 (p. 233), 297 [3], 315
Sales, 144 [16]
Mountain State Forest Festival, 326
Movies. *See* Motion picture industry
Moynihan, Dr. Daniel P., 6 [9, 18], 110 [10]
Mueller, George E., 176 n.
Muir, John, 152
Muirhead, Dr. Peter P., 69 n.
Muller, Frank, 279 n.
Multilateral development institutions, 75 (pp. 227, 298)
Multiple independently targeted reentry vehicles (MIRV), 75 (pp. 312, 313, 321, 322, 324)
Murphy, Audie, death, 197
Murtaugh, Jerry, 12
Music Corporation of America, 183 ftn. (p. 677)
Muskie, Sen. Edmund S., 156 [3], 261, 292 [12]
Mutual and balanced force reductions (MBFR), 73 (p. 215), 75 (pp. 234, 238, 306, 325, 326, 342, 343), 168 n., 180, 182, 187, 189 [1, 2], 204, 222, 292 [1], 328 [15], 397 n., 415
Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act of 1961, 251
Mylai massacre (Vietnam), 144 [5], 154 [6, 13], 156 [12]

Nagako, Empress (Japan), 277, 289, 310
Nagurski, Bronislaw (Bronko), 209, 268
Narcotic Addict Rehabilitation Act of 1966, 203
Narcotic Drugs, Commission on (U.N.), 75 (p. 335)
Narcotics, Single Convention on, 1961, 203
Narcotics Control, Cabinet Committee on International, 286
Narcotics Control Board, International, 75 (p. 335), 203
Narcotics and dangerous drugs
Addicts, 2, 139, 189 [3], 203, 204, 218
Crime, 132, 203, 218, 293
District of Columbia, 132
Drug Abuse Prevention Week, 1971, 293
Narcotics and dangerous drugs—Con.
Education, 189 [3], 202, 203, 204, 206, 321
Heroin, 189 [3], 203, 204, 212, 215, 218, 293, 321
Identification coding, 29, 72
International cooperation, 73 (p. 217), 75 (pp. 334, 335), 189 [3], 203, 204, 212, 216, 295, 321, 343
Law enforcement. *See* Law enforcement
Marihuana, 156 [10], 189 [3], 203
Message to Congress, 203
Opium poppies, 203, 215, 216, 218, 222
Prescription drugs, 29, 206
Psychotropic, 203, 206, 212
Rehabilitation and treatment programs, 2, 132, 189 [3], 203, 204, 206, 222, 321, 339, 375
Traffic, control, 33 (p. 91), 47, 73 (p. 217), 75 (p. 334), 202, 203, 204, 206, 222, 286, 293, 321, 343
Veterans, 189 [3], 202–204, 321, 339
Youth, 203, 204, 215, 293, 321
Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, Bureau of, 203
Narcotics Treatment Administration (District of Columbia), 132
NASA Distinguished Service Medal
Mitchell, Capt. Edgar D., 82
Roosa, Lt. Col. Stuart A., 82
Shepard, Capt. Alan B., Jr., 82
Nash, Bernard E., 210
Nashua, N.H., 258, 259 n., 260
Mayor Dennis Sullivan, 258
Nathan, Dr. Richard P., 132 n., 291
National Academy of Sciences, 75 (p. 340)
National Aeronautics and Space Administration, 75 (p. 339), 82, 195, 335
National Alliance of Businessmen, 190, 200
National Archives and Records Service, 220 n., 222, 247, 257, 333
National Association of Manufacturers, 341
National Bureau of Standards, 72
National Business Council for Consumer Affairs, 72
Chairman, 252
Establishment, 252

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

National Cancer Act of 1971, 224, 408, 409
National Cancer Advisory Board, 409
National Cancer Institute, 335, 409
National Cancer Program, 163, 185
National Capital Planning Commission, 132
National Cemetery, Arlington, 353
National Center for the State Courts, proposed, 93
National Center for Toxicological Research, 334 n.
National Center for Voluntary Action, 12, 111, 112
  President, 111
National Collegiate Athletic Association, 136
National Commission on Productivity, 250 [9, 12]
  Chairman, 81 ftn. (p. 362)
National Commission on Reform of Federal Criminal Laws
  Chairman, 15
  Report, 15, 16
National Conference on Corrections, 381
National Conference on the Judiciary, 93
National Council on the Arts, 140, 183
National Council on Marine Resources and Engineering Development, 134
National Council on Organized Crime, 47
National Crime Prevention Week, 1971, 47
National Endowment for the Arts, 184
  Chairman (Nancy Hanks), 183
  Report, 140
National Endowment for the Humanities, 184
  Report, 45
National Environmental Policy Act of 1969, 48, 195, 256, 308
National Explorer Presidents' Congress, 193
National Federation of Republican Women, 338
National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities, 33 (p. 93), 45
National Foundation for Higher Education, proposed, 69, 226
National 4-H Congress, 378
National Gallery of Art, 179 n.
National Governors' Conference, 71, 145
National Health Agencies, 230
National Health Education Foundation, 63
National Health Insurance Partnership, proposed, 63, 206, 375
National health insurance standards act, proposed, 63
National Industrial Pollution Control Council, 53
National Institute of Education, proposed, 7, 29, 33 (p. 91), 129, 226
National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health, 364, 369
National Institutes of Health, 63, 69, 163, 163 n., 164, 408
National Land Use Policy Act of 1971, proposed, 166
National League of Families of American Prisoners and Missing in Southeast Asia, 313
National Legal Services Corporation, proposed, 387
National Liberation Front (Vietnam). *See* Vietnam conflict
National Medal of Science, President's Committee on the, 176 n.
National Medals of Science, 176
National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, 116, 134
National Park Service, 132, 273
  Director, 152 n., 275
National Park System, 48, 152
National Parks, World Conference on, 273
National Prayer Breakfast, 38
National Railway Labor Conference, 169
National Retired Teachers Association, 210, 259
National School Lunch Act, 23 n.
National Science Foundation, 33 (p. 94), 48, 69, 75 (p. 338), 195
  Annual report, 103
National security, 33 (p. 88), 40, 73 (pp. 214, 217), 75 (pp. 224, 296, 308, 311, 312, 314, 315, 321, 323), 98, 110 [11], 144 [19], 148, 156 [6], 193, 247, 292 [1], 301, 302, 338, 392 n.

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

National Security Council, 18, 75 (pp. 230, 234, 244, 296, 308, 311, 321, 341, 342, 344), 139, 148, 154 [3]
National Special Industries Commission, proposed, 41
National Student Loan Association, proposed, 69
National Student Volunteer Program, 112
National Traffic and Motor Vehicle Safety Act of 1966, 315
National Wilderness Preservation System. *See* Wilderness areas
NATO. *See* North Atlantic Treaty Organization
Natural disasters. *See* Disasters and disaster assistance
Natural Resources, Department of, proposed, 26 (p. 56), 33 (p. 86), 46, 116, 195, 256, 354
Naval Officer Candidate School, Newport, R.I., 98
Naval War College, Newport, R.I., 98
Navy, Department of the
  Camp Pendleton, Calif., transfer of land for public recreational use, 122
  Secretary (John H. Chafee), 189 [3], 388
NBC (National Broadcasting Company), 6, 156 [5], 231 n.
Nebraska
  Gov. J. James Exon, 12
  Visit to, 12
Nebraska, University of, 210
  Convocation remarks, 12
Nebraska Wesleyan University, 12
Negroes. *See* Blacks
Nehru, Jawaharlal, 71, 255, 342, 349
Neighborhood Development Program, 89
Neighborhood Health Centers, 63
Neighborhood law offices, 159
Neighborhood Youth Corps, 136, 190
Nelsen, Repr. Ancher, 132 ftn. (p. 512)
Nelsen Commission on the Organization of the Government of the District of Columbia, 8, 132
Nelson, Charles P., 261
Nelson, Harold, 284
Netherlands, Group of Ten monetary agreement, 401 n.
Nevers, Ernie, 268
New Hampshire
  Gov. Walter R. Peterson, 257, 260
  Visit to, 257–260
New Hampshire, University of, 259
New Jersey
  Gateway National Recreation Area, 162, 273
  Gov. William T. Cahill, 162 n., 205, 351
  Visits to, 162, 205, 206
New York
  Attica State Correctional Facility, 292 [7]
  Environmental programs, 256
  Gateway National Recreation Area, 162, 273
  Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller, 71 ftn. (p. 202), 75 (p. 242), 145, 162 n., 272, 292 [7], 351
  Visits to, 162, 187, 188, 204, 268, 351
  Welfare system, 145
New York City, 162 n., 268, 351, 385 n.
  Mayor John V. Lindsay, 162 n.
New Zealand, 75 (pp. 256, 266, 273)
Newark, N.J., 162 n.
  Mayor Kenneth Gibson, 162 n.
Newman, Wallace J. (Chief), 243, 244, 305
Newport, R.I., 98
Newport Beach, Calif., 279
News conferences
  February 17, 61
  March 4, 88
  April 29, 154
  May 1, 156
  June 1, 189
  August 4, 250
  September 16, 292
  October 12, 328
  November 12, 356
News media
  American Society of Newspaper Editors, 144, 204
  Criticism, Vice President's, 144 [17, 18]
  Domestic policy briefings, regional
    Birmingham, Ala., 182
    Des Moines, Iowa, 81
    Kansas City, Mo., 222
    Portland, Oreg., 303
    Rochester, N.Y., 204

71-234—72——87

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

News media—Continued
Drug education program, 204, 206, 293
Farm media representatives, briefing, 81
German correspondents accompanying Chancellor Brandt, 417
Journalists missing or captured in Southeast Asia, 99
Presidential coverage, 110 [10]
Radio
Addresses, 73, 157, 285, 339
Panel interviews, 144, 297
Subpoenaing of newsmen's notes and films, Congressional, 156 [5]
Television
Addresses, 135, 231, 264, 287, 325, 337
Campaign cost, 110 [16]
Interviews, 6, 110, 244
Ngo Dinh Diem, 154 [4], 292 [6]
Nguyen Thi Binh, Madame, 154 [1]
Nguyen Van Thieu (President, Republic of Vietnam), 75 (p. 253), 88 [2, 6], 250 [7], 292 [6], 303 [15], 328 [16], 356 [19]
Nicaragua, Ambassador Guillermo Sevilla-Sacasa, 131
Nietzsche, Friedrich Wilhelm, 12
Nigeria, U.S. relations, 75 (p. 284)
Nixon, Hannah Milhous, 208
Nixon, Mrs. Richard, 28, 30, 34, 52, 57, 67, 75 (p. 247), 76, 77, 82, 95, 101 n., 104, 105, 131 n., 147, 151, 161, 173, 176, 178, 179, 196, 205, 221, 223, 229, 255, 257, 258, 260, 261, 268, 273, 275, 277, 288, 289, 298, 299, 301, 303 [11], 304, 305, 309 n., 311, 326, 338, 340 n., 342 n., 346 n., 348 n., 349, 355, 359, 366, 373, 380, 383 n., 393, 411, 418
Nixon Doctrine, 9, 33 (p. 88), 73 (p. 214), 75 (pp. 222–228, 231, 236, 241, 251, 266, 268, 270, 271, 280, 282, 297, 315, 317, 319), 110 [9], 144 [7], 148, 356 [21]
Nobel Peace Prize (1970), 161, 176
Noe, James A., 321
Noise abatement, 48, 108, 256
Nolan, John S., 10 n., 156 [3]
Norodom Sihanouk, 75 (pp. 257, 258, 264, 265)
North Atlantic Treaty Organization, 62 n., 66, 73 (p. 218), 75 (pp. 230, 233, 236, 290, 312, 315), 168, 216, 331, 404 n., 405, 415, 416
Committee on the Challenges of Modern Society 48, 75 (pp. 233, 332), 256
Consultations concerning President's trips to Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and People's Republic of China, 328 [11]
Defense burden sharing, 73 (p. 215), 75 (pp. 223, 226, 234, 236, 241), 368
Forces, 33 (p. 88), 75 (pp. 223, 235, 316, 317, 325, 343, 344)
Mutual and balanced force reductions. *See* Mutual and balanced force reductions
Oceans, oil pollution, 134
Secretary General Manlio Brosio, 75 (pp. 230, 234), 168 n., 314, 368
U.S. Permanent Representative, 416
North Carolina
Gov. Robert W. Scott, 333
Visit to, 333
North Cascades National Park, Wash., 153
Norway, European Economic Community, membership question, 75 (p. 231)
Noyes, Newbold, Jr., 144 [1]
Nuclear energy. *See* Energy resources
Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water, Treaty banning, 234
Nuclear weapons. *See under* Weapons
Nuclear Weapons, Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of, 73 (p. 217), 75 (pp. 224, 307, 320), 234, 339
Nunn, Gov. Louie B., 106, 145, 180, 181, 253 n.
Nursing homes, 210, 259, 260, 375, 379
Nutrition
Children, 22, 23 n., 387
Fish and fish products, 29
Food labeling and guidelines, 72
Food stamp program. *See under* Food
Hunger, 161, 176, 287, 354, 355 n.
School lunch program, 23 n., 157

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

Nutrition, and Health, White House Conference on Food, 22, 23
Nygard, Neal, 378 n.

Oak Ridge National Laboratory, Tenn., 335
Oates, James F., Jr. (Chairman, Jobs for Veterans Program), 137
Oberdorfer, Don, 156 [4]
Obscenity and pornography, legislation, 7, 29
Occupational safety and health, 6 [24], 63, 363, 364, 369, 375
Ocean Exploration, International Decade of, 134
Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, National, 116, 134
Oceans
  Energy sources, 195
  Legislation, 48
  Marine science and engineering development, report, 134
  Pollution, 48, 75 (pp. 233, 332), 134, 256
  Seabed Arms Control Treaty, 55, 73 (p. 217), 75 (pp. 307, 320), 100, 134, 234, 328 [5], 339
  Seabeds, 75 (p. 333), 149, 295
O'Donnell, Gen. Emmett, Jr., death, 413
O'Donnell, Gladys, 338
Oelman, Robert S., 282
Offices. *See other part of title.*
Offset agreement with Federal Republic of Germany, 368
Ogilvie, Gov. Richard B., 81 n., 269, 270, 284, 352
Ogilvie, Mrs. Richard B., 270
Ohio
  Gov. John J. Gilligan, 242, 282
  Visits to, 242–244, 282
  Wilderness areas, proposed, 153
Oil, 37 (p. 101), 195, 196
  Alaska, 130, 308
  Middle East, 19
  Pollution, 48, 75 (pp. 233, 332), 134, 256
Oil, International Convention for the Prevention of Pollution of the Sea by, 48
Okefenokee National Wildlife Refuge, Ga., 153
O'Kelley, Sean T., 101
Okinawa
  Reversion to Japan, 75 (p. 275), 201, 296
  U.S. forces, 75 (pp. 226, 270, 275), 296
Oklahoma
  Gov. David Hall, 196
  Visit to, 196
Oklawaha River, 20
Old-Age, Survivors, and Disability Insurance, 170
Older persons, 210, 287
  Consumer programs, 72
  Income, 107, 210, 264, 379
  Inflation, 7, 170, 210, 379
  Legal services program, 159
  Medicaid, 63, 170, 210, 259
  Medicare, 63, 107, 170, 210, 259, 375, 379
  Nursing homes, 210, 259, 260, 375, 379
  Pension programs, 384
  Property taxes, 204, 210, 379
  Social security, 7, 170, 207, 210, 379
  Thanksgiving Day salute, 359
  Voluntary service programs, 112, 210, 379
  White House Conference on Aging, 210, 259, 379, 384
Oliver, Andrew, 77
Olsson, John P., 132 n.
Olympics, 1972, summer, 417
Omnibus Crime Control Act of 1970, 2
Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968, 84
Opium poppies, 203, 215, 216, 218, 222
Opportunity Funding Corporation, 332
Oregon
  Gov. Tom McCall, 301
  Visit to, 301–303
Organization of African Unity, 236
Organization of American States, 75 (pp. 244, 246), 131 n., 132
Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), 48, 75 (pp. 233, 245, 298, 332), 148, 256
Organized Crime, National Council on, 47
Ormandy, Eugene, 183
O'Rourke, Lawrence M., 61 [13]
Otten, Al, 292 [7]
Ottina, John R., 129 n.

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

Ottumwa, Iowa, 97
Outer Space Treaty, 234
Overly, Col. Norris M., 99 ftn. (p. 431)
Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC), 75 (p. 298), 148

Pacific Islands, Trust Territory of the, 29
Pacific Maritime Association, 303 ftn. (p. 986)
Packard, David, 156 [11], 392
Packwood, Sen. Robert W., 301
Pakistan
  Conflict with India, 250 ftn. (p. 850), 378, 394 n.
  Grain shipments, 250 [1]
  Refugees, 250 [1], 349 n.
  Relations with
    China, People's Republic of, 75 (pp. 280, 281)
    India, 75 (p. 281)
    Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, 75 (p. 280)
  U.S. assistance, 5, 75 (p. 280), 250 [1], 318
Pakistan Relief Committee, 5
Palm Desert, Calif., 374, 375 n.
Palm Springs, Calif., 157 n.
Palmer, Arnold, 52
Pan American Highway, 75 (p. 246), 131, 160
Panama, 160
Paper, recycled, 48
Paris peace talks on Vietnam, 61 [5, 10], 75 (pp. 253, 255, 261), 88 [7, 9], 144 [8], 154 [5], 189 [9], 356 [8]
  U.S. Delegation
    Head (David K. E. Bruce), 75 (p. 262), 154 [5], 189 [9], 239, 250 [6]
    Head (William J. Porter), 239 n., 250 [6]
Park Service, National, 132, 152 n., 273, 275
Park System, National, 48, 152
Parks. *See* Recreation
Parks, World Conference on National, 273
Passman, Repr. Otto E., 321
Pastore, Sen. John O., 66
Patent Policy Committee, 278
Patricelli, Robert E., 63 n.
Patrick, Milton, 59
Patsayev, Viktor I., 217
Patton, Gen. George S., 274
Pay Board, 325, 341, 347, 357, 363, 406, 407
  Chairman (Judge George H. Boldt), 325 n., 357
  Guidelines, 356 [16], 357
  Labor, cooperation, 328 [10], 329, 363
Payments, balance of. *See* Balance of payments
PBS (Public Broadcasting System), 6
Peace Corps, 6 [11], 75 (p. 283), 111, 112, 378
  Chile, 6 [11]
  Director, 12
  Reorganization, 12
Pearce, Katherine, 210
Pecora, William T., 194 n.
Pedersen, S. Eddie, 272
Penn, Robert, 137 n.
Pension programs
  Labor, 364
  Message to Congress, 384
  Private system, reform, 379
  Veterans, 137, 400
Pentagon papers, 268
People-to-People program, 6 [11]
Percy, Sen. Charles H., 210, 352
Perkins, Donald S., 252
Pershing, Gen. John J., 370
Peru
  Earthquake, 75 (p. 247), 131, 151, 161, 173, 211, 221
  Expropriations, 173
  U.S. assistance, 221
Pesticides, 48, 157, 256
Peterson, Peter G.
  Assistant to the President for International Economic Affairs, 19, 328 ftn. (p. 1036)
  Executive Director, Council on International Economic Policy, 19, 75 (p. 293), 148 n.
Peterson, Rudolph, 75 (p. 296), 148
Peterson, Gov. Walter R., 257, 260

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

Petitbon, Richie, 370
Pettis, Repr. Jerry L., 275
Philadelphia Plan, 297 [9]
Philippines
  Economy, 75 (p. 273)
  Mrs. Ferdinand Marcos, 255
  President Ferdinand Marcos, 255
  U.S. forces, 73 (p. 215), 75 (p. 226), 182
Physical Fitness and Sports, Conference on, 67, 136 n.
Physical Fitness and Sports, President's Council on, 67, 136 n.
Piccolo, Brian, 412
Pierpoint, Robert C., 156 [10]
Pine Bluff Arsenal, Pine Bluff, Ark., 334 n.
Pittsburgh Pirates (baseball team), 330
Pitzer, M. Sgt. Daniel L., 99 ftn. (p. 431), 128
Planned Variations program, 241
Podgorny, Nikolai V. (Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet), 217, 328 [7]
Poff, Repr. Richard H., 15
Poland, treaty with Federal Republic of Germany, 75 (pp. 237, 239)
Police. *See* Law enforcement.
Polls, public opinion. *See* Public opinion polls
Pollution
  Air, 33 (p. 92), 48, 108, 195, 220, 256, 297 [3]
  Airplane, 48, 53, 108
  Atmospheric, 143
  Control, 7, 10, 33 (p. 92), 48, 53, 75 (p. 331), 102, 144 [15], 256, 355 n.
  Energy, 194–196, 307
  Federal facilities, control, 33 (p. 92)
  Federal spending, 195
  Industrial discharges, 256
  International cooperation, 48, 73 (p. 217), 75 (pp. 233, 331, 332), 134, 265
  Legislation, 33 (p. 92), 48
  Motor vehicles, 48, 256, 297 [3]
  Noise, 48, 108, 256
  Oceans, 48, 256
  Oil, 48, 134, 256
  Pesticides, 48, 256
  Public-private cooperation, 53
  Sulfur emissions, 195
Pollution—Continued
  Water, 6 [24], 33 (p. 92), 48, 102, 132 196, 256, 297 [3]
Pollution Control Council, National Industrial, 53
Pollution of the Sea by Oil (1954), International Convention for the Prevention of, 48
Pompidou, Georges (President of France), 75 (p. 230), 394–397
Population
  Abortion policy, 127
  Control, 60, 75 (p. 334), 127, 295
  Growth, 75 (p. 334), 92, 148, 265
  Rural areas, 81, 235, 355 n.
  United Nations, 295
Pornography. *See* Obscenity and pornography
Porter, William J. (Head, U.S. Delegation to the Paris peace talks), 239 n., 250 [6]
Portland, Oreg., 302 n., 303
Portraits, John Quincy and Louisa Adams, presentation to White House, 77
Ports and Waterways Safety Act, proposed, 29, 48, 134
Portugal
  President Américo Deus Rodrigues Thomaz, 394 n.
  Prime Minister Marcello Caetano, 394, 395
  U.S. relations, 394
Postal Service, United States, 116
  Postmaster General (Winton M. Blount), 116, 180, 181
Potomac River, pollution, 132
Potter, Philip, 61
Powell, Dick, 279
Powell, Justice Lewis F., Jr., 337, 391
Power Commission, Federal
  Chairman, President's designation authority, 29
  Natural gas, 29, 195
Power plants, 48, 195, 256, 305
Prayer Breakfast, National, 38
Presidency, assessment, 6 [1]
Presidential Medal of Freedom
  Brosio, Manlio (Secretary General of North Atlantic Treaty Organization), 314

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

Presidential Medal of Freedom—Con.
Goldwyn, Samuel, 118
Hopkins, William J., 191
Presidential Task Force on International Development, 75 (pp. 296, 318), 148
Presidential Unit Citations
See also Appendix E, pp. 1277, 1278
First Marine Division, 155
President's Advisory Council on Executive Organization (Ash Council), 46, 54 ftn. (p. 148), 72, 115, 116, 250 [9]
Legal Services Corporation, proposed, 159
Report on selected independent regulatory agencies, 54
President's Cancer Panel, Chairman, 408 n., 409
President's Commission for the Observance of the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations, 75 (p. 329), 295
Chairman, 154 ftn. (p. 593)
President's Commission on School Finance, 379
President's Committee on Consumer Interests, 72
President's Committee on Mental Retardation, 358
President's Committee on the National Medal of Science, 176 n.
President's Council on Physical Fitness and Sports, 67, 136 n.
Chairman, 136 n.
President's Environmental Merit Awards Program, establishment, 344
President's inauguration, second anniversary, 21
President's staff
Assistant to the President (Peter M. Flanigan), 94 n., 183 ftn. (p. 677), 384 n.
Assistant to the President for Domestic Affairs (John D. Ehrlichman), 21, 26 n. (p. 58), 43 n., 46 n., 121 n., 123 n., 144 [6], 182, 202 n., 247 n., 305, 379
Assistant to the President for International Economic Affairs (Peter G. Peterson), 19, 328 ftn. (p. 1036)
President's staff—Continued
Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs (Dr. Henry A. Kissinger), 17, 18, 75 n., 88 [4], 110 [11], 131, 231, 250 [2], 292 [9], 297 [15], 305, 326, 328 [2, 5, 13], 376 n.
Counsel to the President for Congressional Relations (Clark MacGregor), 222 ftn. (p. 802), 389 n., 390 n., 396 n.
Counsellor (Robert H. Finch), 109 n., 111 n., 189 ftn. (p. 688), 236 n., 288 n.
Counsellor (Donald Rumsfeld), 189 ftn. (p. 688), 325
Deputy Press Secretary (Gerald L. Warren), 14 n.
Director of Communications for the Executive Branch (Herbert G. Klein), 81 ftn. (p. 361)
Inauguration, second anniversary, remarks, 21
Press Secretary (Ronald L. Ziegler), 21 n., 44 n., 88 ftn. (p. 389), 139 n., 141, 156 ftn. (p. 606), 229 n., 250 ftn. (p. 850), 264 n., 268 ftn. (p. 894), 277 n., 297 ftn. (p. 966), 328 ftn. (p. 1031), 351 ftn. (p. 1088), 372 n., 376 n., 383 n.
Special Assistant to the President for Consumer Affairs (Virginia H. Knauer), 21 ftn. (p. 45), 72, 225 n.
President's travel
Asia, possibility of trip, 189 [11]
Azores, 394, 395, 396 n., 397
Bermuda, 402–405
China, People's Republic of, proposed trip, 154 [15], 231, 242, 243, 245, 250 [2–4], 257, 261, 268, 272, 284, 292 [9], 297 [15], 299, 301, 303 [2, 3], 304, 305, 326, 328 [2, 5, 6, 8, 13], 330, 333, 338, 339, 346 n., 351, 352, 356 [10, 17], 363, 366, 368, 376, 378, 382, 403, 404, 417
Consultations with allies concerning proposed trips to the People's Republic of China and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, 328 [11, 15], 382, 383 n., 403, 404

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

President's travel—Continued
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, proposed trip, 250 [4], 328 [1, 4, 5–8, 13] 330, 333, 338, 339, 346 n., 351, 352, 356 [11], 363, 366, 368, 378, 382, 403, 404
Visits to States. *See* specific State
Presidio Valley, Tex., 149
Press. *See* News media
Press Association, Inter American, 131
Press conferences. *See* News conferences
Price, John R., Jr., 91 n.
Price Administration, Office of, 182, 222
Price Commission, 325, 329, 341, 347, 363, 406
Chairman (C. Jackson, Grayson, Jr.), 325 n., 357
Guidelines, 356 [16], 357
Prices
Agriculture, 157, 284, 380
Automobiles, rescission of increases, 266
Consumer index, 6 [3], 37 (p. 98), 250 [13], 363, 406
Controls, 6 [5], 37 (p. 101), 151, 182, 222, 271, 377, 379
Copper, 37 (p. 101)
Energy, 195
Farm, 271, 284
Guidelines, proposed, 250 [9, 12]
Hog, 157
Increase, 37 (pp. 98, 99, 101, 102), 70, 250 [9, 10], 264, 284, 287, 356 [16], 357, 363, 390
Industry, 292 [8], 325, 406
Inflation, 119, 156 [1], 222
Oil, 37 (p. 101)
Stability, 26 (p. 52), 37 (p. 97), 75 (p. 300), 119, 287, 292 [8], 303 [10], 325, 329, 347, 357, 396, 406
Steel, 37 (p. 101), 250 [10]
Wage-price freeze, 264, 284, 297 [4], 325, 364
Wholesale index, 6 [3], 37 (p. 98), 325, 363, 364
Princeton, N.J., 221 n.
Prisoners of war
Internment of Indochina prisoners in a neutral country, 141
Journalists, Vietnam conflict, 99
Prisoners of war—Continued
National League of Families of American Prisoners and Missing in Southeast Asia, 313
United Nations, 295
Vietnam conflict, 61 [5, 10], 73 (p. 213), 75 (pp. 128, 254, 260, 261, 263, 330), 87, 88 [5, 11], 99, 110 [8, 13], 128, 135, 141, 144 [3, 4, 8, 9], 147, 151, 154 [5, 8–10], 155, 173, 189 [9, 17], 222, 274, 282, 292 [6], 303 [15], 313, 328 [9], 356 [1, 3, 8, 13], 360, 412
Prisoners of War, Geneva Convention Relative to the Treatment of (1949), 141
Prisons
Attica State Correctional Facility, 292 [7]
District of Columbia, 132
FBI study, 2
National Conference on Corrections, 381
Reform, 2, 33 (p. 91), 93, 292 [7]
Prisons, Bureau of, 381 n.
Private foreign investments, 75 (pp. 241, 247, 282, 298), 148
Private Investment Corporation, Overseas (OPIC), 75 (p. 298), 148
Proclamations
See also Appendix C, pp. 1269–1275
Davis-Bacon Act provisions for Federal construction projects, suspension, 70
Drug Abuse Prevention Week, 1971, 293
National Week of Concern for Americans Who Are Prisoners of War and Missing in Action, 99 n.
Red Cross Month, 87 n.,
Proctor, Loren D., 304
Product Information Coordinating Center, Consumer, 72
Productivity, National Commission on, 81 ftn. (p. 362), 250 [9, 12]
Professional Football Hall of Fame, 242–244, 268
Profits, 297 [4, 5], 325
Project Volunteer, 31
Property Review Board, 48, 122, 273

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

Property taxes, 145, 204, 210, 287, 379
Protective Service, Executive, 132, 267
Prouty, Sen. Winston L., death, 288
Psychotropic Substances, Convention on, 203, 212
Public Broadcasting, Corporation for, 72, 159
Public Health Service, 369
Public Land Law Review Commission, 48
Public opinion polls, 189 [17]
  Gallup, 110 [2], 346 n.
Public utilities, 307
Public Works Acceleration Act (1962), 214
Public works bill, accelerated, veto, 214
Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965, 214, 253
Public-private cooperation
  Arts, 183, 184
  Business, 138
  Cancer research, 335, 409
  Consumer protection, 72, 252
  Crime prevention, 47, 84
  Cultural environment, preservation, 166
  Developing nations, assistance, 148
  Disaster assistance, international, 151, 318
  District of Columbia economic development, 29, 132
  Economic stabilization program, 264, 266, 268, 274, 280, 284, 285, 287, 292 [8], 297 [2, 12], 303 [10], 320, 325, 329, 338, 341, 347, 356 [17], 357, 379, 406
  Employment opportunity, 133, 137, 200
  Energy resource development, 195, 306, 307
  Environmental protection, 33 (p. 92), 48, 53, 195, 256
  Farm loan programs, 235
  Health, 63, 276, 375
  Housing, 213
  Mass transit systems, 108
  Minority business enterprise, 332
  Narcotics and dangerous drugs, 202, 293, 321
  National Endowment for the Humanities, funding, 45
  Nursing homes, 259, 379
  Population growth, control, 75 (p. 334)
Public-private cooperation—Continued
  Railroad-highway safety, 365
  Voluntary service programs, 111, 112
Purdue University, 209, 354
Pyrz, Thomas A., 188 n.

Qualifications Boards, Federal Executive Service, 39
Quonset Point Naval Air Station, 96, 97

Radio. *See* News media
Radio and Television, American Women in, 311 n.
Railroads
  Labor disputes, 41, 169, 171, 173, 250 [9]
    Legislation, 41, 169, 171
  Passenger system, national, 108
  Retirement, 33 (p. 90), 384
  Safety, 365
Railway Labor Act (1926), 41
Railway Labor Conference, National, 169
Railway Signalmen, Brotherhood of, 169
Rainwater, Herbert R., 274
Ramsey, William, 221
Randolph, Sen. Jennings, 326
Rangel, Repr. Charles B., 204
Rathbun Dam, 245
Rather, Dan, 189 [9]
Ray, Gov. Robert D., 25 n., 79, 81 n., 245
Rayburn, Sam, 6 [19]
Reactor, liquid metal fast breeder, 195, 305–307
Reactor Safeguards, Advisory Commission on, 195
Reagan, Gov. Ronald, 126 n., 145, 275, 352, 374
Reagan, Mrs. Ronald, 374
Reconstruction and Development, International Bank for, 148, 316
Recreation
  Camp Pendleton, Calif., conversion of land to public, 121, 122
  Federal-State-local cooperation, 33 (p. 92)
  Gateway National Recreation Area, proposed, 273
  Parks and open spaces, 26 (p. 53), 32, 33 (p. 93), 48, 122, 132, 152, 162, 256, 273, 275, 276

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

Recreation—Continued
Urban areas, 136
Wilderness areas. *See* Wilderness areas
Youth programs, 136, 190
Red Cross, American National, 85, 87, 167, 173, 230
Red Cross, International, 154 [5]
Refuse Act of 1899, 48, 256
Regional Councils, Federal, 25, 116
Rehnquist, Justice William H., 247 ftn. (p. 847), 337, 391
Relief Assistance, Advisory Panel on South Asian, 318 n.
Remarks. *See* Addresses and remarks
Reminiscences, personal
Acheson, Dean, 331
Aunts, 163, 379
Bar examination, 93
Baseball, 333, 370
Boyhood, 65, 162, 210, 255, 304, 363
Clark, Justice Tom C., 93
College days, 183, 243, 244, 279, 326, 370
California earthquake (1933), 173
California gubernatorial election (1962), 110 [10], 144 [18], 210
Campaigns, 13, 196
Congressional career, 13, 24, 79, 110, 144 [19], 196, 240, 330, 351
De Gaulle, Charles, 210
Depression, 183, 333, 363, 366
Dewey, Thomas E., 105
Dulles, John Foster, 163
Eisenhower, President Dwight D., 13, 42, 67, 98, 187, 311, 374
Eisenhower, Mrs. Dwight D., 311
Family physician, 206
Football, 209, 242–244, 257, 268, 333, 370, 412
Golf, 209, 374
Graham, Rev. William F. (Billy), 333
Grandparents, 182, 189
Green, Theodore Francis, 210
Hébert, Repr. F. Edward, 330
High school days, 210, 366
Hoover, J. Edgar, 218
Hopkins, William J., 191
Hovde, Dr. Frederick L., 209
Idaho, visit, 272
Illinois State Fairs, 270
Johnson, President Lyndon B., 179
Reminiscences, personal—Continued
King, Dr. Martin Luther, Jr., 14
Lombardi, Vincent T., 243, 244, 268
Law school, 326, 333
Maine, visits, 261
Montana, visits, 299
Mother and father, 65, 81, 182, 189, 208, 210, 255, 260, 304, 363, 379
Music study, 210
National parks, visits, 162
Naval service, 96–98, 245, 284, 346
Nehru, Jawaharlal, 349
New Hampshire, visits, 257, 258
New York residence, 32, 93, 162
Newman, Wallace J. (Chief), 243, 244, 305
News conference following 1962 California gubernatorial election, 110 [10], 144 [18]
Powell, Dick, 279
Price Administration, Office of, 222
Prouty, Sen. Winston L., 288
Quaker background, 65, 182, 189, 208
Red Cross relief efforts, 173
Rogers, Will, 196
Space program, 82
S.S. *Ulúa* cruise, 131
Taft, Sen. Robert A., 163
Vice Presidential term, 13
Virgin Islands, visit, 34
Visits to foreign countries, 209, 221, 270, 275, 297 [3], 326, 349
Asia, 284
Australia, 345
Europe, 279
Germany, 417
Hong Kong, 173
India, 349
Japan, 289
Mexico, 131
South America, 131
Spain, 28, 30
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, 222
Vietnam, 98
Yugoslavia, 340, 342
Wedding trip to Mexico, 131
White House dinners, 71, 342, 349
World War II, 155, 189, 284, 346, 366
Young, Whitney, M., Jr., 95, 106

71-234—72——88

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

Rent Advisory Board, 357 n., 406 ftn. (p. 1203)
Reorganization of executive branch. *See under* Executive branch
Reorganization plans, ACTION (1 of 1971), 112
Reports to Congress
See also Appendix F, pp. 1279–1281
Aeronautics and space activities, 40
Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, U.S., 100
Coal mine health program, 369
Council on Environmental Quality, 256
Educational and cultural exchange program, international, 251
Food for Peace program, 211
Foreign assistance programs, 60
Foreign policy, 74, 75
Highway, traffic, and motor vehicle safety programs, 315
International Coffee Agreement, 124
Juvenile delinquency, Federal activities, 109
Manpower Report of the President, 133
Marine resources and engineering development, 134
Military incentive awards program, 386
National Endowment for the Arts and National Council on the Arts, 140
National Endowment for the Humanities, 45
National housing goals, 213
National Science Foundation, 103
National Wilderness Preservation System, 254
Railway-highway safety study, 365
Rural areas
Availability of Government services, 78
Federal facilities location, 290
Financial assistance, 235
Trade Agreements Program, 377
United Nations, U.S. participation, 295
Water pollutants control, 102
Republican Center, Dwight D. Eisenhower National, 13
Republican Governors Conference, 145, 151
Republican National Committee, 352 ftn. (p. 1091)
Chairman, 13
Republican Party, 6 [23], 13, 110 [14], 154 [12], 225
Republican Women, National Federation of, 338
Research
Agricultural, 60, 157
Biomedical, 63, 164, 409
Cancer, 26 (p. 53), 42, 63, 163, 164, 185, 224, 334, 335, 375, 408, 409
Conversion of chemical and biological warfare facilities, 334, 335, 409
Criminology, 84
Drug detection equipment, 203
Energy source development, 195, 307
Health, 42, 63, 275
Pesticides, 48
Safety standards, 364
Science and technology, 33 (p. 93), 75 (p. 338), 103, 134, 176
Tax incentives, 264
Transportation systems, 108
Research Program, Global Atmospheric, 143
Research Service, Agricultural, 157
Resignations and retirements
See also Appendixes A and B, pp. 1219–1246 and 1247–1268
Agriculture, Secretary of, 354, 355
Atomic Energy Commission, Chairman, 233
Defense, Deputy Secretary of, 392
United Nations, Under Secretary General, 319
U.S. Delegation to the Paris peace talks, Head, 239
Reston, James, 292 [9]
Retail sales, 144 [16], 156 [1], 250 [8, 13], 297 [13], 364
Retardation, President's Committee on Mental, 358
Retired Persons, American Association of, 210, 259, 260
Retired Senior Volunteer Program (RSVP), 112, 210, 379
Retired Teachers Association, National 210, 259
Revenue Act of 1971, 297 ftn. (p. 970), 323, 387, 389, 406

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

Revenue sharing, 6 [15, 17, 18], 7, 26 (p. 54), 33 (pp. 80, 83, 91, 93–95), 43, 50, 61 [15], 70 [17], 79, 84, 86, 89, 92, 108, 144 [17], 145, 147, 170, 172, 182, 204, 210, 214, 222, 226, 228, 235, 241, 245, 264, 287, 297 [18], 352, 379
General, 33 (pp. 83, 95), 43, 50, 78, 79, 86, 89, 92, 132, 145, 182, 235, 245
Hold harmless base line figures, 84 n., 86 n., 89 n., 92 n., 108 n., 129 n.
Messages to Congress, 43, 84, 86, 89, 92, 108, 129
Special, 33 (pp. 84, 95), 132, 145, 182
Education, 129
Law enforcement, 83, 84, 86, 93
Manpower, 86, 129, 133, 214, 228
Rural areas, 78, 79, 81, 91, 92, 214, 235, 245, 253
Transportation, 108
Urban community development, 89, 214, 241, 351
Revenues, Federal, 33 (pp. 80, 82), 43, 297 [8]
Rhode Island
Gov. Frank Licht, 98
Visit to, 96–98
Rhodesia, Southern. *See* Southern Rhodesia
Richardson, Dean E., 297 [10]
Richardson, Elliot L. (Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare), 22 n., 63 n., 72 n., 126, 129 n., 163 n., 170 n., 222, 232, 241 n., 358, 379 n.
Richland, Wash., 305, 306 n., 307 n.
Rickenbacker, Edward V. (Eddie), 282
Rio Grande City High School, Tex., 145, 151
Ripley, S. Dillon, 65
Risher, Eugene V., 88 [2, 5], 144 [5–7, 9, 12, 17, 19], 156 [2], 189 [1]
R.M.S. *Queen Mary*, 279
Roanoke, Va., 197
Robinson, Kenneth, 358 n.
Robustelli, Andy, 243, 244
Rochester, N.Y., 204
Rockefeller, Gov. Nelson A., 71 ftn. (p. 202), 75 (p. 242), 145, 162 n., 272, 292 [7], 351
Rockefeller, Mrs. Nelson A., 71
Rodino, Repr. Peter W., Jr., 198
Rogers, Douglas, 380 ftn. (p. 1162)
Rogers, Nancy Hardin, 380 ftn. (p. 1162)
Rogers, Will, 196
Rogers, William P. (Secretary of State), 6 [12], 19, 30, 55 n., 56, 75 (pp. 234, 281, 288, 290, 293, 319, 341), 76, 88 [4], 97, 99 n., 131, 178, 189 [1], 196, 201 n., 216, 286, 289 n., 331 n., 351, 380, 396 n., 397, 402, 415 n.
Rogers, Mrs. William P., 178
Rollins, John W., Sr., 351
Romania
American private investment, 75 (p. 241)
Floods, 75 (p. 240), 151, 161, 173, 221
President Nicolae Ceausescu, 75 (p. 240)
Trade, 75 (p. 240)
U.S. assistance, 221
U.S. relations, 73 (p. 215), 75 (p. 240)
Romney, George (Secretary of Housing and Urban Development), 81, 89 n., 91 n., 161, 182, 210, 241 n., 297 [1, 9], 379
Romney, Mrs. George, 338
Roosa, Lt. Col. Stuart A., 35, 51, 82
Roosevelt, Franklin D., 27, 71, 110 [2, 14], 182, 414
Roosevelt, Theodore, 32, 71
Rose, Lt. Jonathan, 154 [12]
Rose, Stanley, 325 n.
Rote, Kyle, 243, 245
Roth, Sen. William V., Jr., 225 n.
Rozelle, Pete, 243
Ruckelshaus, William D. (Administrator, Environmental Protection Agency), 48 n., 222, 297 [3], 344 n.
Rumsfeld, Donald (Counsellor to the President), 189 [3], 222, 325, 347 n., 357
Rural areas
See also Agriculture and agricultural programs
Development programs, 33 (p. 93), 78, 79, 81, 91, 92, 116, 199, 214, 235, 245, 253, 290, 355
Drought-stricken, 174
Electric power, 29, 255, 307
Employment, 78, 81, 86, 92, 133, 196, 245, 253, 290

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

Rural areas—Continued
Federal facilities, siting, 290
4–H, 161, 270, 378
Government services, message, 78
Health care and education, 63, 78, 92
Housing, 78, 81, 235, 245
Industry, 92, 245
Legislation, 92, 253, 322
Loans, 29, 78, 174, 235, 245, 322, 355 n.
Outmigration, 81, 92, 133, 196, 235, 355 n.
Revenue sharing, 78, 79, 81, 91, 92, 214, 235, 245, 253
Message, 92
Telephone companies, 29, 235
Waste treatment and disposal, 78, 92, 157, 235, 322
Water resources, 92, 245, 322, 355 n.
Rural Electrification Administration, 29, 255
Rural Telephone Bank, 235
Rusk, Dean, 6 [12]
Russell, Sen. Richard Brevard, 24, 26 (p. 50), 27
Ryukyu and Daito Islands. *See* Okinawa

Sabin, Albert B., 176 n.
SAFEGUARD antiballistic missile system, 75 (pp. 313, 314), 175 n.
Safety
Food and drug, 72, 232
Highway, 108, 315, 365
Legislation, 232
Miners, 195, 364, 369
Motor vehicles, 75 (p. 233), 297 [3], 315
Nuclear power plants, 195
Occupational, 6 [24], 63, 363, 364, 369, 375
Product, 72, 232
Railroads, 365
Ships, 29
Transportation, 108
Safety and Health, National Institute for Occupational, 364, 369
St. Patrick's Day, 104
Sales Corporation, Domestic International, 297 [6]
Salk, Dr. Jonas E., 206
SALT. *See* Strategic arms limitation talks
"Salute to Agriculture," 157, 161
"Salute to the President" dinners, 351, 352
Samuelson, Paul A., 156 [4]
San Clemente, Calif.
News conference, 156
Statements or remarks made or released in, 8–11, 120–128, 141, 156, 223–230, 277, 278, 280, 281, 372, 373
San Jose, Calif., disorders, 6 [21]
Sandage, Allan R., 176 n.
Sandburg, Carl, 77
Sandman, Repr. Charles W., Jr., 205
Sandy Springs, Md., 331 n.
Sarnoff, Gen. David, death, 393
Satellite Consortium, International Telecommunications, 176, 177
Satellites, communications systems, 176, 177
Sato, Eisaku (Prime Minister of Japan), 75 (p. 275), 201, 289, 296
Saudi Arabia
King Faisal ibn Abd al-Aziz Al Saud, 186
U.S. relations, 186
Saxbe, Sen. William B., 242
Sayers, Gale, 412
Sayre, Very Rev. Francis B., Jr., 65
Scali, John A., 198, 242
Scheel, Walter (Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany), 415, 416
Schirra, Walter M., Jr., 82
Schlesinger, James R.
Assistant Director, Office of Management and Budget, 148
Chairman, Atomic Energy Commission, 233 n., 303 [6], 305
Schmidt, Benno C. (Chairman, President's Cancer Panel), 408, 409
Schmidt, F. Victor, 152 n.
Schneiss, Dan, 12
Scholars, Woodrow Wilson International Center for, 65
School Finance, President's Commission on, 379
Schools
Busing, 154 [7], 249, 297 [9]
Consumer education, 72
Desegregation, 7, 29, 33 (p. 91), 129, 154 [7], 156 [13], 182, 199, 204, 226, 249, 332

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

Schools—Continued
Enrollment, 129
Federal aid, 7, 29, 33 (pp. 90, 91), 69, 129, 226, 361, 378
Lunch program, Federal, 23 n., 157
Medical, 33 (p. 90)
Mentally retarded, 358
Neighborhood, 154 [7]
Nonpublic, 129
Schreiber, Taft B., 183 ftn. (p. 677)
Schumann, Maurice (French Minister of Foreign Affairs), 396 n.
Science, National Medal of. *See* National Medal of Science
Science, President's Committee on the National Medal of, 176 n.
Science Foundation, National. *See* National Science Foundation
Science and technology
Aerospace, 246
Agriculture, 60
Coal gasification technology, 307
Developing nations, assistance, 75 (p. 298), 148
Domestic applications, 33 (p. 93), 103, 287
Education, 103
Environmental protection, 48, 143
Federal spending, 103
International cooperation, 48, 75 (p. 338), 177
Research programs. *See* Research
Transportation systems, 108
Science and Technology, Federal Council for, 278
Science and Technology, Office of, 48
Sciences, National Academy of, 75 (p. 340)
SCORE (Service Corps of Retired Executives), 112
Scott, Col. David R., 262
Scott, Sen. Hugh (Senate Minority Leader), 26 n. (p. 58), 80, 110 [16], 114 n., 144 [4], 396 n.
Scott, Jack, 209 n.
Scott, Gov. Robert W., 333
Screen Actors Guild, 183 ftn. (p. 677)
Seabed Arms Control Treaty, 55, 73 (p. 217), 75 (pp. 307, 320), 100, 134, 234, 328 [5], 339
Seabeds. *See* Oceans
Seaborg, Glenn T., 305
Chairman, Atomic Energy Commission, 194 n., 233
SEATO (Southeast Asia Treaty Organization), 75 (p. 273)
Seattle, Wash., 117 n.
Secret Service, United States, 267
Securities and Exchange Commission, 54
Security, Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and, 296
Security assistance program, international, proposed, 75 (p. 319), 148, 203
Security and Cooperation in Europe, Conference on, 75 (pp. 238, 239), 328 [15], 397 n., 415
Security Council, National. *See* National Security Council
Segregation. *See* Desegregation
Seibels, George, 181
Seimes, Mrs. Erwin Frees, 147
Seizure of Aircraft, Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful, 142
Selective Service System
All-volunteer armed force, 7, 31, 33 (p. 88), 312, 378
Amnesty for draft evaders, 356 [14]
Draft, 7, 31, 33 (p. 88), 75 (p. 317), 144 [15], 189 [16], 292 [1], 312, 378
Legislation, 31, 292 [1], 312
Message to Congress, 31
Semple, Robert B., Jr., 88 [13]
Senate
See also Congress
Action on
Draft extension bill, 292 [1]
Foreign assistance bill, 351 ftn. (p. 1088)
Supersonic transport program, 114
Supreme Court nominations, 337
Majority leader (Sen. Mike Mansfield), 168 n.
President (Vice President Spiro T. Agnew), 26 (p. 50), 50, 153
Senators, Washington (baseball team), 370
Seneca Falls, N.Y., 311 n.
Senegal Republic, President Leopold S. Senghor, 204
Senior Aides, 379
Senior Volunteer Program, Retired, 112

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

Sequoia and Kings Canyon National Parks, Calif., 153
Serra, Fray Junipero, 30 n.
Service Awards, Federal Civilian, 158
Sevareid, Eric, 6 [2, 5, 7, 11, 15, 17, 21, 23]
Sevilla-Sacasa, Guillermo (Ambassador from Nicaragua), 131
Sewer systems. *See* Waste treatment and disposal systems
Shafner, Del, 243
Shenandoah National Park, Va., 153
Shepard, Capt. Alan B., Jr., 35, 51, 52, 82
Shoup, Repr. Richard G., 299
Shultz, George P. (Director, Office of Management and Budget), 19, 21, 46 n., 81 ftn. (p. 362), 156 [1, 7], 172 n., 222 ftn. (p. 804), 247 n., 250 [9, 11], 260, 264 n., 300, 329, 380
Shultz, Mrs. George P., 260 303 [1]
Shumway, Frank Ritter, 151
Sickle cell anemia, 33 (p. 90), 63
Sihanouk, Norodom. *See* Norodom Sihanouk
Silberman, Laurence H., 384 n., 398 n.
Simeonof National Wildlife Refuge, Alaska, 153
Single Convention on Narcotics, 1961, 203
Sirikit, Queen (Thailand), 255
Sisco, Joseph J., 250 [4]
Skelton, Richard (Red), 311
Slater, John C., 176 n.
Slayton, Donald (Deke), 44 n.
Small Business Administration, 25, 29, 112, 174, 259, 332
Small Business Amendments Act of 1971, proposed, 332
Small Business Investment Companies, Minority Enterprise, 29
Smith, Al, 292 [12]
Smith, Gerard (Director, United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency), 75 (p. 322)
Smith, Howard K., 6 [4, 5, 9, 10, 12, 15, 19, 21, 24], 110
Smith, Jerry, 370
Smith, Sen. Margaret Chase, 261, 312
Smith, Repr. Neal, 245
Smith College, 257
Smithsonian Institution, 65 n., 132
Social Council, Inter-American Economic and, 75 (pp. 244, 246)
Social Development Institute, Inter-American (ISDI), 75 (p. 248), 148
Social and Rehabilitation Service, Administrator, 109 n.
Social Security Act, 123, 145, 387, 414
Social Security Administration, 170, 207, 379
Social Security System, 384
  Benefits, 7, 33 (p. 90), 107, 170, 207, 379, 414
  Costs, 107, 170
  Legislation, 107, 170, 207, 259, 414
  Older persons, 7, 170, 207, 210, 379
  Reform, 33 (p. 90), 170, 259
Society, Committee on the Challenges of Modern, 48, 256
Sodeman, Dr. William A., 42
Soil Conservation Service, 157, 355 n.
Sophia, Princess (Spain), 28, 30
Soshnik, Joseph, 12
Sousa, John Philip, 210
South Africa, U.S. relations, 75 (p. 283)
South Asian Relief Assistance, Advisory Panel on, 318 n.,
Southeast Asia, National League of Families of American Prisoners and Missing in, 313
Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO), 75
Southeast Asian Nations, Association of, 75 (p. 274)
Southern Rhodesia, U.S. relations, 75 (p. 283)
Southwest, U.S., disaster assistance, 174
Souvanna Phouma, Prince (Prime Minister of Laos), 75 (p. 264)
Soviet Union. *See* Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
Spaak, Paul Henri, 314 n.
Space, Including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies, Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer, 234
Space program
  Aeronautics and space activities, report, 40

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

Space program—Continued
Apollo 14, 36, 44, 51, 82
Message to astronauts, 35
Apollo 15, 238, 242, 245, 362
Communications and weather systems, 75 (p. 339)
Cooperation with U.S.S.R., 73 (p. 217), 75 (pp. 307, 339)
Cosmonauts, U.S.S.R., death, 217
International cooperation, 40, 75 (p. 339)
Spain
Generalissimo Francisco Franco (Chief of State), 28 n., 30
Prince Juan Carlos, 28, 30
U.S. relations, 28, 30, 75 (p. 230)
Spanish-speaking persons, 33 (p. 91), 132, 145, 151, 156 [13], 199, 332
Sparacino, Catherine Grace, 326
Sparkman, Sen. John N., 180
Speaker of the House of Representatives. *See under* House of Representatives
Special Action Office for Drug Abuse Prevention, Director (Dr. Jerome H. Jaffe), 203
Special Drawing Rights (SDR's), 75 (pp. 294, 295)
Special Foreign Assistance Act of 1971, 9
Special Representative for Trade Negotiations, 18
Spellman, John Cardinal, 268
Spender, Sir Percy, 346 n.
Spending, Federal, 156 [1], 182, 250 [11, 13]
Budget policy, 33 (p. 81)
Decrease, 264, 268
Defense. *See* Defense spending
Economic stabilization program, 264, 268, 287
Inflation, effect, 297 [8]
Revenue sharing. *See* Revenue sharing
Statistics, 37 (p. 99)
"Spirit of '76", 261 ftn. (p. 882)
Spong, Sen. William B., Jr., 93
Sport Fisheries and Wildlife, Bureau of, 152 n.
Sports
Baseball, 128, 330, 333, 334, 370
Football, 12, 245, 257, 268, 282, 304, 366, 370
TV interview with Frank Gifford, 244
Sports, Conference on Physical Fitness and, 67
Sports, President's Council on Physical Fitness and, 67, 136 n.
Springfield, Ill., 269, 270, 271 n.
SST. *See* Supersonic transport program
S.S. *Ulúa*, 131
Stafford, Thomas P., 82
Staggers, Repr. Harley O., 326
Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (SMSA), 89, 92, 108
Standards, National Bureau of, 72
Stanford University, 337
Stans, Maurice H. (Secretary of Commerce), 26 n. (p. 58), 53, 81, 91 n., 138 n., 292 [8], 332 n.
Starr, Bart, 370 ftn. (p. 1134)
State, Department of, 29, 116, 148, 158, 239, 251
See also specific constituent agencies
Executive reorganization, effect, 26 (p. 56), 116
Secretary (William P. Rogers), 6 [12], 18, 19, 29, 30, 48, 55, 56, 74 (p. 219), 75 (pp. 234, 281, 288, 290, 293, 319, 341), 76, 88 [4, 10], 97, 99 n., 110 [11], 112, 124, 131, 142, 148, 149, 154 [17], 176–178, 182, 189 [1], 192, 201 n., 212, 216, 234, 248, 250 [1, 2], 286, 289, 292 [2], 296, 313, 317, 328 [13, 15, 16], 331 n., 351, 380, 396 n., 397, 402, 403, 415 n.
State courts, national center for the, proposed, 93
State Fair, Illinois, 270, 271
State Legislatures, Citizens Conference on, 79
State and Local Government Cooperation, Committee on, 357 n.
State of the Union message, 26
Statements by the President
Abortion policy at military base hospitals, 127
Acheson, Dean, death, 331
Agriculture and the economy, 271
Air Force Museum, 283
Alaska Natives Claims Bill, 130
Alliance for Progress, 10th anniversary, 265
Apollo 14, 36, 44, 51

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

Statements by the President—Continued
Apollo 15, 238, 262
Appointments. *See* Appointments and nominations
Armstrong, Louis, death, 223
Automobile manufacturers, rescission of price increases, 266
Big Cypress Swamp, Fla., 371
Black, Justice Hugo L., death, 298
Bunche, Dr. Ralph, retirement as Under Secretary General of United Nations, 319
Death, 385
Busing, 249
Camp Pendleton, Calif., transfer of land for recreational use, 122
Cancer research center, Fort Detrick, Md., 335
China, People's Republic of, trade and travel restrictions, 139
Coal mining industry, labor dispute, 327
Construction industry wage and price stabilization, 119
Cross Florida Barge Canal, 20
Cultural environment, preservation, 166
Davis-Bacon Act (1931), 70
Dewey, Thomas E., death, 105
Eisenhower, Edgar N., death, 229
Eisenhower Memorial Hospital, dedication, 375
Emergency Loan Guarantee Act, 237, 246
Emergency unemployment compensation bill, 419
Energy resource development, Government-industrial cooperation, 307
Environmental program, message to Congress, 49
Equal housing opportunities, Federal policies, 199
Executive reorganization, 46
Federal civilian and military pay increases, 407
Federal employee pay increase, deferment, 320
Congressional action, 324
Harlan, Justice John M., death, 418

Statements by the President—Continued
Japan, visit with Emperor Hirohito, 310
Announcement of meeting, 277
King, Martin Luther, birth anniversary, 14
Legacy of Parks program, 273
Legislation, approval. *See* Legislation, remarks or statements on approval
Lincoln, Abraham, anniversary of birth, 58
Liquid metal fast breeder reactor, 306
Mental retardation, 358
METRO and highway systems in Washington, D.C., 362
Murphy, Audie, death, 197
National Business Council for Consumer Affairs, establishment, 252
National Cancer Act of 1971, Senate approval, 224
National Cancer Program, 164, 185
National Center for Voluntary Action, election of president, 111
National Commission on Reform of Federal Criminal Laws, report, 15
National Crime Prevention Week, 1971, 47
National health strategy proposal, 64
National wilderness areas, 151, 152
91st Congress, legislative record, 7
Nominations. *See* Appointments and nominations
Nursing homes, 259
Nutrition and health programs, 22
O'Donnell, Gen. Emmett, Jr., death, 413
Okinawa reversion, agreements, U.S.-Japan, 201
Opium poppies, Turkish ban, 216
Pakistan disaster relief, 5
Pan American Highway, 160
Planned Variations program, 241
President's Advisory Council on Executive Organization, report on selected independent regulatory agencies, 54
President's Environmental Merit Awards Program, establishment, 344

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

Statements by the President—Continued
Prisoners of war and missing in Southeast Asia, 99, 141
Prouty, Sen. Winston L., death, 288
Revenue Act of 1971, Congressional action, 323
Russell, Sen. Richard Brevard, death, 24
St. Patrick's Day, 104
Sarnoff, Gen. David, death, 393
South Asia humanitarian assistance, 318
Southwest, U.S., drought-stricken areas, 174
Special Foreign Assistance Act of 1971, 9
Stabilization program legislation, 347
Summer employment and recreation opportunities for youth, 190
Summer programs for disadvantaged youth, 136
Supersonic transport program (SST)
Funding by House of Representatives, 165
Senate action, 114
Supreme Court Associate Justices, confirmation, 391
Taxation, depreciation provisions, 10
Textile imports, Japanese, 94
Thanksgiving Day salute to senior Americans, 359
Tomb of the Unknowns, 353
Trans-Alaskan pipeline, 308
Transportation emergency strike legislation, 398
Tubman, William V. S., President of Liberia, death, 236
26th Amendment ratification, 219
U.S. Armed Forces in Europe, 168
Veterans Administration hospital and Legacy of Parks program, 276
Vietnam-era veterans, 137
Welfare reform and social security bill, House action, 170, 207
West Coast dock strike, 300
White House Conference on the Industrial World Ahead, 138
Young, Whitney M., Jr., death, 95

States
Expenditures, statistics, 79
Federal Regional Councils, 25, 116
Financial crisis, 26 (p. 54), 33 (pp. 83, 85), 43, 79
Judicial system, 93
Planning and management assistance, 89
Revenue sharing, Federal. *See* Revenue sharing
Taxes, 43, 79, 145, 204
Welfare system, 33 (pp. 85, 90), 126, 145, 379
Statistical Areas, Standard Metropolitan, 89, 92, 108
Steel industry, 161, 182, 297 [5]
Labor disputes, 156 [9], 222 ftn. (p. 804), 250 [9, 10]
Price increase, 37 (p. 101), 250 [10]
Wages, 156 [9], 182
Stein, Herbert (Chairman, Council of Economic Advisers), 37 n. (p. 102), 182, 222, 297 ftn. (p. 966)
Stennis, Sen. John C., 312, 368
Stephany, William, 193
Stephens, Alexander, 77
Stern, Ernest, 148 n.
Stevens, Sen. Ted, 130
Stevenson, Sen. Adlai E., III, 144 [19]
Stewart, Justice Potter, 32, 76
Stock market, 144 [16], 250 [8, 13], 297 [13], 356 [22]
Stockpiles, Federal disposal, 29
Stokely, Alfred J., 311 ftn. (p. 1007)
Stoph, Willi (Premier of the German Democratic Republic), 75 (p. 238)
Strategic arms limitations talks (SALT), 6 n., 73 (p. 217), 75 (pp. 227, 228, 231, 238, 241, 304, 306, 307, 312–314, 320–322, 324, 342, 344), 88 [15], 100, 144 [15], 154 [14], 175, 189 [2, 5], 204, 233, 250 [4, 5], 292 [1], 303 [12], 328 [3, 4, 5, 15], 339, 356 [15]
Stuart, Constance, 326
Stuart, Gilbert, 77
Student Loan Association, National, proposed, 69
Student Volunteer Program, National, 112

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

Students
College and university, 144 [15]
Deferments, Selective Service System, 31
Employment, 120, 136
Federal aid, 33 (p. 91), 69, 129, 226, 361, 378
Foreign exchange program, 251
Jackson State College, deaths, 6 [2]
Kent State University, deaths, 6 [2]
Loans, 63, 69
Medical, 63, 361
Narcotics and dangerous drugs, 293, 321
President's Environmental Merit Awards Program, 344
Scholarships, Government, 63
Voluntary service programs, 112
Wisconsin, University of, deaths, 6 [2]
Submarines, 75 (p. 309)
Subsidies to industry, Federal, 297 [6]
Suburbs. *See* Urban areas
Suez Canal, 73 (p. 216), 75 (p. 288)
Sugar, imports, 131
Suharto, President (Republic of Indonesia), 75 (p. 272)
Sukarno, Dr. Achmed, 342, 349
Sulfur oxides, 48, 195, 256
Sullivan, Dennis, 258
Sully, Thomas, 179 n.
Sulzberger, C. L, 110 [9]
Summer intern program, Federal, 68
Supersonic Transport Development, Director, 114 n.
Supersonic transport (SST) program, 114, 117, 156 [8], 305
House of Representatives, action, 165
Supreme Court of the United States, 61 [7], 159, 333, 380, 418
Associate Justices, 297 [14], 298, 303 [11], 328 [12], 337, 338, 391
Busing decision, 154 [7]
Chief Justice (Warren E. Burger), 15, 16, 98, 220, 257, 303 [9], 337, 338
Desegregation issues, 156 [13], 182, 189 [12], 199, 204, 249
Nomination procedures, 303 [9]
Woman Justice, possibility, 297 [14], 337, 338
Surcharge. *See* Economic stabilization program
Surveillance, electronic, 144 [14, 19]
Survivors, and Disability Insurance, Old-Age, 170
Swaney, Russel A., 297 n.
Swearing-in ceremonies
Agriculture, Secretary of, 380
Ambassador at Large, 56
Interior, Secretary of the, 32
Treasury, Secretary of the, 57
U.S. Representative to the United Nations, 76
Sweden
Group of Ten monetary agreement, 401 n.
Indochina prisoners of war, internment offer, 141
Switzerland, Group of Ten monetary agreement, 401 n.
Symington, Sen. Stuart, 88 [4]
Syria, Middle East conflict, 75 (p. 289)

Taber, Repr. John, 240
Table tennis team, U.S., 154 [2], 182, 204
Tacoma, Wash., 229 n.
Taft, Robert, 163
Taft, Sen. Robert, Jr., 282
Taft-Hartley Act, 41, 303 [1, 5], 398
Taiwan. *See* China, Republic of
Tariff Commission, United States, 75 (p. 303), 189 [6]
Chairman (Catherine May Bedell), 189 [6]
Tariffs
See also Trade
Barriers, 75 (p. 248), 292 [11], 297 [6, 16]
Preferences, 75 (pp. 232, 245, 248, 283, 299), 131, 148, 302
Quotas, 75 (p. 302), 287, 297 [6]
Tarr, Curtis W. (Director of Selective Service), 31 n.
Task Force on Business Taxation, recommendations, 10
Task Force on International Development, Presidential, 75 (pp. 296, 318), 148
Task forces, reports, Appendix D, p. 1276
Tax Analysis, Office of, 384 n.

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

Tax Reform Act of 1969, 10
Taxes
  Automobile excise tax, 264, 287, 297 [1], 363, 389, 390
  Depreciation provisions, 10, 156 [3]
  Diesel fuel, 29
  Economic stabilization program, 264, 280, 287, 292 [3, 4, 10], 320, 323, 325, 329, 363, 389, 390, 406
  Gasoline, 48, 108, 256
  Historic buildings preservation, tax incentives, 48, 166, 256
  Income tax
    Deductions for private and corporate lenders, 29
    Personal, exemptions, 264, 287
    Surcharge, 33 (p. 81)
  Investment credit, 264, 292 [4]
  Job development credit. *See* Job development credit
  Legislation, 29, 323, 325, 329, 389, 390
  Older persons, 204, 210, 379
  Property, 145, 204, 210, 287, 379
  Reduction, 33 (p. 85), 280
  Reform, 292 [3], 379
  Retirement savings, private, 384
  Revenue Act of 1971, 323, 406
  Revenues, Federal. *See* Revenues, Federal
  Standard deductions, minimum, 292 [4]
  State, 43, 79, 145, 204
  Surcharge on imports, 264, 269, 274, 287, 297 [6, 16], 377, 401 ftn. (p. 1196), 402, 406
  User taxes, 7, 29, 108
  Value-added tax, 6 [7]
  Wagering tax, 7, 29
Taxation, Task Force on Business, 10
Taylor, Charley, 370
Taylor, Sgt. Karl, 135
Taylor, Mrs. Karl, 135
Teacher Corps, 112
Teachers Association, National Retired, 210, 259
Technology. *See* Science and technology
Technology, Federal Council for Science and, 278
Technology, Office of Science and, 48
Telecommunications Satellite Consortium (INTELSAT), International, 176, 177
Telephone Bank, Rural, 235
Television. *See* News media
Television, American Women in Radio and, 311 n.
Tennessee, Gov. Winfield Dunn, 180
Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway, dedication, 180
TerHorst, J. F., 88 [7], 189 [13]
Texas
  Disaster assistance, 174 n.
  Gov. Preston Smith, 264 n.
  Visits to, 178, 179, 274
  Wage-price freeze, reaction, 264 n.
Texas, University of, 179
Textile Federation, Japan, 94
Textiles
  Japanese exports to U.S., 75 (pp. 275, 302), 94, 328 [14]
  Quotas, 7, 94
Thailand
  Assistance to
    Khmer Republic, 75 (p. 266)
    Vietnam, Republic of, 75 (pp. 256, 273)
  Drug traffic control, 203
  Foreign Minister Thanat Khoman, 286 n.
  Memorandum of Understanding on International Narcotics Control, 286 n.
  Queen Sirikit, 255
  U.S. Ambassador, 203, 286 n.
  U.S. assistance, 148
  U.S. forces, 73 (p. 215), 75 (pp. 226, 270), 144 [9], 182
Thanksgiving Day message to Armed Forces, 373
Thanksgiving Day Salute to Older Americans, 359
Theis, J. William, 88 [10], 154 [9], 189 [11], 250 [5], 328 [6]
Thieu, President Nguyen Van. *See* Nguyen Van Thieu
Thomaz, Américo Deus Rodrigues (President of Portugal), 394 n.
Thomas, Helen, 61 [17], 154 [1], 250 [14], 356 [13]
Thompson, Dr. James, 206
Thoreau, Henry David, 378, 399
Thorpe, Jim, 243
Tillinghast, Charles C., Jr., 53

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

Timber, research against disease, 157
Timberlane, Edith, 379
Tito, Josip Broz (President of Yugoslavia), 73 (p. 215), 75 (p. 240), 340, 342, 343, 366
Tittle, Y. A., 243, 244
Tkach, Brig. Gen. Walter R., 412 n.
Tomb of the Unknowns, 353
Tower, Sen. John G., 145, 151, 174 n.
Toxic substances, 48, 256
Toxicological Research, National Center for, 334 n.
Toynbee, Arnold, 383
Trade
See also Exports; Imports; Tariffs; *and specific countries*
Adjustment assistance, 75 (p. 302)
Agricultural, 75 (pp. 232, 240, 301), 157, 271
Balance of payments, 10, 75 (pp. 294, 295), 81, 211, 250 [9], 264, 284, 287, 297 [6], 377, 396, 401 ftn. (p. 1196)
Barriers, 75 (pp. 301, 302), 284, 316, 377, 405, 406
Coffee, 124
Developing nations, 75 (pp. 299, 301)
Dock strikes, effect, 372
Economic stabilization program, 264, 271, 292 [11], 297 [6], 325, 364
European Economic Community, 396
International competition, 297 [6]
International economic policy, 73 (p. 214), 75 (pp. 227, 293, 300–303), 287, 297 [6, 16], 314 n., 325, 383 n., 394, 402, 415
International Wheat Agreement, 1971, 192
Legislation, 7, 75 (pp. 301, 303)
Quotas, 287
Restrictions, 75 (p. 232)
Textiles, 7, 75 (pp. 275, 302), 94, 328 [14]
Trade Agreements Program, 1970, 377
Trade Association, Caribbean Free, 75 (p. 245)
Trade Association, European Free, 75 (p. 231)
Trade Commission, Federal, 22, 54, 72, 252
Trade Convention, Wheat. *See* International Wheat Agreement, 1971
Trade and Development, United Nations Conference on, 75 (p. 245)
Trade and Economic Affairs, Joint U.S.-Japan Committee on, 289 n.
Trade Expansion Act of 1962, 377
Trade and Investment Policy, Commission on International, 75 (p. 301)
Trade Practices Agency, Federal, proposed, 72
Train, Russell E. (Chairman, Council on Environmental Quality), 48 ftn. (p. 139), 48 n., 166 n., 256 n.
Trans-Alaskan pipeline, 308
Transit Authority, Washington Metropolitan Area, 132
Transportation
Labor disputes
Dock strikes, 372
Legislation, 41, 169, 171, 173, 303 [1, 5], 398
Railway, 41, 169, 171, 173, 250 [9]
Mass transit systems, 108, 132, 162, 297 [7, 9], 362
Message to Congress, 108
METRO, 132, 362
National system, proposed, 297 [7]
Older persons, 379
Pan American Highway, 160
Revenue sharing, 108
Urban areas, 108, 297 [7, 9]
User costs, 29
Water, 196
Transportation, Department of
See also specific constituent agencies
Executive branch reorganization, effects, 46, 116
Secretary (John A. Volpe), 25, 29, 66, 108, 110 [12], 132 n., 160, 198, 268, 288
Travel
Pan American Highway, 160
President's. *See* President's travel
Treasury, Department of the, 10 n., 158
See also specific constituent agencies
Executive reorganization, effect, 26 (p. 56), 116

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

Treasury, Department of the—Con.
Secretary
Connally, John B., 48, 57, 115, 156 [8], 178, 204, 237, 250 [9, 12], 264, 286, 292 [4], 316, 325, 328 [10], 329, 333, 357, 379, 386, 389, 396 n., 397, 401, 402, 403
Kennedy, David M., 6 [17, 19, 20] 18, 43
Treasurer of the United States, 225, 294
Treasury, U.S., 132, 148
Treaties, Vienna Convention on the Law of, 367
Treaties and other international agreements
ANZUS Pact, 75 (p. 273)
Convention on International Civil Aviation, protocol, 317
Convention on Psychotropic Substances, 203, 212
Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Seizure of Aircraft, 142
International Convention for the Prevention of Pollution of the Sea by Oil (1954), 48
International Wheat Agreement, 1971, 192
Locarno Agreement Establishing an International Classification for Industrial Designs, 248
Okinawa reversion agreement, 201
Ryukyu and Daito Islands, agreement with Japan, 296
Seabed Arms Control Treaty, 55, 73 (p. 217), 75 (pp. 307, 320), 100, 134, 234, 328 [5], 339
Textile agreements between U.S., Japan, Hong Kong, and the Republic of Korea, 328 ftn. (p. 1036)
Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water, 234
Treaty of Friendship, Commerce, and Navigation (U.S.-Japan), 296
Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security (U.S.-Japan), 296
Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, 73 (p. 217), 75 (pp. 224, 307, 320), 234, 339
Treaties and other international agreements—Continued
Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, Including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies, 234
U.S.-Mexico boundary treaty, 75 (p. 243), 149
Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties, 367
Tri, Lt. Gen. Do Cao, 61 [4]
Trial Lawyers, American College of, 337
Trucking industry, taxation, 29
Trudeau, Pierre Elliott (Prime Minister of Canada), 292 [7]
Truman, President Harry S., 27, 88 [10], 110 [10], 168 n., 179, 182
Truman Doctrine, 75 (p. 296)
Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, World War II war damages, compensation, 29
Tuberculosis, veterans, 29
Tubman, William V. S. (President of Liberia), death, 236
Tucker, Richard, 349
Tulsa, Okla., 196 n.
Tulsa University, 196
Turkey
Ambassador to U.S., 215
Kidnaping of U.S. airmen by terrorists, 88 [12]
Opium poppies, ban, 203, 215, 216, 218, 222
Prime Minister Nihat Erim, 215, 216, 222
U.S. Ambassador, 203, 215
U.S. assistance, 60, 216
Twain, Mark, 316, 403
Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations, President's Commission for the Observance of the, 75 (p. 329), 154 [2], 295
Twiname, John D. (Administrator, Social and Rehabilitation Service), 109 n.

Udall, Stewart L., 32
Ulle, Margaret B., 358 n.
U.N. *See* United Nations

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

Un-American Activities, House Committee on, 110 ftn. (p. 464), 330
Unemployment. *See* Employment and unemployment
Unemployment, national conference on, proposed, 156 [4]
Unger, Leonard (U.S. Ambassador to Thailand), 286 n.
Uniform Relocation Assistance and Real Property Acquisition Policies Act of 1970, 3, 199
Union College, 12
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
Ambassador to U.S., 6 [14], 55
Arms capability, 33 (p. 88), 73 (p. 214), 75 (pp. 220, 231, 304, 309, 310, 314–316, 323), 88 [15], 110 [9]
Arms control and disarmament, 6 [13], 55, 59, 73 (pp. 214, 215, 217), 75 (pp. 304, 309, 314, 326), 100, 176, 177, 182, 187, 189 [2], 204, 222, 328 [4], 330, 339, 351, 352, 356 [15], 378
Berlin, 75 (pp. 237, 239, 305, 306), 189 [2], 204, 222, 250 [4], 328 [5], 339, 368
Biological weapons convention, 328 [5]
Caribbean military activity, 6 [16], 75 (pp. 247, 305)
Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet Nikolai V. Podgorny, 217, 328 [7]
Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, 75 (p. 239), 328 [15]
Cosmonauts, death, 217
Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko, 6 [14], 250 [4], 303 [12, 14], 316, 328 [2, 5, 13, 15], 356 [15]
General Secretary Leonid I. Brezhnev, 189 [1], 303 [3], 328 [7, 13]
Jewish emigration policy, 11 n.
Middle East policy. *See* Middle East
Missiles, 75 (pp. 309, 310, 312, 321), 175, 189 [5], 250 [5], 303 [12], 363
Mutual and balanced force reductions, 75 (p. 325), 182, 189 [1, 2], 204, 222, 292 [1], 368
Premier Aleksei N. Kosygin, 6 [13], 75 (p. 290), 303 [3, 14], 328 [7, 13]
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics—Continued
President's proposed trip, 250 [4], 328 [4–8, 11, 13, 15], 330, 333, 338, 339, 346 n., 351, 352, 356 [10], 363, 366, 368, 378, 382, 383 n., 403, 404
Announcement, 328 [1]
Relations with
China, People's Republic of, 75 (pp. 220, 276)
Cuba, 6 [16], 61 [8], 75 (p. 247), 328 [4]
Egypt, Arab Republic of, 6 [15], 189 [7]
France, 75 (p. 238)
Pakistan, 75 (p. 280)
U.S., 6 [13], 61, 73 (p. 217), 75 (pp. 239, 303), 144 [2, 15], 154 [14], 182, 204, 222, 243, 245, 250 [2], 284, 328 [1, 2], 330, 338, 378
Seabed Arms Control Treaty, 55, 73 (p. 217), 328 [5]
Space program, cooperation with U.S., 73 (p. 217), 75 (pp. 307, 339)
Strategic arms limitation talks, 6 ftn. (p. 15), 73 (p. 217), 75 (pp. 227, 228, 231, 237, 238, 241, 304, 306, 307, 310, 312–314, 320–322, 324, 342, 344), 88 [15], 100, 144 [15], 154 [14], 175, 189 [2, 5], 204, 233, 250 [4, 5], 292 [1], 303 [12], 328 [3–5, 15], 339, 356 [15], 368
Summit meeting, possibility, 6 [14]
Trade with U.S., 75 (p. 304), 354, 378
Treaty with Federal Republic of Germany, 75 (pp. 237, 239)
Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, 73 (p. 217), 75 (p. 224)
U.S.-People's Republic of China relations, effect, 154 [14]
Unit Citation, Presidential, 155
See also Appendix E, pp. 1277–1278
Unitas, John, 359
United Arab Republic. *See* Egypt, Arab Republic of
United Fruit Company, 131 ftn. (p. 509)
United Fund, 85, 230

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland
Ambassador to U.S., 55
Berlin negotiations, 75 (pp. 237, 239)
Chancellor of the Exchequer Anthony Barber, 402 n.
European Economic Community, 19, 75 (p. 231), 183, 222, 346 n., 378, 403–405
Former Prime Minister Harold Wilson, 75 (p. 230), 156 [8]
Group of Ten monetary agreement, 401 n.
Joint statement, 405
Judicial system, 93
Middle East role, 75 (p. 237)
Pollution control, 256
Prime Minister Edward Heath, 75 (p. 230), 402–405
Queen Elizabeth II, 255
Seabed Arms Control Treaty, 55
Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs Sir Alec Douglas-Home, 402 n.
U.S. relations, 131, 403–405
Wage-price guidelines, effectiveness, 250 [12]
United Nations, 73 (p. 218), 75 (pp. 220, 233, 326), 127, 155, 236, 328 [5], 338, 340 n., 342 n, 343, 367, 385
China, People's Republic of, membership question, 75 (p. 277), 88 [14], 144 [11], 154 [2, 17], 189 [15], 292 [2, 9]
China, Republic of, membership question, 88 [8], 292 [2, 9]
Commission on Narcotic Drugs, 75 (p. 335)
Conference on the Human Environment, 48, 75 (p. 332), 256
Conference on Trade and Development, 75 (p. 245)
Development program, 75 (pp. 299, 328), 148, 295
Disaster assistance, 75 (p. 337), 148
Economic Commission for Europe, 48, 75 (p. 332), 256
Environmental protection efforts, 48, 75 (p. 331)
High Commissioner for Refugees, 250 [1]
United Nations—Continued
India-Pakistan conflict, 250 ftn. (p. 850), 318
Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization, 75 (p. 332)
Middle East role, 6 [15], 75 (pp. 237, 287, 288)
Narcotics and dangerous drugs, 75 (p. 335), 203, 216
Peace-keeping efforts, 75 (p. 327), 148
Population problems, 75 (p. 334)
Prisoner of war issue, 75 (pp. 261, 330)
Seabed Arms Control Treaty, 75 (p. 320), 234
Seabed resources, protection, 134
Secretary General U Thant, 5, 75 (pp. 327, 335, 337), 76, 203, 318
25th anniversary, 75 (p. 329), 154 [2], 295
Under Secretary General Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, 319, 385
U.S. participation, report, 295
U.S. Representative George Bush, 76, 178, 197 n., 292 [2]
Wheat Conference, 1971, 192
United Nations, Committee of One Million Against the Admission of Communist China to the, 292 ftn. (p. 950)
United Nations, President's Commission for the Observance of the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the, 75 (p. 329), 154 [2], 295
United Nations Day 1971, 295 n.
United Service Organizations, Inc., 413 n.
United States v. *Austin Independent School District*, 249
United States Chamber of Commerce, 151
United States Employment Service, 200
United States Marine Corps. *See* Marine Corps, United States
United States Military Academy, 187, 188
United States Secret Service, 267
United States Tariff Commission, 75 (p. 303), 189 [6]
Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 11

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

Universities. *See* Colleges and universities
University of Alabama, 180 ftn. (p. 658)
University of Alaska, 308
University of California at Berkeley, 233 n.
University of Nebraska, 210
University of New Hampshire, 259
University of Texas, 179
University of West Virginia, 326
University of Wisconsin, 6 [2]
Unknowns, Tomb of the, 353
Urban areas
  Arts program, 183
  Community development, 33 (p. 93), 79, 89, 116, 199, 214, 241
  Crime, 132, 218, 222
  Employment, 86, 133, 297 [9]
  Federal facilities, siting, 290
  Financial crisis, 26 (p. 54)
  4–H, 378
  Housing 6 [10], 89, 199, 297 [9]
  Income, 92
  Inner city health care, 63
  International conference on, 75 (p. 233)
  Message to Congress, 89
  Migration patterns, 81, 92, 196, 297 [17]
  Minority groups, 6 [10], 199
  Narcotics and dangerous drugs, 203, 204, 222
  Neighborhood law offices, 159
  Parks and open spaces, 32, 33 (p. 93), 48, 162, 256, 273, 275
  Planned Variations program, 241
  Pollution, 48, 256
  Recreation programs, 136
  Revenue sharing, 33 (p. 93), 81, 89, 145, 214, 241, 351
  Suburbs, desegregation, 6 [10], 110 [18]
  Transportation systems, 108, 297 [7, 9]
  Waste treatment facilities, 48, 89
Urban League, Inc., 95
U.S. Coast Guard Station, Newport Beach, Calif., 279
U.S. International Development Corporation, proposed, 75 (p. 298), 148
Usery, W. J., Jr., 171 n.
U.S.S. *Okinawa,* 262 n.
Utah, wilderness areas, proposed, 153

Valenti, Jack J., 183 ftn. (p. 677)
Van Brocklin, Norm, 243 n.
Varner, Durward B., 12, 112
Veneman, John G., 170 n.
Vermont, environmental program, 256
Vernon, Ind., 208 n.
Veterans
  Antiwar demonstrations, 154 [16]
  Burial allowance, 29
  Drugs, addiction and rehabilitation, 189 [3], 202–204, 321, 339
  Education, 29, 137, 339
  Employment, 137, 200, 214, 228, 263, 339, 350
  Equal housing programs, 199
  Federal spending, 339
  GI Bill, 137, 200, 339
  Income, 400
  Legislation, 29, 137, 400
  Medical care, 29, 33 (p. 90), 137, 203, 275, 276, 339
  Pensions, 137, 400
  Vietnam-era, 137, 154 [16], 189 [3], 200, 202–204, 339, 350
Veterans Administration
  Administrator (Donald E. Johnson), 63, 137 n., 275, 276
  Health trainees, 63
  Loans, direct sale, 29
  Medical facilities, 121, 203, 275, 276
Veterans Day
  Message to Armed Forces, 336
  Radio address, 339
Veterans Education and Training Action Committee, 137 n.
Veterans of Foreign Wars, 261, 274
Veterans pension and compensation bill, 400
Veto messages and memorandums of disapproval
  Accelerated public works bill, veto message to Senate, 214
  Federal firefighters special retirement benefits, memorandum, 4
  Federal blue-collar employees pay bill, veto message to House, 1

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

Veto messages and memorandums of disapproval—Continued
Economic opportunity amendments of 1971, veto message to Senate, 387
District of Columbia's totally disabled policemen and firemen, increased benefits bill, memorandum, 267
Veysey, Repr. Victor V., 275
Vice President. *See* Agnew, Spiro T. (Vice President)
Vien, Gen. Cao Van. *See* Cao Van Vien
Vienna, Austria, 88 [15], 100
Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties, 367
Vietnam, Democratic Republic of
See also Vietnam conflict
Government, 303 [15]
Infiltration into South Vietnam, 61 [1, 2], 75 (p. 267), 88 [2], 110 [4], 356 [1, 9, 19]
Involvement in
Khmer Republic, 75 (pp. 257, 263), 110 [3]
Laos, 75 (pp. 263, 266, 268), 110 [3]
Message to Congress on Southeast Asia situation, 135
News conference remarks, 6 [12], 61 [1, 2, 10], 88 [2, 3], 110 [3, 4,], 154 [5, 9], 189 [9], 250 [6, 7], 292 [6], 356 [1, 4, 8, 9, 11, 19]
Vietnam, Republic of
See also Vietnam conflict
Armed forces, 61 [1, 2, 4, 10], 75 (pp. 226, 256, 264), 88 [1], 98, 110 [5, 6], 144 [4], 356 [6, 7]
Economy, 56, 75 (pp. 259, 260)
Enemy infiltration, 6 [12], 61 [1, 2], 75 (pp. 261, 267), 88 [2], 110 [4], 356 [1, 4, 9, 19]
Government, 75 (pp. 250, 254, 255, 257, 259, 260), 135, 148, 250 [7], 292 [6], 303 [15], 328 [16], 356 [1]
Medical care, 206
News conference remarks, 61 [1–5, 10, 12, 17], 88 [1, 2, 6, 11, 16], 154 [1, 4, 8, 10], 189 [3, 14], 250 [7, 14], 292 [6], 328 [9, 16], 356 [1, 4, 6, 7, 9, 11, 19]
Nixon Doctrine, 75 (pp. 225, 226, 251)
Vietnam, Republic of—Continued
President Nguyen Van Thieu, 75 (p. 253), 88 [2, 6], 250 [7], 292 [6], 303 [15], 328 [16], 356 [19]
U.S. Ambassador Ellsworth P. Bunker, 56, 203, 250 [7], 292 [6]
U.S. assistance, 75 (p. 260), 144 [8], 148, 189 [14], 292 [6], 303 [15]
U.S. relations, 61 [1–5, 10, 12, 17], 73 (p. 212), 75 (pp. 225, 252, 254, 263), 88 [2], 135, 144 [3, 7], 147, 151, 154 [1, 4, 8, 10], 155, 328 [9], 363
Vietnamization program. *See* Vietnam conflict
Vietnam conflict, 144 [2], 147, 151, 161, 181, 187, 193, 220, 242, 245, 284, 287, 299, 301, 304, 339, 352, 366, 378, 388 n.
Address to the Nation, 135
Amnesty to draft evaders, 356 [14]
Antiwar demonstrations, 154 [1, 11, 16], 156 [2], 189 [4]
Assistance from allies, 75 (p. 256), 346 n.
Bombing policy, U.S., 6 [12], 61 [1, 12], 75 (p. 252), 88 [2, 3, 6], 110 [3], 135, 144 [8, 9], 154 [5], 189 [4], 256 [9, 14, 21]
China, People's Republic of
President's visit, effect, 250 [2]
Role, 110 [7], 292 [9]
Costs, 73 (p. 212), 75 (p. 250), 148, 356 [21]
Ho Chi Minh Trail, 59, 61 [2, 4], 73 (p. 212), 75 (p. 266), 110 [4], 154 [4]
History of U.S. involvement, 154 [4]
Incursions
Khmer Republic, 59, 61 [2, 4, 5], 73 (p. 212), 75 (pp. 227, 249, 253, 256–258, 264, 265), 88 [1, 11], 110 [3, 11], 135, 144 [10], 154 [8], 250 [14], 356 [11, 19], 363
Laos, 61 [2–5], 73 (p. 212), 88 [1, 11, 16], 110 [5, 11], 135, 144 [10], 154 [8], 250 [14], 356 [11, 19]

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

Vietnam conflict—Continued
Journalists missing or captured, 99
Mansfield amendment, 360
Mylai massacre, 144 [5], 154 [6, 13], 156 [12]
National Liberation Front, 75 (pp. 253, 254), 154 ftn. (p. 592)
News conference remarks, 61 [1–5, 10, 12], 88 [1–3, 5–7, 9, 11, 16], 154 [1, 4–6, 8–11, 13, 16], 156 [2, 12], 189 [3, 4, 9, 16, 17], 250 [2, 3, 6, 7, 13, 14], 292 [6, 9], 328 [4, 9], 356 [1, 3–6, 8, 9, 11–13, 17, 19–21]
Paris peace talks, 61 [5, 10], 75 (pp. 253, 255, 261, 262), 88 [7, 9], 144 [8], 154 ftn. (p. 592), 154 [5], 189 [9], 239, 356 [8]
Peace efforts, 73 (p. 213), 75 (pp. 249, 250, 252, 253, 263, 264, 267), 110 [8, 13], 135, 144 [3, 4, 8], 154 [5, 9], 189 [9], 204, 222, 250 [3, 6, 7], 274, 328 [4], 351, 356 [3, 6, 12, 13]
Asian conference, proposed, 250 [3]
Cease-fire proposal, 356 [1, 2], 360
Pentagon papers, 268 ftn. (p. 894)
Presidential Unit Citation, 155
Prisoners of war, 61 [5, 10], 73 (p. 213), 75 (pp. 254, 260, 261, 263, 330), 87, 88 [5, 11], 99, 110 [8, 13], 128, 135, 141, 144 [3, 4, 8, 9], 147, 151, 154 [5, 8–10], 155, 173, 189 [9, 17], 222, 250 [7], 274, 282, 292 [6], 303 [15], 313, 328 [9], 356 [1, 3, 8, 13], 360, 412
Internment in a neutral country, 141
Refugees, civilian, 144 [10]
U.S. forces
Casualties, 6 [2], 59, 61 [5], 73 (p. 212), 75 (pp. 226, 250, 256, 258), 88 [11, 16], 110 [2], 135, 144 [10], 147, 151, 154 [8], 182, 204, 222, 250 [13, 14], 257, 303 [15], 338, 356 [1, 4, 6, 21], 363, 414
Ceiling, 356 [5, 6, 17]
Draftees, 189 [16]
Drug use, 189 [3], 202–204, 321
Residual force, 88 [5], 144 [3, 8, 9], 154 [9, 10], 328 [9], 356 [13]
Vietnam conflict—Continued
U.S. forces—Continued
Withdrawal, 6 [12], 59, 61 [5], 73 (p. 212), 75 (pp. 226, 227, 249, 250, 253, 256, 264, 265), 88 [1, 5, 9, 11, 16], 110 [6, 8], 135, 144 [3, 4, 7–9], 148, 151, 154 [1, 5, 8, 9], 155, 182, 189 [4, 16, 17], 204, 222, 250 [14], 303 [15], 356 [1, 5, 6, 8, 13, 17, 19], 360, 363, 412
Vietnamization program, 6 [12], 33 (p. 88), 59, 61, 75 (pp. 226, 227, 249, 251, 255, 257, 259, 260, 262, 263, 265, 266, 317, 342, 343), 88 [1, 5, 11], 110 [6], 135, 137, 144 [3, 4, 7, 9], 148, 154 [8, 10, 16], 155, 204, 222, 250 [6], 274, 328 [4, 9], 350, 356 [1, 9, 19], 360, 392 n.
War crimes, 144 [5, 6], 154 [6, 13], 156 [12], 189 [4]
Vietnam Special Studies Group (VSSG), 75 (pp. 342, 343)
VIP program, 359
Virgin Islands, Gov. Melvin Evans, 34
Virginia
Gov. A. Linwood Holton, 93, 145, 214
Visits to, 93, 145, 381
Wilderness areas, 153
Viruses, 164
Visits with foreign leaders. *See* Meetings with foreign leaders
VISTA (Volunteers in Service to America), 111, 112, 378
Director, 112 n.
Reorganization, 12
Vocational education, 129, 378
Voice of America, 296
Volkov, Vladislav N., 217
Volpe, John A. (Secretary of Transportation), 66, 108 n., 110 [12], 132 n., 160, 198, 268, 288 n.
Voluntary Action, National Center for, 12, 111, 112
Voluntary Action, Office of, 112
Voluntary Foreign Aid, Advisory Committee on, 148
Volunteer armed force, 7, 31, 33 (p. 88), 312, 378

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

Volunteer Program, National Student, 112
Volunteer Program, Retired Senior, 210
Volunteer programs, 12, 23 n., 85, 111, 112, 148, 173, 210, 338, 378, 379
Von Braun, Wernher, 82
Voss, Ruth, 338
Voting rights, 18-year-olds, 6 [23], 12, 219, 221, 366, 378

Wages and pay
  Armed forces, U.S., 31, 312, 407
  Construction industry, 61, 70, 119, 214
  Controls, 6 [5], 33 (p. 80), 37 (p. 101), 182, 222
  Government employees, 250 [9, 11], 264, 280, 281, 287, 320, 324, 406, 407
  Guidelines, proposed, 250 [9, 12]
  Increases, 37 (pp. 99, 101), 70, 151, 182, 250 [9,10], 264, 287, 356 [16], 357, 363, 379, 390
  Inflation, 119, 156 [1], 182, 222, 325
  Prefreeze policy, 250 [9, 12]
  Stabilization, 119, 287, 292 [8], 303 [10], 325, 329, 347, 357, 379, 396, 407
  Steel industry, 156 [9], 182, 222 ftn. (p. 804)
Walker, Charls E., 10 n., 325 n.
Walla Walla, Wash., Mayor Loren D. Proctor, 304
Walla Walla College, 304
Wallace, Gov. George C., 180, 181
Walsh, Lawrence E., 337 n.
War crimes, Vietnam conflict, 144 [5, 6], 154 [6, 13], 156 [12], 189 [4]
Warehousemen's Union, International Longshoremen's and, 303 ftn. (p. 986)
Warner, John W., 155
Warranties, consumer goods, 72
Warren, Chief Justice Earl, 379
Warren, Gerald L., 14 n.
Warren, Lucian C., 61, 88 [15]
Warsaw Pact, 75 (pp. 233, 235, 238, 240, 316, 325, 343), 314 n.
Warsaw talks, 144 [12]
Washburn, Steve, 304
Washington
  Environmental programs, 256
  Gov. Daniel J. Evans, 304, 305
  Unemployment, 156 [1], 304
  Visit to, 304, 305
  Wilderness areas, proposed, 153
Washington, D.C. *See* District of Columbia
Washington, George, 43, 52, 93, 132
Washington, Walter E., 147
Washington and Lee University, 337
Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority, 132
Washington Redskins (football team), 243, 244, 297 ftn. (p. 966), 370
Washington Special Actions Group (WSAG), 75 (pp. 342, 344)
Washington Technical Institute, 8, 132, 146
Waste treatment and disposal, 48, 199, 256
  District of Columbia, 132
  Federal spending, 33 (p. 92), 48, 78
  Legislation, 33 (p. 92)
  Rural areas, 78, 92, 157, 235, 322
  Urban areas, 89
Water
  Conservation, 157, 371
  Quality, 6 [24], 33 (p. 92), 48, 102, 132, 196, 220, 256, 297 [3]
  Rural areas, 92, 245, 322, 355 n.
Water Commission, United States and Mexico, International Boundary and, 149
Water Conservation Fund, Land and, 33 (p. 92), 48, 122, 273
Water Resources Council, 116
Watson, Arthur K. (U.S. Ambassador to France), 394
Ways and Means, House Committee on, 6 [7, 19], 76, 94, 123, 170, 204, 207, 292 [3, 4, 10], 323, 389
Weapons
  Biological and chemical, 75 (p. 320), 328 [5], 334, 335, 339
  Limitation. *See* Arms control and disarmament
  Missiles. *See* Missiles

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

Weapons—Continued
Nuclear, 55, 73 (p. 214), 75 (pp. 224, 231, 234, 236, 304, 317, 319, 320, 323), 88 [15], 100, 110 [9], 175, 182, 189 [5], 204, 222, 234, 292 [5], 303 [4], 305, 351, 352 ftn. (p. 1093), 363, 366
Testing, 292 [5], 303 [4], 352
Weapons, Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear, 339
Weapons Convention, Biological, 339
Weapons Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water, Treaty Banning Nuclear, 234
Weather monitoring systems, 75 (p. 339)
Weather program, World, 143
Weber, Arnold R., 115, 172 n.
Weidenbaum, Murray L., 43 n.
Weinberger, Caspar W. (Deputy Director, Office of Management and Budget), 21, 126, 264 n.
Welebir, Douglas F., 275
Welfare system
Benefits, 170
Child day care centers, 170, 387, 414
Costs, 145, 170, 204
District of Columbia, 132
Economic stabilization program, 297 [11]
Family assistance program, 6 [9], 7, 78, 123, 170, 204, 235, 297 [11]
Family income floor, national, 26 (p. 51), 33 (pp. 80, 85, 89, 90), 151, 170, 207, 379
Food stamps. *See* Food
Guaranteed annual income, 145, 151, 204
Legislation, 33 (p. 89), 123, 145, 170, 207, 214, 259, 291, 379, 414
Manpower and job training programs, 86
National eligibility standards, 33 (p. 89)
Public service jobs, 86
Reform, 6 [2], 7, 26 (p. 51), 29, 33 (pp. 85, 89, 91), 78, 86, 107, 110 [17], 123, 126, 129, 132, 144 [15], 145, 151, 170, 172, 204, 207, 214, 228, 259, 264, 287, 291, 297 [11, 18], 351, 352, 379, 387, 414
States, 33 (pp. 85, 90), 126, 145, 379
Welfare system—Continued
Statistics, 6 [18]
Urban areas, 297 [11]
Work incentives and requirements, 26 (p. 52), 33 (pp. 80, 85, 89, 91), 78, 123, 145, 151, 170, 204, 207, 291, 297 [11], 379, 414
Welk, Lawrence, 311
West Monroe, Va., Mayor Bert Hatten, 321
West Point. *See* United States Military Academy
West Point, N.Y., 187, 188 n.
West Sister National Wildlife Refuge, Ohio, 153
West Virginia
Coal mining industry, labor dispute, 327
Gov. Arch A. Moore, Jr., 214, 253 n., 292 ftn. (p. 955), 326
Mountain State Forest Festival, 326
Visit to, 326
West Virginia, University of, 326
Western Hemisphere
See also Latin America
Economic development, 29
U.S. relations, 75 (pp. 227, 242), 131, 144 [13], 148, 160, 265, 382, 383 n.
Wheat, 161
Wheat Agreement, International, 1971, 192
Wheat Council, International, 192
Wheat Trade Convention. *See* International Wheat Agreement, 1971
Wheeler, James, 176 n.
Wheeler, John A., 176 n.
Whitcomb, Gov. Edgar D., 208, 209
White House Conference on Aging, 210, 259, 379, 384
Chairman, 359 n., 379 n.
White House Conference on Food, Nutrition, and Health
Followup conference, 23
Summary report, 22
White House Conference on the Industrial World Ahead, 138
White House Conference on Youth, 156 [10], 159, 378
White House Portraits, John Quincy and Louisa Adams, presentation, 77
White House staff. *See* President's staff

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

Whitman College, 304
Wholesale Price Index. *See* Prices
Wholesome Fish and Fishery Products Act, proposed, 29, 134
Wichita, Kans., 117 n.
Wilcox, Francis O., 295 ftn. (p. 961)
Wilderness areas, 48, 152, 153, 254, 256, 273
Wildlife
  Preservation, 75 (p. 338), 162, 399
  Refuges, 152, 153
Wildlife, Bureau of Sport Fisheries and, 152 n.
Wilkinson, Charles B. (Bud), 67, 111, 196
Williams, Albert, 75 (p. 301)
Williams, Sen. Harrison A., Jr., 205
Williams, Gov. John Bell, 180, 181
Williamsburg, Va., 93, 145, 381
Willis, George H., 158
Wilson, Harold (former Prime Minister of the United Kingdom), 75 (p. 230), 156 [8]
Wilson, Ward Nicholas, 77
Wilson, Woodrow, 43, 65, 66, 110 [2], 180, 182, 363
Wilson, Woodrow, International Center for Scholars, 65
Winkelman, Stanley J., 297 [11]
Winstein, Saul, 176 n.
Winstein, Mrs. Saul, 176 n.
Winthrop, John, 268
Wiretapping, Federal, 144 [19], 156 [6]
Wisconsin, Gov. Patrick J. Lucey, 81 n.
Wisconsin, University of, deaths, 6 [2]
Wismer, Harry, 243
Wissel, Janet Lee, 208
Women
  Employment, 150, 189 [6], 255
  Girls Nation, 255
  Supreme Court nomination, possibility, 297 [14], 328 [12], 337, 338
  Women's liberation, 255, 299
Women, National Federation of Republican, 338
Women in Radio and Television, American, 311 n.
Woods, Rose Mary, 242, 268
Worden, Maj. Alfred M., 262
Work incentive program (WIN), 414
World Bank. *See* International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
World Conference on National Parks, 273
World Health Organization, 148
  Opiate substitute studies, 203
World Heritage Trust, proposed, 48, 256
World War I, 65
World War II, 110 [7]
  Documents, declassification, funds for, 247
World Weather Program, 143
Wright, Don, 130
Wright, Orville, 282, 283
Wright, Robert B. (Director, Office of East-West Trade), 139 n.
Wright, Wilbur, 282, 283
Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, 282 n., 283
Wyatt, Repr. Wendall, 301
Wyly, Sam (Chairman, Advisory Council on Minority Business Enterprise), 332 n.
Wyman, Repr. Louis C., 257, 260

Yarrington, Blaine J., 378
Yellowstone National Park, 48, 152, 273
Yost, Charles W., 76, 110 [19]
Young, Edward F., 353
Young, Whitney M., Jr., 95, 106
Young, Mrs. Whitney M., Jr., 106
Young, Whitney M., Sr., 106 n.
"Young Americans in Concert," 221
Younglove, Charles G., 297 [5, 12]
Youth
  Agricultural occupations, 270
  Alienation, 144 [15]
  Disadvantaged, 136, 190
  Employment, 10, 68, 120, 136, 190, 214, 228, 378
  Environmental concern, 6 [22], 136, 344
  Federal summer intern program, 68
  4–H Congress, 378
  Narcotics and dangerous drugs, 203, 204, 215, 293, 321
  National Explorer Presidents' Congress, 193
  Obscene and pornographic materials, effects, 29
  Physical fitness, 67

[Main references are to item numbers except as otherwise indicated]

Youth—Continued
President's Environmental Merit Awards Program, 344
Recreation programs, 136, 190
Selective Service System, 378
Volunteer service programs, 12, 112, 378
Voting rights, 18-year-olds, 6 [23], 12, 219, 221, 366, 378
White House Conference on, 156 [10], 159, 378
Youth Conservation Corps, 190
Youth Corps, Neighborhood, 136
Youth Development and Delinquency Prevention Administration, 109
Administrator, 109 n.
Yugoslavia
American private investment, 75 (p. 241)
Yugoslavia—Continued
Joint statement, 343
President Josip Broz Tito, 73 (p. 215), 75 (p. 240), 340, 342, 343, 366
Trade, 75 (p. 240)
U.S. relations, 73 (p. 215), 75 (pp. 230, 240), 340, 342, 343

Zafra, Victor M., 361 n.
Ziegler, Ronald L. (Press Secretary to the President), 21 n., 44 n., 88 ftn. (p. 389), 139 n., 141 n., 156 ftn. (p. 606), 229 n., 250 ftn. (p. 850), 264 n., 268 ftn. (p. 894), 277 n., 292 [1, 8], 297 ftn. (p. 966), 328 ftn. (p. 1031), 329, 351 ftn. (p. 1088), 372 n., 376 n., 383 n., 417
Zumwalt, Adm. Elmo R., Jr. (Chief of Naval Operations), 82

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1972

BATES COLLEGE LIBRARY
3 5033 00556 7540